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1901

EDITED BY JAMES KNOWLES

VOL. LIII

JANUARY—JUNE 1903

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# NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. CCCXI—JANUARY 1903

## *THE CLERGY AND THE EDUCATION ACT*

THE Education Bill of 1902 has contained many surprises, but the greatest of them has been reserved for the clergy of the Church of England. With few exceptions they saw nothing in the Bill but an end to a financial burden. Their schools were to be maintained out of the rates, and if the obligation to keep the buildings in repair caused some of them a passing anxiety it was slight in comparison with the relief afforded in other directions. That the Bill would make a radical change in their own relation to their schools never occurred to them. Nor, indeed, did it occur to their opponents. A measure which embodies the greatest ecclesiastical revolution that the Church of England has seen since the Reformation is still regarded by Nonconformists as a formal confirmation of the clergy in all their traditional privileges. A measure which makes the vicar of each parish in which there is a Church school the removable deputy of

a lay committee is still commonly described as a fresh riveting of sacerdotal chains. The clergy may be pardoned for not being wise before the fact when as yet their adversaries have not become wise after it.

The explanation of this inability to realise what the Bill would do must be sought in a remote past. Before the Act of 1870 the elementary education of the country was practically in the hands of the clergy. They had taken it up when there was no one else to do it. For a generation indeed the State had contributed largely to the support and to a less extent to the building of voluntary schools. But the initiative in the vast majority of cases had lain with the clergy. As the Government grants were increased to meet new and larger conceptions of the meaning of education the burdens thrown on the clergy grew in at least an equal degree. Nominally, indeed, they were borne by the body of subscribers to the schools. But these subscribers had to be obtained by the importunity, stimulated by the example, and not infrequently replaced by the self-sacrifice of the clergy. It was only natural, therefore, that in the clerical scheme of the universe the parish school should hold a place only second to that of the parish church. Indeed, as the parish school had often to be kept going out of the vicar's own pocket, while the parish church kept itself, there was some excuse for his thinking it the more important of the two. The Act of 1870 altered all this. The elementary education of the country became the concern of the State. The clergy were no longer the sole providers of schools. They had indeed provided those which the State found in existence and they were encouraged to provide more. But their default no longer left their parishes school-less; it only ensured the setting up of a State school. As we look back thirty years it seems strange that the significance of this change was not better understood. In giving voluntary schools a formidable rival in the shape of Board schools the Act took away one of the most effective inducements to the continuance of voluntary subscriptions. This was the origin of the 'intolerable strain' of which so much has been heard, and of the desire of the clergy to gain access to the inexhaustible fund out of which the Board schools were able to make good their deficiencies.

For a long time, as the late Archbishop of Canterbury told us not long ago, this desire was kept in check by the fear that aid from the rates meant control by the ratepayers. In an evil hour some ingenious person bethought him of the plan which has been adopted in the new Act. Representation the ratepayers must have, but so long as a perpetual majority was assured to the denominational managers no great harm need come of this. The representative managers would grow weary of being perpetually outvoted, and in time they would cease to attend. But the contribution from the rates would survive their departure and place the Church schools on

the secure financial level enjoyed by the Board schools. How far this expectation would have been borne out by the event we shall never know, because the introduction of the Kenyon-Slaney clause has imported into the Bill a new and graver mischief than any necessarily associated with rate aid. But even without this addition the new Education Act would in the end have been fatal to the value if not to the existence of Church schools. If, indeed, the Act had in express words given the clergy the control of the religious teaching and the managers the control of the secular education—which was what in the first instance was supposed to be intended—the best of the Church schools would not have been injured. There would often have been friction, there would sometimes have been ill-will, but in the end the parson, if he were a resolute man, would have got his way. But he would have got it at the cost of a severe struggle, and how many of the clergy would have had the strength of purpose to carry on such a struggle? The object of the representative managers would have been to water down the religious teaching so as to make it suitable for all the children attending the school. This wish would certainly have been shared by some, very often by all, the denominational managers, and thus a united board would have been able to represent to the clergyman that he was imperilling the peace of the parish, and perhaps depriving Nonconformist children of the benefit of the religious lesson, for the sake of teaching the Church children dogmas which might equally well be imparted to them when they had left school and were preparing for confirmation. So put, the appeal would, I believe, have made a very strong impression on large numbers of the clergy, and in this way the religious teaching in Church schools would gradually have been assimilated to that of a good Board school. The clergy, however, as a body either refused to admit the existence of any such danger, or accepted it as at all events a less evil than the sale of their schools to the State.

They forgot when they did so that the exclusive attention paid to voluntary schools had by this time become positively detrimental to the object for which those schools had been founded. That object was the religious education of the people. In the first instance, indeed, the Church had given secular instruction as well, but this was only because at that time there was no one else to do it. Down to 1870 all went smoothly. When pretty well every school was a Church school, there was no need to inquire whether religious teaching and secular teaching were separable or inseparable. After 1870, however, the face of things was altered. In spite of all the efforts of the supporters of voluntary schools, the Board schools first overtook and then passed them. Wherever a Church school was given up, a School Board got possession of it. Wherever a new parish was formed, the chances were that to provide school as well



as church was more than the parishioners could compass, and the work was left to a School Board. Every year, therefore, the number of children who ought to have been in Church schools grew larger and the impossibility of ever bringing them into Church schools plainer. The utmost that was to be hoped from rate aid was the continuance of existing Church schools, yet every year the existing Church schools became more inadequate to the work they were designed to do. The children belonging to the Church of England had insensibly distributed themselves into a declining minority which still attended Church schools, and a growing majority which attended Board schools. Hereafter I believe the clergy will look back with wonder at the indifference with which they had come to regard this latter class. It was simply an accident that the children included in it were not in a Church school, and that accident did not lessen in the least degree the responsibility of the clergy in regard to them. But it was a responsibility which the law forbade them to discharge in the most natural and convenient way. They could not follow the children into the Board schools and teach them their religion in the hour set apart for the religious lesson.

It is fair to say that some time before the introduction of the present Act the bishops had made an effort to get the right of entry secured by law. In certain resolutions adopted by the joint committee of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, there is one asking that facilities may be granted to the clergy to give religious instruction to any of the children in Board schools whose parents may wish them to receive it, and offering similar opportunities for the entry of Nonconformist teachers into Church schools. The value attached to this proposal by its authors may be judged from the fact that it was not pressed upon the Government in the course of the negotiations which we must suppose to have been going on while the Bill was on the stocks. There must have been a time when the bishops were consulted or sounded as to the terms which would satisfy the Church, and, if the spiritual welfare of the vast army of children in Board schools had been very much in their thoughts, it is inconceivable that the Bill when it came should have contained no provision for their instruction. It has even been said—I do not know with what amount of truth—that there was a time when the Government were not indisposed to give the right of entry a prominent place in their measure and only abandoned the idea in deference to episcopal opposition. Anyhow the Church, so far as her mind could be gathered from the bishops, the Convocations, and the Diocesan Conferences, was willing to let those of her children who were in Board schools go untaught, provided that she was allowed to throw the maintenance of her own schools on the rates. It was certain that the denominational right of entry to all schools could not be carried through Parliament unless the Church was

prepared to give the representatives of the ratepayers a majority of places on the boards of management, and rather than make this concession she left the children in Board schools to the chances of the Cowper-Temple clause.

Two reasons—two presentable reasons, that is to say—may be assigned for this choice. A theory had been set up—having no known origin and applied to no other system of education—that religious and secular instruction must be given by the same teacher. No doubt this combination of functions had its advantages. It set the clergy free for other work, and it secured some knowledge of the art of teaching in the teacher. It is to be feared that by the side of the schoolmaster the vicar of the parish often showed to disadvantage. He had never learnt how to give a lesson, and he, and the children, soon discovered that to do so is seldom a matter of intuition. On the other hand, the effective teaching of religion demands something more than mere technical aptitude and the power of keeping order in a class. It requires a strong sense of the importance of the work the teacher has taken upon himself and of the part that religion plays in the formation of character. In theory the schoolmaster in a Church school had been chosen for his religious quite as much as for his secular qualifications. But the secular qualifications were far more easily tested and the absence of them entailed the loss of the Government grant. In many cases, therefore, the fact that a teacher had been a student at a Church Training College was held sufficient as a religious test, and it is difficult to say what other could have been suggested for general adoption. But when two years' residence at a Church Training College became a regular mode of entry into the teaching profession it necessarily ceased to have any religious significance. I once asked the Principal of a great training college what the religious standard among the students was. 'Very much,' he said, "what it is among the young men from whom they are taken." With most of them the professional side of their work was more absorbing than the religious side. They got up a certain minimum of religious knowledge, but there their interest in the subject ended. It is evident that teachers of this quality were not likely to do much towards the creation of that special atmosphere which is often described as the glory of a Church school. That the existence of such an atmosphere is a very great advantage from the point of view of religion, I should be the last to deny. But I contend first that it is not created by the mere fact that the teachers come from St. Mark's or Whitelands, and next that where it exists it must necessarily constitute a very serious grievance to Nonconformists. It is an awkward fact that in some 8,000 parishes there is only one school and that a Church school. In the great majority of cases Nonconformist parents have not, so far as appears, objected to this. The religious character of the school has

not been marked enough to exercise any real influence on their children. If any appreciable number of these schools were what a Church school ought to be—if, that is, the purpose of all concerned in them were to present the Church in the most favourable light possible, and if that purpose were carried out with the deliberate enthusiasm which befits men to whom religion is the great end of life—what might not be the effect on Nonconformist children? Proselytism in the strict sense of the word there would be none. Men who value their own creeds are not the men to treat lightly the creeds of others. But it is a commonplace that the surest of all methods of conversion is to make a religion attractive, to create in those who are outside the desire to be like those whom it animates. If every Church school in England were what a very few are, Nonconformist parents would have real cause for alarm. As it is, they have next to none, but that is because such Church schools as I have described are only to be found here and there. The atmosphere argument either proves nothing or proves a great deal too much. Either the atmosphere is not to be found, or it is an atmosphere which ought not to exist except where there are more schools than one.

We are now in a position to review the nature of the choice, which the clergy have made. The control of elementary education had passed from them in 1870. For a time they hoped that Board schools would only have to be provided in a few exceptional districts and that voluntary schools would remain the rule. By degrees it became evident that, instead of this, Board schools were everywhere beating the voluntary schools, in virtue of the automatic method of their creation and of the fact that they were maintained out of the rates. The lesson that the clergy ought to have learnt from this was that the days of voluntary schools were over, that an effort which had been heroic at a time when but for the clergy the people would have gone uneducated was an anachronism when the State had taken the duty of education upon itself. The lesson that the clergy did learn was that they must capture a share of the rates for their own schools. They forgot, that is to say, the object for which those schools had been founded. They forgot that a Church school exists or ought to exist for the one purpose of teaching religion, and that in so far as it serves any other it is only to enable it to teach religion to more children. They forgot that in practice the secular interests of their schools had often trespassed upon the religious interests, and that Church schools had often become famous as places of education at the sacrifice to a great extent of their distinctive character. And most of all they forgot that every year more and more children were passing altogether out of their hands and that every year the comparative number of children in Board schools and in Church schools was changing to the disadvantage of the latter. In other words, they forgot that schools which existed solely for the sake of Church

teaching ought to be abandoned without hesitation whenever Church teaching could be better served in other ways. What they should have proposed to the Government as the only solution that would satisfy them was the taking over by the local authorities at a fair price of all Church schools which stood in need of aid from the rates, and the recognition of a right of entry in the vicar of the parish or his deputies into every school provided or taken over by the local authority for the purpose of giving religious instruction during school hours to all children entered in the school register as belonging to the Church of England. This would have secured them the substance of Church teaching, though at the sacrifice of the machinery by which this substance had hitherto been secured. And even the sacrifice would have been only apparent, since the money paid for the school buildings might have been spent in training a distinct class of teachers for the express purpose of giving the religious lesson in State schools.

So far, therefore, as the wishes of the clergy went, the Government were left in no doubt. In this respect Mr. Balfour has been blamed without reason. He is accused of accepting an amendment which converted a measure designed to secure the clergy in the possession of their schools into a possible instrument of expulsion. But the mistake was not Mr. Balfour's. He only took the clergy at their word and gave them neither more nor less than they had asked for. It was they who took no account of the change in the position of school managers which the mere fact of a Church school having a right to rate aid would be certain to effect in it. The Bishop of Rochester put this quite rightly in the Lords on the 15th of December. 'It is,' he said, 'a matter of public notoriety that the management clause in which the sting of the Kenyon-Slaney amendment lay hid is the work of the whole representative body of the Church.' From every place where the clergy met together had gone up the demand for rate aid coupled with the concession of two places on the managing board to the representatives of the ratepayers. It is quite true that the majority of those from whom the request came did not realise what was involved in it. Indeed, I am not at all sure that Mr. Balfour himself fully realised it until, alarmed by the Sevenoaks election, he set to work to discover how far the bill could be modified to meet Nonconformist and anti-clerical objectors.

His search in this direction was soon rewarded. The management clause said nothing about the clergyman of the parish. It spoke only of the four foundation or denominational managers and of the two managers appointed by the local authority. To these, therefore, belonged all the rights of management except such as were reserved for the local authority. With the consent of that authority they could appoint the teachers, and, as this consent might not be withheld except on educational grounds, their choice, so far as it

was made on religious grounds, was quite unfettered. Indeed, the Kenyon-Slaney clause as amended in the House of Lords at the instance of the Government operated rather in restraint than in amplification of the managers' powers. The reference to the trust deed and the appeal to the bishop, limited and worthless as they are, were not in the 7th clause. That contained no restriction on the powers of the managers. What the Kenyon-Slaney amendment really did was to bring out the true meaning of the clause—to say in words what the managers might do instead of leaving it to be slowly discovered by experiment. But for this the clergy would have gone on believing their position secure until some managers bolder than the rest had closed the school door against the vicar. I cannot see, therefore, that they have any case against the Government. They said by their representatives, official and other, 'Give us a two-thirds majority on the committees of management and maintenance out of the rates, and we are content.' They have got both.

But the fact that the clause which has aroused so much opposition among the clergy was in the Bill all along, though it clears the Government of blame, does not make it, and ought not to make it, less of a shock to the clergy. What the Bill does is to laicise the Church schools. The Opposition wanted to do more than this. Their contention was that Church schools ought to be secularised. This demand the Government have consistently resisted. The Church schools were to remain Church schools in name. They were to retain their denominational character so far as this is compatible with the rejection of a foundation principle of the denomination to which they are supposed to belong. A Church school under the Kenyon-Slaney clause is like a Baptist school from which all mention of adult baptism is excluded, or a Wesleyan school which knows nothing of the Conference. So long as the Education Act of 1902 remains in force so much of a clergyman's pastoral work as has been done in the school will be done in subjection to the laity. The right to pronounce whether a particular doctrine is the doctrine of the Church of England will, it is true, belong to the bishops, but to the laity will belong the more practically important function of deciding whether the doctrine in question shall be taught in a Church of England school.

The speeches of the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords and of the Prime Minister in the House of Commons show that the powers now for the first time entrusted to the laity are intended for use, not for show. The lay managers are meant to serve a purpose. The Government are evidently alarmed at the threatened revival of the agitation of 1898. If they look at the matter from the strictly ministerial point of view they may possibly be right. An anti-Ritualist movement of any magnitude in the country generally

seems to me a most unlikely event. I could almost say that I wish it were more likely than it is. For an anti-Ritualist movement, where it is genuine and not a mere political dodge, is, at least, evidence that those who take part in it care something about religion. It is better that a man should wish to suppress confession because he thinks that it puts the priest in the place of God than that he should extend to it a contemptuous tolerance because he does not really believe that there is such a thing as sin. The reason why we are secure against an anti-Ritualist agitation on a large scale is that a large proportion of the electorate has ceased to take any interest in religion. The vision of a future life, the thought of their own position in regard to that future life, no longer excites either hope or fear. But a Prime Minister has to take into account the state of opinion in his party as well as in the country, and I can easily believe that Mr. Balfour finds this part of the prospect less satisfactory. The squire is seldom a sacerdotalist, and the squire is still a power in the Unionist ranks. On the 17th of last month Mr. Balfour said plainly that if the management clause of the Act had not been understood to exclude clerical management the House would not have looked at it. 'I had difficulty enough,' he went on, 'in passing it as it was . . . difficulty among those who are my most constant and loyal friends on this side of the House.' These words reveal a state of feeling in the Unionist Party of which few of the clergy had any suspicion. More than any other party at this moment it is an anti-clerical party. It may seem absurd to say this just when the whole Nonconformist body are in arms against the alleged greed and arrogance of the Anglican clergy. But there is a very real difference between the two tempers. The Nonconformists dislike the clergy because they are established. If the Church of England were a voluntary body they would no more concern themselves with her clergy than they do with the Roman Catholic clergy. The Unionists whom Mr. Balfour had in his mind do not, indeed, dislike the clergy, but they like them, as some people like cats, in their place, and that place a strictly subordinate one. The Kenyon-Slaney clause exactly meets this feeling. It does not forbid the managers of a Church school to leave the clergyman in undisturbed possession of the position he has hitherto held. "Provided that he behaves himself nicely he will be allowed and even pressed to remain. It is only when his preaching or ritual happens to offend them that they will make use of their new powers. In their eyes the clergyman is a useful agent but a bad principal, and an agent they mean him to remain. So long as the clergy were content to accept the status thus assigned to them there was no need to register it in an Act of Parliament. Now that so many of them take a different view of their duties and responsibilities they need to be restrained by legislation. But, as Mr. Balfour

explained when the Kenyon-Slaney amendment was first submitted to the House of Commons, the passing of a Clergy Discipline Bill would be a long, troublesome, and doubtful business. The advantage of the Education Act as completed by this clause is that it does half the work of a Clergy Discipline Act without either trouble or uncertainty. It gives the school managers the power of hitting the clergy in what for various reasons is a very tender place. The managers, as the Lord Chancellor has pointed out, will be able to hold it *in terrorem* over them, and, now that attention has been drawn to their powers, there is good reason to believe that they will be used.

This, then, is the unappetising mess of pottage for which the clergy have sold their birthright. They have, it is true, been unconscious Esaus, but, all the same, they have played Esau's part. They have been so absorbed in considering how to keep their schools alive that they have not stopped to ask themselves of what use they will be to them under the new management. It will not be long, however, before they will have evidence on this head. Wherever a clergyman is not popular with his parishioners, they will now have the means of making him feel their displeasure. The managers of the Church school will have only to express their regret that by lighting candles in the day-time, or wearing 'Mass vestments,' or preaching the Real Presence in the pulpit, or sitting in the church to hear confessions, he has forfeited their confidence, and driven them to refuse him admission to the Church school. Thus the Act makes a change of vital importance in the position of every parish priest. Hitherto he has had nobody over him except the bishop and the law courts. In future he will be subject as regards a large part of his work to a lay tribunal of first instance with nothing to guide its members except their own fancies. No doubt it is a part of his work which in many cases he has left to be done by others. Mr. Balfour had facts on his side when, in replying to Lord Hugh Cecil, he charged the clergy with systematically making over to the elementary school master their function in the Church school. Possibly this is one explanation of the strange fact that the Church is often weakest in the districts where single schools are most frequent. She has had the education of the children in her own hands, but she has allowed religious instruction to rank among the incidents of school life which find their natural end when the school age is passed. But though Mr. Balfour's charge is a true one as regards many of the clergy, it does not bear out the conclusion he sought to draw from it. There is a world of difference in principle between a system which makes the parish schoolmaster the delegate of the vicar of the parish and a system which makes him the delegate of the school managers. In the former case, the authority remains with the vicar. He can at any moment resume the function he has laid aside, and he can exer-

cise an effectual supervision over the deputy to whom he has for the time entrusted it. In the latter case the vicar is in the school only on sufferance, the control of the religious instruction is out of his hands.

It is inconceivable that the clergy should long accept such a state of things as this. Parliament cannot relieve them of a duty entrusted to them at their ordination, or bid them trouble themselves no further about a responsibility which has passed into the keeping of a lay committee. If a clergyman is shut out of his school, it will at once become his business to make other provision for the religious instruction of the children whom he can no longer reach in the school building or during school hours. How far such an arrangement will conduce to the religious peace of a parish I leave to the imaginations of the authors of the Kenyon-Slaney clause. There is no need to inquire, with Mr. Balfour, whether the Church of England regards teaching as the inalienable right of the clergy, or, with Sir William Harcourt, whether at the Reformation she did not by express ordinance make over that right to the laity. Both speculations belong to a class on which the time of politicians is very idly spent. For them the only question worth considering is not: 'Are such and such bodies of men right in thinking this or that?' but: 'Is it true that they think it?' There was a great deal of very useless discussion last spring as to the supposed want of logic in Nonconformists when they objected to support voluntary schools out of the rates, after supporting them without protest out of the taxes. Probably many politicians wish now, and many more will wish at the next General Election, that they had been at equal pains to ascertain whether Nonconformists really did feel this objection. In the same way the smooth working of the Education Act will depend much less on the reasonableness than on the strength of the hostility it has evoked in the clergy. They are indeed a body of men as to whose action it is specially unsafe to hazard a positive prediction. They are isolated, they are divided, they have no recognised leaders. But to be turned out of the schools they have till now held to be their own, or to be let remain in them only so long as the managers think that they can be of use to the regular schoolmaster, is a greater slight than has yet been offered them. And it is one which, as I sincerely hope, they will not take patiently.

But what are they to do? It is not often that a question of this moment admits of so plain and straightforward an answer. Let them in the first place bethink them of the large and increasing number of the children nominally under their charge whom they have allowed to slip out of knowledge. What has until now been their defence when they have been accused of neglecting Church children in Board schools? That entry into these schools could only



be had by giving up their own schools, and that to do this would be, to sacrifice all the advantages which children enjoy who are brought up in a thoroughly Church atmosphere. We shall not hear much of this argument under the new Act.\* Whatever other merits a school in which the parish priest has of right no place may chance to possess, it will certainly not have a Church atmosphere. The parish priest who tries to give it one will soon discover that in order to succeed he must secure the support of a majority of his colleagues on the management, two of whom need not, and probably will not, be Churchmen.\* When the clergy come to realise that for this they have raised controversial passion to an almost unprecedented height, undone all the advances previously made towards a better understanding with Nonconformists, and permitted themselves to be presented to one half of their countrymen as setting rate aid above every other consideration, they will surely see that it is better to have a secure position in every public elementary school than a position from which they may at any moment be dislodged in a particular variety of elementary schools. At all events, this conviction is every day becoming more general. A year ago the Churchmen who entertained it could almost be counted on the ten fingers. Now those who hold this to be the only ultimate solution of the religious difficulty in education are to be found at every corner. The only point on which there is any real difference of opinion is the length of time it will take to bring it about.

There are three systems, any one of which might conceivably be substituted for that set up by the new Act—the Scottish system, the German system, and the system which provides religious instruction in all public elementary schools, but provides it at the cost and by the agents of the denominations. The Scottish system leaves the local authority free to teach what religion it likes in its own schools, while permitting local minorities to build schools for themselves and to draw their share of the Government grant. The German system takes care that, in every school where the children are of more than one religion, each creed shall furnish a corresponding proportion of the teachers. Either of these plans is defensible in principle, but it is more than doubtful whether either of them would work well in England. The German system involves concurrent endowment, and so has no chance of being accepted by Nonconformists. The Scottish suits a country where the immense majority of the people are of one religion, and that a religion the members of which are not divided among themselves on any important matters of doctrine. This is not a description which can be applied to the Church of England. Among us the local authorities would constantly be asked to decide, not merely whether the religion taught in their schools should be that of the Church of England, but whether it should be that of the High Church or the Low Church section of the Church of England. In this

way the question for the clergy is narrowed to the simple issue: 'Shall we, in the matter of religious teaching, rest content with the Education Act of 1902, or do our utmost to get universal State schools with denominational religious instruction set up in place of it?' I cannot believe that the clergy as a body will be long in making up their minds what their answer shall be. They will prefer State schools into which they can enter as of right to Church schools in which they will at best be tolerated visitors. They may, however, hesitate to declare themselves active supporters of the change because of the difficulties which are assumed to lie in the way. Some of these difficulties are purely mechanical, and may be got over by a little common sense. Others relate to the supposed injury done to the children by the discovery that mankind is not of one mind upon the subject of religion—a fact which we may safely assume them to have learnt when first they saw some of their companions going to church and some to chapel. Others again rest on the alleged unwillingness and incompetence of the clergy to give the religious lesson. That some of the clergy will dislike going into the State schools, just as they have disliked going into their own schools, is certain. But to say this is only to say that every profession is irksome to some of its members. Probably there are clergymen who do not welcome the return of Sunday, and are happier outside their churches than inside them, but we do not for that reason abolish public worship. We are content to hope that a more careful use of patronage and a sounder public opinion will gradually mend matters. That there are some of the clergy who can neither give a lesson properly nor keep a class in decent order is likely enough, but if every bishop would make six months at a training college part of the necessary preparation for taking orders this difficulty would soon disappear. It cannot be impossible for a curate, with time and proper preparation, to rise to the level of a certificated teacher. Nor will the work be wholly done by the clergy. The need of providing religious instruction in State schools will create a class of laymen who will offer themselves for this duty, just as they do now for that of a lay reader. The office of religious instructor in State schools will supply a new and useful outlet for that lay energy which, as we are so often told, is now allowed to run to waste.

Details like these, however, belong to the future. The business of the present is to give expression and organisation to the growing determination of the clergy that, so far as its arrangements for teaching religion are concerned, the Education Act of 1902 shall have but a short time to live.

D. C. LATHBURY.

THE NONCONFORMISTS AND THE  
EDUCATION ACT

THE Education Bill has passed into law, but the controversies amid which it has been shaped into its present form have not therefore come to an end. It would, indeed, be a real misfortune if, in sheer weariness, the nation resolved to close the present discussion before reaching a settlement which, at all events, should settle something, and give a promise, if not of permanence, at least of lasting as long as that which has been so rudely broken up. There has, indeed, been discussion, which to those who do not realise the vital character of some of the issues at stake may be wearying *usque ad nauseam*, and the rude pushing of it aside may be justified by the same reasoning which has been employed in defence of the guillotine in Parliament. But the plea is just as weak in the one case as in the other. The subject is not exhausted. It has simply passed out of the stage of theory into that of action.

The attempt to fix the responsibility for the prolongation of the Committee debates upon some excess of original sin on the part of the Opposition, and especially of the Nonconformist section of it, is worse than futile. It is to be traced rather to the mistaken policy of Mr. Balfour in the construction of the measure, while the secret of that must be found in the political circumstances of the time. Assuming that the educational arrangements of the country were, as some experts never weary of asserting, in a state of chaos, an honest endeavour to reduce them to order—to co-ordinate them, I believe, is the correct word to employ—would have been welcomed by all lovers of efficiency. But that itself would have been sufficient for one Bill. The Cockerton judgment—the secret history of which has yet to be told—supplied a favourable opportunity for the introduction of a measure whose one object should have been to make our system complete and effective. But one condition of its favourable acceptance by Parliament and the country was that it should steer absolutely clear of the religious difficulty. Mr. Balfour thought differently. He is a friend of education, but he is also the leader of a powerful party in which the Anglican clergy and their followers

form a very numerous and influential element, and the leaders not only of the extreme section, with Lord Hugh Cecil at their head, but the Bishops, with the Convocation behind them, were clamouring for substantial help to their sectarian schools. If educational progress alone had been contemplated in the Government policy, it would have been wiser to divide the present Bill and treat the purely educational arrangements apart. Mr. Balfour, in his Mansion House speech, complained that questions of local government and sectarian difference had been largely discussed, while those of educational efficiency had been thrust into the background. There are numbers, probably more among his political opponents than among his supporters, who share his regrets. But the very nature of the Bill decided the nature of the debates, and he must accept the responsibility for the misfortune he deplures. It would hardly have been possible to initiate what is nothing less than a revolution in the administration of our educational system without a discussion on points of local government; but if this were inevitable, it surely made it all the more necessary that questions so difficult should not be still further complicated by the reopening of that religious controversy which has so seriously hampered educational efficiency, and which, it may be safely predicted, will continue to do so until it is finally disposed of by a settlement which, however it may disappoint extremists of all schools, will commend itself to the nation at large as fair and equitable.

• The expediency of keeping the two questions apart is so manifest that the opposite course would hardly have been taken had there not been some very strong reason which made it imperative. This is not far to seek. The proposals as to the 'Voluntary' schools were sure to encounter so fierce an opposition that had they stood alone, the fate of the Bill, even in a Parliament where the Ministry have so overwhelming a majority, might have been somewhat doubtful. Certainly it would only have been carried by the most severe exercise of party discipline. The sympathy of those who were really interested in meeting one of the most imperative demands of the new century had to be caught by high sounding professions of the great reform to be effected in our scholastic system. The blessed word 'co-ordination' was coined to attract the unwary, and so experts, who would have looked very suspiciously on a scheme which did nothing but relieve denominationalists from bearing the cost of their own schools, were induced to regard the proposals with a favour which otherwise they would certainly have failed to secure. With this view, a large number of men engaged in educational work and supposed to be representative of different shades of opinion were consulted, and practical suggestions were asked from them. To me it has been extremely amusing to hear in different parts of the country of individuals who have given themselves out to be, to some extent, authors of the Bill. Their mode of talking of

their share in the work has led some of their neighbours to think that they were suffering from a violent attack of *tête montée*. But this would be to judge them unfairly. It has been the policy of the Government to consult a number of school managers and teachers of a particular type, to introduce certain changes recommended by them which probably may be regarded as distinct reforms, and to use any favour which the measure might thus obtain for the purpose of passing its more obnoxious provisions. But if in discussion the two objects of the measure seemed to come into collision the interests of denominationalism were to be regarded as paramount and supreme.

The results which have followed are so much in the natural order of events that it is folly to complain of them. It is the Ministry itself which has dragged the questions of local government and sectarian antagonism into the arena, and so prevented due attention being given to matters more directly educational and therefore of more vital importance. It is deeply to be regretted that the latter have been so lightly handled, and have in fact been dismissed with hardly any notice at all. It is, to say the least, curious that the first step taken by those who are intent on promoting efficiency should be the abolition of the Boards whose work has earned for them so high a reputation in all parts of the country, and especially in those large towns where schools are most imperatively needed. The need for certain changes, such as the abolition of the cumulative vote, and possibly an entirely different system of administration for urban and rural districts, has long been felt by all who had a practical knowledge of the subject. But to abolish at one fell stroke public bodies which were rendering such invaluable service in a sphere where it was sorely needed was a piece of fatuous folly which seems to indicate that a minister who was impatient of the details of the legislation had probably been unduly influenced by some aspiring official who was too satisfied with his own judgment to be influenced by the experience of the last thirty years. So far from regretting that so much time has been spent in discussion of questions bearing on local government, I have a strong conviction that the work of the future will be materially hindered because they have been so summarily settled by a majority which has acted as though its business was to vote but not give reasons.

But it is with the Nonconformist opposition that I am chiefly concerned. It is no exaggeration to say that the Free Churches have seldom, if ever, been more united in opinion, more resolute in purpose, and, it must be added, more fiery in temper and expression than in their resistance to this measure. The *Spectator*, with more than ordinary unfairness, speaks of the 'untiring animosity to the Government Bill which has been shown by that section of the Nonconformists who were opposed to the Government policy in the late

var.' No suggestion could be much further from the truth. Pro-Boers have been, as they were sure to be, prominent among the critics of the measure, but not more so than Liberal Unionists who, throughout the Home Rule agitation and the South African war, have been steady supporters of the Ministry. There has been an all but universal uprising among all who can fairly be regarded as representing Nonconformity against a measure which is directly opposed, not so much to their sectarian interests, but to those great principles of religious equality without which there can be no true liberty.

It has been a great surprise as well as satisfaction to many of us to find that among the most pronounced of the opponents are men who belong to the Liberal Unionist camp. I listened recently with interest and some little amusement as well as amazement to the fervid denunciation of the measure by one of my brethren who had done his utmost to build up the power of the party which was seeking to inflict so cruel a wrong on him and his fellow-religionists. I could not follow him to the full extent of the resistance which he advocated, but I could quite understand the bitterness with which he resented the betrayal of the trust which he had reposed in statesmen who were using the votes which they had asked for against the Boers in order to crush himself and his fellow-Nonconformists.

But a second and more suggestive feature still is the fervour with which the younger Nonconformist ministers are throwing themselves into the crusade. For the first time we have a considerable Wesleyan contingent in the Free Church ranks, and these men, not Sir George Chubb, represent the spirit of young Methodism. I speak from direct personal knowledge when I say that the younger Congregationalists are more resolute than were numbers in 1870. I confess that personally I have been greatly struck with the new spirit which has been revealed by many of them. They have grown up in a different environment from their fathers, and the change is shown in their temperament. They are no longer content with toleration, or even with graceful concessions, when questions of right are at stake. Events have been helping them to realise their true position in our free Commonwealth. Those who reproach them for their strenuous advocacy of right, and regard them as rivals for the status and power at present belonging to the Establishment, fail to understand their position altogether. They have simply shaken off once and for ever the idea that they are asking a favour when they demand the ordinary rights of citizens. In my earlier days, there was a society 'for the protection of civil and religious liberty,' which in its very title indicated the limit which the Dissenting idealist had reached. The new generation has happily gone far beyond that. Its representatives feel the stimulus of the new blood of liberty which courses through their veins, and they refuse to acquiesce in the continuance of any State privilege to a particular Church.

By men of this temper and with these views the Education Bill is regarded as both an insult and an injury. They did not need Cardinal Vaughan to tell them that its passing would be the victory of the Government over the Nonconformists. For that was what had impressed itself upon them from the outset. It may or may not be true (I do not think it necessary to deny it) that their indignation has led them to exaggerate the evil which the Bill will do. But its real character seemed to them to be sufficiently indicated in the benedictions bestowed upon it from the first by bishops and clergy. If in this they are mistaken, the blame hardly rests upon them. They had the late Primate's all too candid admission that a few years ago—that is, of course, before disunion had paralysed the Liberal party, and the war had supplied an opportunity for playing on that patriotic sentiment which is common alike to Churchman and Dissenter—he would not have contemplated the possibility of the introduction of a measure so favourable to Voluntary Schools. The whole subsequent history of the Bill has simply confirmed this original impression. Most of all, the discussions in Committee of the House of Lords have only made it more manifest that its practical effect will be to relieve Churchmen from the support of schools which are Church institutions. Of course, a certain number who pride themselves on being educationalists, and sneer in the most approved style at the religious difficulty, have been caught by the specious professions of improvement in the machinery. But even these advantages have to some extent disappeared, largely in consequence of the difficulties arising from the determination to safeguard the denominational interests, at whatever cost to educational efficiency.

In face of such facts as these Nonconformists can hardly be reproached if they have been stirred to unusual earnestness. Nothing, perhaps, has surprised them more in the whole course of the discussion than the indignation expressed by Mr. Balfour at their ingratitude. If the Premier really intended to be their benefactor, he has succeeded with wonderful skill in hiding his benevolent intentions from them. There was no reason why they should not have been quick to appreciate any kindly sentiment on his part. I cannot individually profess any sympathy with the principles or policy of his Government. But certainly there was no reason why any of us should have judged him unfairly. In the Unionist ranks were a considerable number of Nonconformists who were not its least sturdy and valuable members. But among these are to be found some of his severest critics of to-day. There was every inducement to them to regard his propositions with favour. But the stern evidence of facts has forced even them into opposition which has been essentially distasteful. It would have been even more widespread and determined had not the presence of Mr. Chamberlain in the Government awakened the hope that the measure might be so modified as to

remove some Nonconformist objections. Mr. Balfour's strong deliverance on the Kenyon-Slaney amendment was almost the only sign of a desire to understand the real Nonconformist objection, and even that indicated a desire rather to correct the extravagances of extreme Anglicans than to meet the just demands of those outside the Church. Apart from that, it might reasonably have been thought, what Cardinal Vaughan certainly did think and what strongly impressed the Free Church deputation, that Nonconformists were the opponents whom the Prime Minister was determined to vanquish. But his own confession in parting with the Bill settles the point. 'It is a Bill' (he says) 'which does as much as any friend of the Church could possibly hope for denominational education.'

Mr. Balfour has, in fact, treated the whole matter too much as a party game. Certainly his conduct of the debate in Committee has been marked by great adroitness. But his has been the art of a skilful fencer rather than that of a man of intense convictions. Strange as it may seem to him, I, as a pronounced Nonconformist, understand the position of Lord Hugh Cecil a great deal better than his, and am quite prepared to believe that he on his side would do more justice to our Free Churches. It is, in truth, extremely difficult for those who are in the thick of the political fight to treat a question which has ranged the two parties in distinct opposition to each other from an independent standpoint. It must be confessed, too, that seldom has our party system appeared to more disadvantage than in the present heated controversy. Possibly this is partly the result of the appeals to 'the man in the street' which have been so frequent of late. I heard Dr. Parker once say from his pulpit in his own vivid style, 'Every washerwoman in Europe thinks that she could manage the war.' That is the kind of belief which we have been encouraging—a belief based on the extraordinary fallacy that the less a man knows of a subject the more likely is he to form a correct opinion upon it. But if 'the man in the street' is to be made into an arbiter, of course every effort will be put forth to influence his judgment. Possibly it is to this cause that the extreme bitterness which has been characteristic of the discussion out of doors is to be attributed.

Even Mr. Balfour himself has not escaped from the evil influence. 'Up to the present time, at least' (he said in his Manchester speech), 'the voice of the calumniator has been too long uncontradicted.' Assuredly such a style of argument will convince no one, and the louder the cheers with which a meeting of excited partisans greet it the more evil its influence. Is it not possible to differ from Mr. Balfour in opinion as to the effect of some provision in the measure and yet not to be a liar or a calumniator? This kind of attack necessarily invites a similar style of defence, and there is great danger



lest the controversy may become so passionate that the true issue may be forgotten.

One favourite objection against the opposition to the Bill is that it has been instigated mainly by 'political Dissenters.' If it were so it would not be a grievous fault. Why should it be counted for righteousness to Lord Hugh Cecil that he is a political Churchman, while Dr. Clifford is branded with reproach as a political Dissenter? Or why should archbishops and bishops, moving heaven and earth to secure privileges for their Church, be commended as defenders of the faith, while dissenting ministers are exposed to all kinds of opprobrium simply because they vindicate the rights of the Christian conscience? The intention, however, is to depreciate the strength of the agitation by representing it as manufactured, and therefore without any solid basis in the convictions of those who are apparently so zealous in its favour. If it were possible to take a poll of the Free Churches it would be abundantly manifest that a more egregious mistake had never been made. The great meetings which have been held in the metropolis and elsewhere speak for themselves, but even more significant are the memorable gatherings which have been held all over the country, and which, almost, without exception, have been as enthusiastic as they have been numerous. The feature in the movement which has attracted the largest amount of attention, and also provoked the keenest criticism, is the determination which has again and again found expression in resolutions enthusiastically carried to oppose the Bill, should it be passed, by the non-payment of rates. It would be easy to dismiss this as a mere piece of vapouring, but such a criticism is as worthless as it is cheap. Personally I am unconvinced by the arguments which have been adduced in favour of this passive resistance, but I have never failed to recognise the intense sincerity of those who take the opposite view. I think I share to the fullest extent the strong religious objection to the Bill by which the action is justified, although I cannot but regard it as indefensible and inexpedient.

To say the least, such a refusal is so closely akin to lawlessness that Nonconformists who have been nursed on entirely different traditions may well hesitate before adopting it. It is at once the privilege and the duty of citizens in a free State to secure the triumph of their principles by an appeal to the intelligence of the whole community. We are at present in a minority in Parliament. Our business is to convert that minority into a majority, and in order to this to demand that as soon as possible the country be consulted on the subject. It has been seriously argued that there is nothing left for us to do except to submit to restraint of our goods, and even to imprisonment, rather than pay a tax of which our consciences disapprove. But surely the work of converting a number of our fellow-countrymen, sufficient to reverse the

present decision in favour of the Bill, is work enough. There is a considerable variety of methods by which this may be done. We have been taunted by the new Chancellor of the Exchequer with our patience under the injustice of the last thirty years. It is for us to see to it that that reproach be addressed to us no more. We have been anxious for the success of one of the greatest of our public institutions, and so have been content to work on, all too quietly submitting to the wrong. In the future we must pursue a different policy. No opportunity must be omitted for bringing home to the minds of the people the injustice of the present system. Every Parliamentary, every Municipal, every County Council election should be made a platform for the inculcation of our principles. Parents should be more carefully instructed as to their rights under the Conscience Clause, and should be urged to insist upon them. Every deviation from the law, every abuse of power on the part of denominational managers, should be exposed not only in the Press but in Parliament. The agitation should never be allowed to sleep until this obnoxious measure has been expunged from the Statute Book.

In the meantime it seems to be the first duty of the hour carefully to survey the battle-field, and to estimate the actual gains and losses of the fight. In the heat of the battle there is a natural tendency to accentuate particular incidents which are afterwards seen to be of comparatively small importance. 'When the hurlyburly's done,' there is a possibility of a more dispassionate judgment. Some very strong assertions have been made as to the probable effect of the Bill on Nonconformists, especially in single-school districts. They have not been purposely exaggerated, but their authors seem to have had regard to the actual provisions of the Bill rather than to the probable results of its working. In other words, there are forces at work in English society, even in those circles which might seem to be most exempt from their influence, which will distinctly check, if they do not altogether correct, the clerical *animus*. Mr. Balfour himself practically recognised this when he gave such forcible expression to his views of the mischief wrought by clerical autocrats. The absence of any strong sympathy also on the part of the leading laity of the Church is a very significant fact. It is not too much to say that the large majority of Church laymen are opposed to extreme clerical pretensions, and the best of them have from the first looked askance at the Ministerial policy. The unmistakable indications of the lack of confidence in the laity on the part of the clergy are another indication of this fact. There is an inherent sense of fairness in the English mind which rebels against the grasping spirit which has been manifested by the clerical party, and the wrong which will be done to all other sections of the community. It will surely be the part of sound policy for Nonconformists to appeal to this feeling, and by their own moderation, and subordination of any sectarian feeling to great

national interests, to win the sympathy of that large class which is not absolutely dominated by party sentiment.

The crucial question, perhaps, is whether the present Bill is a measure of progress or reaction. A good deal may be said in support of the latter view. Indeed, those who have read the speeches in Convocation, and still more those who have studied the conduct of the Bishops in the House of Lords, would find it hard to arrive at any other conclusion. It was doubtless intended to be a distinct move on behalf of clerical influence in education, and than this nothing need be more reactionary. And, so far as the mere letter of the law is concerned, it has succeeded. The Voluntary Schools have apparently secured a new lease of life, and have made a financial bargain which must be eminently satisfactory to their managers. But that is really the utmost which the clergy have secured. They have haggled over terms like a lot of Jew brokers. But if they suppose that they have strengthened the influence of the Church in the country by this wretched bargaining, they are labouring under a fatal delusion. The mode in which Mr. Balfour has conducted the financial clauses, so as practically to prevent them coming under Parliamentary discussion at all, has not helped to recommend the policy to the country. The effect upon the popular mind will be even worse when it comes to be understood that but for the doles to the Church the country need not have been afflicted with a new corn-tax. On the whole the clerical party may find that even their monetary advantages have been gained at too high a price.

But the financial gain is really all that they have secured. In securing it they have roused the passionate indignation of those who are jealous of the great constitutional principle that taxation and representation should always go together. They have succeeded by means of a pliant majority in warding off that complete popular control which they so much dread. But it may be safely predicted that even that which has been conceded will materially alter the character of the schools, which will no longer be the schools of the parson, to be used simply as an appendage to the church, with its teachers as the humble instruments of the rector. In writing thus I do not underrate the gross injustice which is at the root of the entire arrangement. The forcing of thousands of Nonconformist children into schools where, as we have been told, a Church atmosphere is to be maintained, and the exclusion of those who are not members of the Anglican Church from the higher grade of the teachers in these schools, are such grave wrongs that our only surprise is that men of high character and standing should be content to inflict them upon those whom they regard as brethren in Christ. But, while feeling this, I have the further conviction that in the long run they will inflict the greatest injury on those who hope to profit by them.

For these and other reasons, I cannot take an alarmist view of the present situation, or approve of any counsels of despair. The Bill which certainly was not intended to bless may yet be a landmark in the advance to a system of national education which shall have a promise of permanency because of its thorough equity. If Nonconformists are led to trust more to themselves and less to any political party—or, to put it more plainly and emphatically, if they come to learn that they are the centre of the Liberal party, and are not to have their claims postponed to the Greek kalends—it will be a distinct advantage. The question of Disestablishment has been raised by the bishops and Convocation, and raised in such a form that it should not be allowed to sleep again. The discussion itself has abundantly shown that the real difficulty of the education question is the claim to sectarian ascendancy. Many of the highest-minded of the clergy themselves have seen that the only effectual remedy is to separate the religious from the secular element in instruction, and confine the work of the State to the latter entirely. Despite the discouraging appearances of the moment, it may yet prove that this Bill has helped on to this equitable settlement.

It is not to be denied that the proceedings in the last stage of the Bill have served to embitter feeling and to make it more difficult to secure a favourable hearing for any counsels of moderation. Unfortunately, the Bishops have shown an absolute inability to understand the Nonconformist case. The appeal of the venerable Primate, which the infirmities of age prevented him from delivering himself, and which was conveyed to the House through the Bishop of Winchester, to which the sequel has given such pathetic and melancholy interest, was touching and might have produced some effect had it been accompanied with anything in the form of a real attempt on the part of his episcopal colleagues to understand the actual relation of the Established Church and the Dissenting Churches outside. But the only prelate on the Bench who gave indication of an honest endeavour to meet Nonconformist difficulties was the Bishop of Hereford. Two or three Bishops of his type, with a corresponding number of like-minded Dissenters, might have found a *modus vivendi*. But alas! Dr. Percival stood alone in his broad Christian sympathy, his chivalrous courage, his practical sagacity. We had, indeed, during the earlier stages of the measure, various hints from time to time of a compromise. They were at no time very promising, for the episcopal notions of a compromise were too much like the cry of ‘hands up’ with which we became so familiar during the late war. But lately even these have died away, and the Bishops have simply pushed the claims of their Church with unblushing effrontery.

The last scene was the worst of all—the most unworthy of any religious party—the most wanton sacrifice of dignity and character for the smallest advantage. It is hard to say whether the Bishop of

Manchester, the Duke of Norfolk, or the Prime Minister played the most undignified part in this sordid transaction. If Mr. Balfour were wise he would lay to heart the manly protest of Colonel Pilkington. That gentleman has surprised many of his Nonconformist friends, among whom I reckon myself, by the staunch support he has given to the Government on this Bill. But the trickery by which the last morsel was to be secured for the denominational schools was too much for this high-minded Christian Englishman, trained in Puritan traditions. His words ought to have served as a warning. It must have been hard for him to speak them, but, like the wise and manly utterances of the Bishop of Hereford in the other House, they indicated a point of danger to which, were they wise, Bishops and statesmen alike would give heed.

The incident has its own lessons for Nonconformist opponents. The member for Newton has an exceptional position, for there are not many who are at once so faithful to Nonconformity and so loyal to the Unionist party. Of course this might incline him to independent action in relation to a question so difficult for him as Education. But in another sense he is representative of a class which is more numerous than is generally supposed, the strong body of politicians who are not violent partisans and who incline to one side or the other, according to their judgment as to the trend of policy at the time. What Nonconformists have to do at present is to secure so far as it is possible, without any compromise of principle, the sympathy of this class. They have a distinct hold upon it now, for, despite Erastian vapourings, there is a growing feeling in opposition to any interference of the State in matters of religious belief. In asserting that the people should control all schools which they support, and that the educational profession should be kept as free of religious tests as other departments of the Civil Service, the Nonconformists have the sympathy of the class to which I refer. They have to beware lest it be lost by any unwisdom on their part.

To those who feel bound by loyalty to conscience to refuse payment of the education rate there is nothing to be said. But this is surely a matter for the individual. As soon as there is an attempt to organise resistance it passes into an entirely different category, and becomes a matter of political tactics. As to the leadings of a man's own conscience an outsider is no judge. To his own master he stands or falls. But a matter of policy presents fair subject for general discussion. To me it appears that one result of such an attempt would be to alienate a large amount of the very sympathy we need and which would be invaluable in the struggle before us.

Nonconformists do well to be angry, and it may be that the longer they muse the more fiercely the fire may burn. But anger is not a safe counsellor. What we have to do is to consider how best

to utilise the new conditions. We may make the new authorities as favourable as the School Boards have generally been. For be it remembered that even School Boards were not regarded in the same light by us in 1870 as we view them to-day. In educating others their members were educated into more liberal views themselves. The same will occur again when in the rural districts the school is no longer the peculium of the parson. The Kenyon-Slaney clause, however administered, has delivered us from that. For the present the higher offices in thousands of schools are closed against all but members of the favoured sect. But the grievance has been exposed, and that is the first step towards removal. Further the teacher has now become the servant of the State, and it is simply impossible that after sweeping away tests to so large an extent in the universities they should be retained in day schools. For my own part I feel as Mr. Gladstone did when in the peroration of one of his most memorable speeches he roused the spirits of his followers to enthusiasm by asserting that the flowing tide is with us.

It is for Nonconformists to address themselves to their work in this temper. For the moment the currents may be against us, but there have been signs of change already, and it does not need a blind optimism to justify the expectation that soon a true Liberalism will be on the crest of the wave. On Nonconformists must fall much of the responsibility for bringing about the change they so earnestly desire. It is to be accomplished not by passionate protest or sullen obstruction, but by an honest determination to take advantage of every opportunity which the new system affords, and so to accelerate a more equitable settlement. The difficulty will be to preserve in the midst of the unfortunate struggle a spirit of Christian charity.

Looked at in the interests of true religion, which is a different thing from churchmanship in whatever Church, the present controversy is melancholy in the last degree. I do not believe that any Church can possibly be a gainer by securing control over the teaching in the public schools. But religion itself must certainly suffer from the keen antagonism which the attempt to secure this ascendancy for the Anglican Church has called forth. Oh, the pity of it! The better relations which were growing up between Churchmen and Dissenters have been rudely interrupted. A work which ought to have called forth the common zeal of all Churches has led to angry strife. The real interests of a great national as well as religious work have been retarded; and all for what? The storm itself would be sufficiently discouraging were it not that it is continually out of these conflicts of opinion that the most enduring benefits are evolved. May it be so in the present case!

J. GUINNESS ROGERS.

### THE RIPON EPISODE

NOTHING could be more surprising than the surprise and horror expressed by many churchmen and laymen, and by the press generally, at some reported utterances of the Dean of Ripon at a meeting of the Churchmen's Union on the 29th of October, regarding the birth of Christ from a Virgin, the Ascension, and the Resurrection. They were described as blasphemous, and the keenest indignation was expressed against a dignitary of the Church who could avow such opinions and still continue in his sacred office and recite the creeds. The sudden outburst seems extraordinary when we consider that, for years, a system of criticism has been proceeding almost unnoticed amongst us, which has rendered the expression of new and startling views of ancient dogmas quite familiar to ordinary readers of current literature. The mass of men, however, betray an ignorance or indifference regarding religion which they do not exhibit in the affairs of daily life. The 'higher criticism' has revolutionised former ideas regarding the books of the Old Testament, and undermined the foundations of the New, without exciting either surprise or alarm, until some passing expressions of a Dean attract unexpected attention. The crackle of a squib in a respectable and somnolent quarter might similarly appear to the neighbourhood the explosion of a dynamite bomb by a party of Nihilists. It must be admitted, however, that to anyone unacquainted with the critical work of our time, the utterances in question may well have appeared startling, and it may be very interesting to set them clearly forth, and consider some remarkable circumstances immediately connected with them in the Church in England.

The following is the report which appeared in the *Times* of the expressions with which we have more especially to do:

The fault of those who had written on natural religion was that they had assumed a contrast between this and revealed religion. The Bible was in the fullest sense human and natural. The Bible culminated in Christ, and Christ had been viewed in past times in an unnatural light. Disputes had made Christ's life unreal to us, and it seemed to him that we were hampered still by the wrong processes of the past. Taking the moral supremacy of Christ for granted, they were met on the threshold of two Gospels by what seemed a prodigy—the birth of Christ from a Virgin. His own belief was that they might safely leave that out of account and treat it in exactly the same way as the words 'descended into Hell' were treated. Outside the first two chapters of St. Matthew and the first

two chapters of St. Luke, the Virgin-birth was absolutely non-existent in the New Testament. The natural inference was that it was unknown to the writers of the New Testament, except to those who penned those four chapters. And might it not be that they arose from a misunderstanding? As to the miracles, was it irreverent to believe that Our Lord Himself could not have made a distinction between what modern science would recognise as death and the many forms of swooning, syncope, or hysteria, which sometimes deceived the wisest in modern times, and that when He bade His disciples to heal the sick and raise the dead, He was speaking of a process very different from that which would be accepted in these scientific days as the raising of an actual dead body to life? But many of the so-called miracles, such as demoniacal possession and its cure, were quite natural, although he admitted that if some of the references in the Gospels were taken literally they were contrary to nature as we knew it. He instanced the turning of water into wine, walking on the sea, and stilling the wind. He had never been able to think of the Resurrection as a violation of natural law. The preaching of the Resurrection in later times was that of a spiritual existence, a spiritual body. The accounts all said that He was invisible save to the eye of Faith. It might be said that when they spoke of a spiritual existence they were going into the region of the supernatural, but that was not so.

After the discussion of this address had proceeded for some time in the newspapers the reporter of the *Times* stated that he had not been allowed to see the Dean of Ripon's MS., as the Dean said that 'he did not wish it published,' but he affirmed that the report of the address which appeared in the *Times* of the 31st of October, and of which the above is a copy, 'was, at his request submitted to and approved by Dr. Fremantle at the conclusion of the lecture, and that no alteration of any kind was made after he had seen it.' Of this he advances evidence of various kinds.

The Dean of Ripon, however, considered that he was misrepresented by the reporter, and in answer to many inquiries on the subject he sent a statement to the *Ripon Gazette*, of which the following extract more immediately bearing on the points in question may be read with interest :

That there are difficulties in some matters connected with the manifestation of God in Christ it would be untruthful not to admit, especially in those of the Virgin-birth, in some of the 'wonderful works,' and in the Resurrection. But in the first of these, though the facts (1) that it is never mentioned in the New Testament except in the first two chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and (2) that it was not part of the creed of Nicæa, make it of less authority (as in the parallel case of the words 'Descended into Hell'), yet the accounts might be understood without any violation of biological law. The incarnation and divinity of our Saviour stand on the firm ground of what He did and thought, and what He has been to mankind. As to the last point, that of the Resurrection, the views of Bishop Horsley, of Dean Goulburn, and of Bishop Westcott, which have so often been urged by Canon MacColl, as well as by myself in Ripon Cathedral and elsewhere, were followed, namely, that the Resurrection was not a return to the mortal conditions of this life, but a manifestation of the spiritual state and the 'spiritual body.' As to the 'mighty works' of our Lord, in some cases we could see them to be instances of the power of a Majestic Presence and Personality over weakened and hysterical frames; and possibly other cases might be similarly accounted for. But since in all things, even the commonest, there is an element



of the unknown, we must expect that this would be the case still more in the works of Christ Himself. If we could know everything, no doubt all would appear quite natural according to the higher conception of nature, for which the writer is contending. This is brought out in the late Duke of Argyll's great work, *The Reign of Law*.

Before proceeding to make any remarks on these statements, it may be well to complete the history of this episode. The Bishop of Ripon addressed the following letter to the Dean, which may at once be given with the Dean's reply.

The Palace, Ripon,  
November 22nd, 1902.

MY DEAR DEAN,—You will not be surprised that I write to you respecting the paper which you read in London, and on the condensed reports of which many comments have appeared. Some of these, and the inferences drawn from your words, challenge the sincerity of your position as a clergyman of the Church of England.

I can understand that you may find it difficult and even repugnant to you to defend yourself against charges of personal insincerity. To be asked to affirm the sincerity of your belief in the creeds which you constantly recite in the Church looks like an impeachment of your honour; and, under ordinary circumstances, it may be said that a man casts a slur upon his honour by attempting to affirm it.

If the present matter were only one in which irresponsible individuals, or irresponsible societies, concerned themselves, I should readily recognise your right to be silent; but when you realise that there are many devout and simple-hearted people who are perplexed and uneasy, I am persuaded that you will not hesitate to reassure them that, whatever words or phrases you may have used, your own faith in the simple statements of the creeds of our Church is clear, firm and loyal.

Knowing you as I do, remembering how earnestly you have preached Christ to men, and recalling your triumphant voice in reciting the Creed, I am confident that you would not retain your position for an hour if the declaration of faith made in public worship were contradicted by your own convictions. I hope, therefore, that you will have no difficulty in giving these assurances which your friends and many hearts are looking for with anxiety.

Ever yours truly,  
W. B. RYAN.

To the Hon. and Very Rev. the Dean of Ripon.

The Deanery, Ripon,  
November 23rd, 1902.

MY DEAR LORD,—Since you write to me in the name of the simple-hearted and devout, I readily break through my rule of silence on such an occasion as that which has arisen, and give to them, through you, the assurance you ask for.

It seems a strange thing to be supposed to be doubtful about the truths on which I live from day to day, and without which the world would be unmeaning to me. But I gladly give to those whom you represent the assurance that I repeat the Creeds (as you say) in a triumphant voice; because they enable me to express daily Christ as God manifest in the flesh, and that I have no other object in life but to take Him into my inmost being, to preach Him as the Saviour of mankind, and to make Him supreme over every part of human life.

I shall be truly glad if these few words can have the reassuring effect which you kindly think they may have.

Believe me,  
Ever yours sincerely,  
W. H. FREMANTLE.

To the Lord Bishop of Ripon.

This may seem to close the whole controversy, and the statements which have aroused so much horror appear to vanish in a halo of pious sentiment. The Bishop's gentle request for an explanation of expressions, the inferences from which 'challenge the sincerity of the Dean's position as a clergyman of the Church of England,' and the Dean's surprise and pain at being supposed to be doubtful about the truths on which he lives from day to day, and without which the world would be unmeaning to him, bring the episode to a worthy conclusion. In reality, however, the interest of the position only commences, and I propose to consider how far the points raised by Dr. Fremantle are personal to himself, whether they are not openly expressed by others in the Church of England, and whether in their spiritualised form they fairly represent the views of the Church of England as set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles, to which, as I understand, all clergymen are bound to subscribe.

By a remarkable coincidence we are furnished with a singular opportunity of illustrating all these points through the declarations of the Bishop of Ripon himself. The Bishop has quite recently published a most able and interesting *Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures*, written specially 'for those who are troubled and perplexed' by the results of modern criticism, which has appeared as Introduction to 'The Temple Bible,' and which specially deals with 'the distinction between historical accuracy and spiritual truths' in the Bible. It is written with all the charm of style and brilliancy of imagination which characterise Dr. Carpenter, and although here only brief illustrations can be given, the whole composition will well repay close attention by all who are interested in the religious controversy of the present day.

It may be well at once to turn to the special points raised in this attack on the Dean of Ripon, but I may first mention that the Bishop is not afraid of, and does not condemn, the higher criticism which has so seriously busied itself with the books of the Old and New Testament, the value and necessity of which he very frankly acknowledges. Speaking more especially of the New Testament Dr. Carpenter says:

Every book has to give account of itself; its claim to originality, if such a claim exists, must be investigated; its value as a witness or evidence of contemporary events must be estimated; its relationship to other books or narratives must be understood.<sup>1</sup>

In order to explain the statements with which we are more particularly concerned here, it is necessary to state more in detail the manner in which the four Gospels are treated.

The Gospel of St. John obviously stands alone, while the three other gospels are closely and intimately related to one another. These, then, called the Synoptic Gospels, give rise to the Synoptic question.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 125.

<sup>2</sup> P. 127 f.

Taking the first three Gospels, he points out that there are certain portions which are common to all three, others which are common to two Gospels and lacking in the remaining Gospel, and lastly each Gospel has a portion peculiar to itself. 'The portions common to all three Gospels he proposes to call the 'Common stock,' and he decides that the nearest sources of information about Jesus Christ are to be found in this common stock Gospel.

Whatever is found here, belongs to the earliest period, and being common stock, it belongs in all probability to the period before editing was thought of.<sup>3</sup>

He naturally sets a high value on what is found in this 'common stock,' as a

highly valuable historical contribution, if not absolutely contemporary, at least so nearly contemporary that it may be regarded as a narrative of facts practically accepted among those who were well acquainted with the story.<sup>4</sup> . . . In it we have what we may call, without disparagement to the veracity of any additions found in the several Gospels, the most valuable and authentic recital of the story of Jesus Christ.<sup>5</sup>

Now, after stating these preliminary considerations, which are essential to a right understanding of what follows, we come to the point immediately interesting in connection with the utterances of the Dean of Ripon, which called forth the courteous letter of the Bishop:

Now, in the common stock gospel, the miraculous accessories connected with the birth and resurrection of Jesus do not find a place. These accessories are found in the group of secondary witnesses, *i.e.* in narrative common to two evangelists. Upon these, in the first instance, we have purposely refused to lay stress. Our belief in Jesus Christ must be based upon moral conviction, not upon physical wonder. The argument that He was wonderfully born and miraculously raised, and that therefore He was of God, does not evoke, at any rate to-day, an adequate and satisfactory response; even if it could be considered valid, it would not create a worthy or an acceptable faith. We must invert the process. The weight of the argument, then, hangs upon the moral splendour of Jesus Christ; it is because He interprets as so completely to ourselves that we recognise the God in Him, and recognising this, the physical marvels at the opening and close of His career do not appear incongruous.<sup>6</sup>

The language of the Diocese of Ripon is very uniform, for it is difficult to distinguish between the statements of the Bishop and those of the Dean, which Dr. Carpenter in his letter requests the latter to explain. 'When we thus reverse the method of the earlier apologists we are reverting to the method of Christ Himself.' Dr. Carpenter resumes:

He sighed over those who asked miracles as a means of faith: He declared that He would enter the souls of men only in a legitimate fashion; He would appeal to them by that which they could immediately appreciate and understand. . . . 'An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign.'<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> P. 128.<sup>4</sup> P. 129.<sup>5</sup> P. 130.<sup>6</sup> P. 131 f.<sup>7</sup> P. 132 f.

• The Bishop does not suggest, as so many others have done, that the statement of the Virgin-birth in the first Synoptic arises from a quotation of the Septuagint translation of Isaiah vii. 14, which erroneously renders the Hebrew word for a young woman by *παρθένος*, 'Virgin,' the prophet whom he quotes having only said that a young woman, perhaps his own wife, is with child, and will bring forth a son whose birth will be a 'sign' to Ahaz, whilst 'Matthew' (i. 23) quotes it as proof of his doctrine of the miraculous conception of Mary, showing that a mistaken 'prophetic gnosis' is responsible for the dogma.<sup>8</sup> Nor does he refer to the astronomical-Myth theory of others, which represents the birth of the Sun-God at the winter solstice, about Christmas, when the constellation Virgo rises above the horizon. Neither is it within the scope of his work to treat of what has been called 'the moral preparation for Christ' among the Greeks and other races.

Deification for them was an easy process, so easy that their demigods could not be redeemers. And yet their legends of Heracles, the son of the father of the gods and a human mother, who when on earth went about righting wrongs, and after labouring and suffering for mankind ascended to heaven from the pyre on Oeta; and of Prometheus, who was crucified for revealing to mankind the arts and sciences which dignify and bless their lives, suggest a parallel which is too obvious to need exposition. Parenthetically, we may add that other mythologies have adumbrated the same truths. In India the Brahmins could point to the various *avatars* of Vishnu, in which they beheld not mere theophanies, 'but the presence, at once mystical and real, of the Supreme Being in a human individual, who is at one and the same time true God and true man; and this intimate union of the two natures is represented as continuing after the death of the individual in whom it took place.'<sup>9</sup> The Persians also looked for a coming Saviour, who was to be born of a virgin mother, conceived by the holy spirit of Zarathustra three thousand years after the revelation of that prophet. So deeply rooted in the human breast is the instinct that none can bring to man the salvation which he needs, except one who is both God and man.<sup>10</sup>

• Leaving altogether for a moment the Introduction to the 'Temple Bible,' it may be well to glance further into the able and most interesting work just quoted and recently published, *Contentio Veritatis*, which consists of lectures delivered by six Oxford tutors, all of them clergymen of the Church of England, which well deserves serious attention. The second lecture, just quoted, is by the Rev. W. R. Inge, M.A., Fellow, Tutor, and Chaplain of Hertford College, formerly Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Bampton Lecturer, upon 'The Person of Christ.' It is a remarkably able and eloquent discourse, and nothing can exceed the fairness and candour of his treatment of the arguments—qualities, I must say, which equally characterise the whole of the six lectures, the only difficulty of adequately representing his views within the limits of this article

<sup>8</sup> This, however, is referred to in the work *Contentio Veritatis*, p. 218.

<sup>9</sup> Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 170.

<sup>10</sup> *Contentio Veritatis*, by Six Oxford Tutors, p. 66 f.

being that the fundamental facts are surrounded and transformed by such a halo of mystic transfiguration, that it is almost impossible within reasonable bounds of quotation fairly to represent the views of the school to which he belongs.

Religion [Mr. Inge says], when it confines itself strictly to its own province never speaks in the past tense. It is concerned only with what is, not with what was. History as history is not its business. . . . Events or aspects of events, which relate *only* to the past, may be left to historians. . . . Errors in history or errors in science, do not save or damn. Errors in religion are always due to what Plato calls 'the lie in the soul,' but a man may believe in 'Brute the Trojan,' or in the philosopher's stone, without being a knave. Religion is a very practical matter—its object, as an intellectual faculty, is to see things as they are, not to discover how they came to be. This is not said to disparage the past, or to suggest that it is unimportant. . . . When the theologian puts historical propositions into his creed, he does so because he is convinced that there are important truths, in the spiritual order, which are dependent on, or inseparable from, those events in the past.

Now these introductory words, which seem to be a spiritual preparation for what is immediately to follow, require to be borne in mind, as Mr. Inge at once proceeds to say :

Let us then (to return to the particular topic which we are now considering) ask ourselves, What is the truth, *in the spiritual order*,<sup>11</sup> which it is intended to protect by the doctrines of the Virgin-birth, Resurrection and Ascension? The answer is plain : it is the identification of the man Christ Jesus with the word of God. The Church held, and still holds, that this identification is of vital importance, *the articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesie*. In other words, the Church holds that the redemption of humanity, by taking it up into the Divine Life, had, as its necessary counterpart—its symbol or sacrament in the visible order—the Incarnation of the Word of God in the Person of Jesus of Nazareth. We shall, therefore, reach the centre of our subject if we consider : (1) Is this identification certain? (2) Is it still an integral part of the Christian religion? and (3) Does the doctrine of the divinity of the man Christ Jesus conflict with generally accepted conclusions of philosophy and science, and in particular with the theory or doctrine of evolution?<sup>12</sup>

I may at once mention that, in the succeeding discussion of these questions, there is no further elucidation of the Virgin-birth, and no examination of the physical miracles of the Resurrection and Ascension. The whole treatment of the subject turns upon spiritual considerations, although I must again repeat that nothing could be more fair than Mr. Inge's recognition of the difficulties which stand in the way of proving his conclusions. In regard to the (1) point Mr. Inge says :

The historical fact of a supremely important religious movement in the first century A.D. is not disputed, nor can it be denied that the first Christians believed that it had its source in Christ. But is it certain that the Christ of the Church is not merely an idealised figure, to whom was attributed (in perfectly good faith) all that the religious consciousness of the age found to be most worthy of a Divine Being? The scepticism with which the story of the Incarnation is often regarded

<sup>11</sup> The italics are mine.

<sup>12</sup> *Contentio Veritatis*, p. 90 f.

by thoughtful people, must not be condemned as a perverse refusal to accept a narrative which is usually well attested, still less as a judicial blindness. In almost all other cases the historian is able to test his materials by some external criticism of probability. . . . But in the case of the Incarnation we have nothing with which to compare it; the only external criterion to which we can appeal is the judgment of the Christian Church as to what it 'behoved' the Son of God to do and suffer; and this is a matter on which human beings cannot speak with authority, and are not likely to agree.<sup>13</sup>

After stating some objections which may be made to the Incarnation, and in modified naturalistic explanation of the doctrine connected with it, Mr. Inge continues:

It is from no wish to ask a hearing for unprofitable speculations that I think it right to say that theories of this kind cannot be disproved with the completeness which all Christians would desire. In dealing with past events we must be content with something less than certainty. The whole history is beyond all question honeycombed with false statements which must go for ever uncorrected; even the simplest event or conversation is seldom described with any approach to accuracy by those who have seen or heard it a few minutes before. It is, therefore, barely honest to assert, as some have done, that, on the historical evidence only, either the discourses of Christ, or His miracles, or His resurrection on the third day after His crucifixion, are absolutely certain. The evidence may be as good as possible; it is not possible for it to be good enough to justify such a statement as this.<sup>14</sup>

Mr. Inge concludes his discussion of the various points by asserting 'that belief in the "Divinity" of the Historical Christ is still an essential part of Christianity,' but the physical features of the Virgin-birth, Resurrection and Ascension are as evidently left aside as they are by the Bishop of Ripon. His spiritual position may be simply illustrated by some of his concluding remarks:

This discussion may seem unsatisfactory, both in its method and conclusion, to those who have been accustomed to find the 'proofs' of Christianity in the historical evidence for the Resurrection of Christ, and in the miracles which He is recorded to have wrought while on earth. This mode of apologetics was very popular in the last century, and was elaborated with great skill by divines whose names are still famous. But it was not an accident that it flourished most at the period when religion was at its very lowest ebb in England. I do not wish to associate myself with the contempt which has been cast upon the 'Old Bailey theology' of Paley and his school, but I do wish to impress upon my readers, with all the earnestness that I can, that it is a false method, and that those who rely upon it are trusting to a broken reed, which will pierce their hands as soon as they really lean upon it. The majority of Christians to-day do *not* really lean upon it, whatever they may think; they are Christians, because they have found Christ, or rather because Christ has found them, not because they have given the Apostles a fair trial on the charge of perjury and acquitted them. The Christ whose claims are made 'probable' by such arguments is a dead Christ, who could only preside over a dead church.<sup>15</sup>

It is scarcely necessary to point out that in all the writers with whom we are dealing, not only is no endeavour made to produce definite evidence of the Virgin-birth, Resurrection and Ascension,

<sup>13</sup> *Contentio Veritatis*, p. 91 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Ib.* p. 93.

<sup>15</sup> *Ib.* p. 103

but it is either directly or indirectly admitted that no adequate proof can be given. At the same time, after allowing the solid basis of the doctrines to crumble away, it is curious how confidently a spiritualised semblance of them is made to replace the vanished substance. There seems to be no recognition of a difference of validity between the solid rock upon which the belief was once held to be built, and the shifting sand upon which the mystic interpretation is supposed to be solidly erected. Take, for instance, the clear terms in which the Fourth Article of Religion, to which it has been generally understood that clergymen subscribe on entering the Church of England, states the doctrine of the Resurrection and Ascension, and compare them with the unseizable definitions now expressed. 'Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again His body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of Man's nature; wherewith He ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth, until He return to judge all men at the last day.' Not only have we no approach to this clear definition of the doctrine in question, but on the contrary a distinct abandonment of it, and systematic avoidance of details in dealing with the subject. This is quoted, not with the view of condemnation, but solely for the purpose of definitely understanding the change which has taken place in regard to these dogmas. That such a change has been made in the views of a large proportion of the most able and cultivated men in the Church and out of it cannot be doubted or concealed, and it is most desirable that the change should be recognised.

In the absence of satisfactory evidence, it would appear that modern views of Christianity are supposed to be justified by some theory of Inspiration and Revelation, apart from the definite statements in the New Testament, and it may be well to inquire how these are explained. In his Introduction to the 'Temple Bible,' the Bishop of Ripon deals with this subject in a very attractive manner. Dr. Carpenter naturally commences by the questions:

What is Inspiration, that we may be ready to recognise its features? What is Revelation, that we may be prepared to receive it when it comes?<sup>16</sup>

I am afraid that most of us will agree with the answer which the Bishop himself immediately returns:

Even in the answer that I give to these questions I am afraid that the reader will be disappointed, for I confess that I know no satisfactory definition either for Inspiration or Revelation.<sup>17</sup>

Nothing could be more frank and intelligent than his whole discussion of the subject. He shows how impossible it is to define what we mean by the inspiration of the poet or the painter, and the parallel difficulty exists everywhere in the Scriptures.

Is it any surprise, then [he inquires], to be told that definition of Bible inspiration is not to be expected, and ought not to be insisted on? <sup>18</sup>

• All that he can say is :

It is like genius. We know it when we see it, but we cannot define it.

Parts of the Bible do not carry out the note of inspiration, whilst others do :

It will then be asked how do we discriminate between the inspiration of the Bible and the inspiration of the great works of human genius? What marks the difference between the inspiration of St. John and that of Shakespeare? Is not the inspiration of the Bible separate and unique? or are we to view it as belonging to the same family and lineage as that of the recognised masterpieces of literature and art? The answer seems to me simple enough. In one sense we can recognise no difference; in another sense we must recognise a deep and real difference.

Without further quotation the Bishop's answer to the question may be given in his sentence :

It is in the persistently Godward direction of the Bible that we note the characteristic of its inspiration. <sup>19</sup>

And he considers that the witness to his view of Bible inspiration is to be found in the history of the religious consciousness of Christendom. <sup>20</sup>

It is evidently not necessary to go more fully into this discussion, for such inspiration is merely an emotional question and cannot justify the mystic views which we are considering.

• We may now proceed to quote the Bishop of Ripon's views on Revelation.

Another word often used in connection with the Bible [he says] is the word Revelation. So strongly has the idea of revelation been associated with the Bible that the word Revelation has been used as synonymous with the Bible. The Bible is the 'Revelation,' or it is the 'Revealed Word.' Can we define Revelation? \*

To anyone who has read the Bishop's references to and acceptance of the results of the 'higher criticism' on the Bible, this introduction to the discussion of Revelation is especially curious and significant, and his development of the idea becomes doubly interesting.

Before we answer this [he continues] let us clear away a confusion. Revelation and Inspiration have been treated as convertible terms. This is a confusion. There may be inspiration without revelation; and there may be revelation without inspiration. On the other hand, inspiration may lead to revelation, and revelation is often impossible without it. But nevertheless it is of moment to remember that they are not the same thing. Inspiration is the breath of life in a work or a man. Revelation is the unveiling of a truth or principle which clears or enlarges our thoughts. We know more through revelation; we feel more through inspiration. <sup>21</sup>

These definitions may be unexpected and surprising, but there

<sup>18</sup> P. 87.

<sup>19</sup> P. 91 f.

<sup>20</sup> P. 93.

<sup>21</sup> P. 96.

<sup>22</sup> P. 96.



must be an increase of surprise as we proceed to hear the Bishop's exposition how 'Revelation is unveiling of truth.'

What, then, is revelation? [he asks] Shall we be wrong in saying that the addition of any truth or principle which enlarges our range of knowledge is a revelation? The truth unknown before is unveiled and thus becomes a revelation to us. Further, it is to be remembered that the word revelation implies that the truth or fact unveiled existed before it was made known. The discoveries of science unveil to us laws which have been at work for all the ages. Revelation is not the invention of a new truth, but the uncovering of an old one. As clouds melt and disclose the sun, so does knowledge banish ignorance and show us things as they are.<sup>23</sup>

This homely aspect of Revelation, so different from what might have been expected, considering the lofty view hitherto given of it, becomes somewhat astonishing when we find it illustrated by its application to scientific progress and exemplified by the Bishop in the following instances of Revelation:

How readily we have accepted the laws of motion, for instance! How difficult it is for us to take in the clumsy Ptolemaic theories! The burst of surprise once over, the new truth or law takes its place among things which are quite natural, as we say. We find ourselves able to test and apply them.<sup>24</sup>

It is a splendid instance of the progress of religious thought when we find a Bishop, in his anxiety to express the character of Revelation, referring to the 'clumsy Ptolemaic theories' which the Church, believing them to be in exact agreement with Biblical statements, thrust down the throat of poor Galileo, and forced him to swear that the earth was the centre of the universe and stood still. The world generally has not considered this episode as strong evidence for the Revelation theory as applied to the Old Testament and the Church. 'The thing once revealed seems so obvious,' the Bishop says, but it does not render the truth of Revelation much more obvious to the ordinary mind.

But we must hear his final explanation of his view of Revelation in the Bible:

If we keep this thought in view, we shall be able to estimate the importance of the revelation contained in the Bible. I say contained in the Bible; for the Bible is like a mine: the gold is found in an environment of nature; sometimes it may be sifted out easily as over a running stream: at other times we must dig as for hid treasure, or even only reach the gold after a long and hard crushing process. . . . In other words, the revelation is given to us in different degrees and under different conditions. This is surely the true view of Revelation; it is, if we follow the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the scriptural view of Revelation; the Revelation was given 'by divers portions and in divers manners.' Other notions of Revelation than this have been current, but it seems to me both wise and reverent to accept the just and well-considered description which we are given by this writer. It affirms a truth which is simple and can be easily verified—it avoids foolish and exaggerated literalism: it leads to a clear and intelligible climax, the Revelation in a Person. The Revelation, then, came in bits and in various ways.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Introduction to Temple Bible*, p. 97.

<sup>24</sup> *Ib.* p. 97.

<sup>25</sup> *Ib.* p. 98 f.

The 'clear and intelligible climax' to which such Revelation leads is, I think, very different from that which the Bishop desires and supposes, but here I have only to point out that these theories of Inspiration and Revelation in no way help us in considering the statements regarding the Virgin-birth, Resurrection and Ascension.

If we turn to *Contentio Veritatis* we do not get much greater help, but here we are forced to deal much more briefly with the subject. The Rev. W. C. Allen, who treats in it of *Modern Criticism and the New Testament* in the same able and candid way of which I have already spoken, says :

It is in this direct appeal of the New Testament to the human conscience that its inspiration lies. That the religious value of the New Testament is bound up with the ideas of Revelation and Inspiration is plain. The difficulty is to give to these terms clear definition. Indeed, definition must for the present content itself with negative rather than with positive methods. On the one hand, a conception of Inspiration such as that commonly understood by the phrase, *verbal Inspiration*, which can only maintain its ground by denying the legitimacy of the application of critical methods to the Sacred Books, is thereby self-condemned and must be set aside as arbitrary. On the other hand, critical writers who suppose that a result of their work has been the elimination of the element of Inspiration, fail to appreciate the limitations of criticism. Inspiration is a quality which cannot possibly be diminished by increase of true knowledge.<sup>26</sup>

This inspiration, however, which is clearly the element of personal emotion, and certainly not in any way a supernatural effect, may safely be passed over as in no way elucidating the questions before us. But Mr. Allen proceeds to Revelation, and states the case briefly as follows :

The truth is that the question of the inspiration of the Bible, i.e. whether or no it contain a Revelation of God, is really independent of criticism. It is a part of the larger question, Is there a God who can reveal Himself? and is cognate to the similar questions, Is there a Revelation in Nature? Is there a Revelation in History? Is there a Revelation in Christ?

Now the conclusion that this treatment of the question is similar to that of the Bishop of Ripon, and takes refuge in vague feeling instead of establishing a doctrine, can be shown by simply quoting the answer which Mr. Allen gives to some of these questions, for space forbids more adequate treatment. To the question, 'Is there a Revelation in History?' Mr. Allen replies :

To some men the development of human life and thought is inexplicable without the presupposition of the divine mind directing, guiding, controlling it. To others, such an assumption is wholly superfluous and misleading. Certainly the existence of God cannot be proved—cannot, that is to say, be expressed in terms which will coerce the intellect and compel the belief of those who do not already find God to be a necessary factor in life's experience. So-called proofs of His existence are not really proofs, even to those who believe in Him. The facts stated as being of the nature of proofs are the expression of belief, not the cause of it. They presuppose belief, and do not create it.

<sup>26</sup> *Introduction to Temple Bible*, p. 235 f.

Passing on to the question of Revelation in the Bible, Mr. Allan says :

The essential presupposition of Revelation is the existence of God. Do we find God to be in some sense a part of the most elementary phenomena of consciousness? Then much that is said about Him in the Old Testament will approve itself to us as a true expression of His nature, and the proper way of stating the process which led to expression will be, not that it is a development of thought, due to natural causes, but that the Old Testament writers give expression to this consciousness of God, who revealed Himself to them in increasing degree as history progressed.<sup>27</sup>

Passing on to the New Testament he says :

The question of Revelation in the New Testament, and consequently of its inspiration, depends almost entirely upon the attitude adopted towards the doctrine of the Incarnation. And with regard to this it must be said clearly that consciousness of the divine life of God and perception of the divine element in Christ are two very different things. There is this fundamental difference between them. Knowledge of God is for many men, not an inference from the facts of consciousness, but a part of those facts. But knowledge of God in Christ is such an inference. 'We saw and (then) believed.' . . . These will very probably assent to the definition of the Revelation and Inspiration of the Old Testament just stated. But how will they regard the New Testament? They will probably be inclined to draw a distinction between the Gospels as containing the teaching of Christ and the remaining books—Revelation, they will urge, implies fresh development, new growth. Writers who express for the first time a new aspect of the Divine Life may rightly be called inspired.<sup>28</sup> . . . In conclusion, the claim of the Bible, the Old Testament as well as the New, may be said to lie in its revelation of the divine nature and the divine will. Just in so far as this is recognised will its authority be regarded as paramount. It appeals directly to the human heart and conscience.<sup>29</sup>

It will have struck many how singular is the statement above that the question of Revelation in the New Testament, and consequently of its inspiration, depends almost entirely upon the attitude adopted towards the doctrine of the Incarnation. One might have thought that the attitude towards such supernatural doctrines must much more naturally depend almost entirely on that towards the doctrine of the Revelation and Inspiration of the New Testament upon whose authority alone such doctrines can rest. This is only another illustration of the fact that, in all these arguments, Revelation and Inspiration are mere personal impressions, and that we have not here to do with doctrines which can be established by reasonable evidence. Throughout the *Introduction to the Temple Bible*, and *Contentio Veritatis*, from which these inadequate quotations have been made, will be found a similar treatment of ancient doctrines, and these works will well repay the student who takes them up. I hope I may be allowed to express my own sincere respect for the writers, who are eminently able and honest men. No one obliged them to express themselves in this manner, but at a time when the Church may be said to be passing through a period

<sup>27</sup> *Introduction to Temple Bible*, p. 238.

<sup>28</sup> *Ib.* p. 239.

<sup>29</sup> *Ib.* p. 242.

of great spiritual difficulty, they have voluntarily stepped forth to help the weaker and more troubled brethren, and provide them with spiritualised views of doctrines regarding which their minds have been of late rudely shaken, and they have done this with singular ability and still more singular candour. But they have had to make bricks without straw, of which no abiding city can be built. If they have led the doubting into a seeming paradise of rest, it is one, unfortunately, from which they may any day be expelled by the Angel of Truth with two-edged sword, and it seems to me both right and expedient that warning of this should be given.

In examining these spiritualised versions of ancient creeds, I confess that a charming allegory by Hans Christian Andersen has been irresistibly brought to my mind. It is entitled *The Emperor's New Clothes*. Some clever knaves get hold of a monarch who is unusually fond of dress, and lead him to believe that they can weave the most beautiful fabric that eyes have ever seen, but which has the extraordinary quality of becoming invisible, even when made into clothes, to everybody who is unsuitable to his position, or very stupid. A magnificent dress for an approaching procession is supposed to be made of this amazing fabric for the Emperor, and although many high officials inspect it whilst it is being woven, who see nothing on the loom, the penalty of being considered unfit for their high position or very stupid if it be invisible to them, induces them to admire and proclaim it beautiful. For the same reason, the Emperor cannot admit that he himself sees nothing, and he goes through the form of putting on the new clothes and issuing under his royal canopy to the admiration of the people, who are likewise forced to pretend loyal appreciation of the monarch's robes. No one dared to remark that they saw nothing, until a little child at last exclaimed, 'But the Emperor has no clothes on!' As for myself, at the risk of being thought very stupid or unfit for the high office of critic, I frankly confess that the fabric woven to drape these old doctrines seems to me intellectually invisible, and the new clothes purely imaginary, and I shall be surprised if the voice of innocence does not sooner or later pronounce the truth that they have 'nothing on,' and the hesitating crowd then ratify the verdict.

WALTER R. CASSELS.

Since this article was written, the following letter from Dr. Fremantle to the Bishop of Ripon has been published:

I find to my surprise that the statement in printed account of my paper on natural Christianity, to the effect that the account of Our Lord's Virgin-birth 'might be understood without any violation of biological law' has been misunder-

stood, and has been taken as meaning that the accounts might be read as implying that Our Lord was born from a man and a woman by the ordinary process of generation.

This is an entire misconception. Not only was there in my paper no denial of the birth from a Virgin, but there was an attempt to explain (I trust humbly and reverently, as befits such a subject) how we might understand, without any violation of biological law, that which is described in the Article of the Creed, 'Conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,' and in St. Luke's Gospel by the words 'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the favour of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore, that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.' I write this because I have only to-day spoken to a friend, a theologian and a man of influence, who had misconceived my statement as above described, and who was greatly relieved when I explained it as I have now done. Pray make any use of this letter to correct any similar misconception.

I am sorry to say that I cannot in the least understand how this explanation can be supposed to bring the Virgin-birth into conformity with biological law.

W. R. C.

## SIR OLIVER LODGE AND OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

I AM very grateful to Sir Oliver Lodge for hoisting my little book, *The Schoolmaster*, upon his burly knees ; even though, of the brisk shower of slaps that he has administered to public-school education, some have incidentally fallen upon myself, it would be impossible to resent them, in the face of the royal compliments with which he has mollified his castigation.

Sir Oliver Lodge's contention is briefly this : he practically charges me with having brought out the box of public-school education before the world ; he indicates that I have rapped the sides to show how hollow it is, and have ended by turning it upside down to prove that there is nothing in it. He says that I have done this in a complacent and, on the whole, self-satisfied manner, as though I had stated, after my public investigation of the contents, that it is, after all, a very good box. Well, such is my candid belief. I think it is a good box. I am sure that the public schools are now doing a great work. I believe that they train boys in virtue, kindness, common-sense, manliness and diligence. But I do not think all these boys wholly well educated. There is one thing obviously lacking from the box, and that is the training of intelligence ; and this can, I believe, be introduced ; the box is not too full to hold it.

Sir Oliver Lodge admits, with reservations, that, as far as character and manliness go, the public-school product is not a bad one, so that this discussion may be confined to the intellectual education conferred by public schools. Moreover I would say that I believe that the intellectual training received by boys of undoubted ability, specialists and so forth, at public schools, is on the whole a good one. The boys whose case I would here consider are the boys of average moderate ability, and the boys of decidedly inferior capacity. These are the boys for whom I do not think the public schools provide a satisfactory education, considering it wholly from the intellectual side.

I substantially admit everything in Sir Oliver Lodge's indictment,

except his description of my own mental attitude. I may say in passing that I think that he has pressed my admissions to rather too logical a conclusion, without allowing sufficiently for the necessarily complex nature of the public-school system, or for the idiosyncrasies of boy-nature. My book was not intended to be an attack on public-school education. It was written with a wholly different object. It was written from the point of view of a master who had been a classical teacher in a public school for eighteen years, and had for eleven years presided over a boarding-house. It was addressed mainly to two classes of readers. It was intended primarily for young men who were engaged in choosing a profession, and for men who had recently adopted the profession of teaching. It was meant to show that the profession of a schoolmaster was a very real and noble vocation, one that might be generously adopted and zealously practised; and I also hoped that the book might be read by parents, and might increase the confidence between parents and masters, and put their relations on a sounder footing.

The intellectual aspect of the matter only came in incidentally, but there was very little satisfaction in my mental attitude in penning the frank confession that the intellectual standard of the nation, and of the public schools as reflecting the spirit of the nation, was low; it has been unhappily evident in the debates on the Education Bill that the aspects of education that have aroused interest in the country are the political and denominational aspects, or, at all events, that if intellectual interest has been felt, it has certainly not been expressed. I tried to make the book a temperate statement of what I believed to be the truth. I had no taste for lecturing all the world on its lack of intellectual interest, but I can honestly say that I was very far from viewing the condition of things with satisfaction: indeed the book contained a strong appeal to teachers to cultivate intellectual interests with all their might, and insisted upon this as a paramount duty; such complacency as may appear in the book is only, I would say, the result of trying to face things as they are, tranquilly and without undue excitement.

I will now say a few words upon the general question; I do not believe that the intellectual tone of schools is at all likely to rise unless the intellectual tone of the country rises. The public schools indeed are only a gauge of public feeling. All schoolmasters know the impossibility of contending successfully in both the moral and intellectual regions against an undercurrent of adverse home influence or apathy. Most boys instinctively and rightly feel the home life to be the real life; and they are not likely, unless in exceptional cases, to adopt the school standard as a superior one, nor would it be at all to be desired that they should.

But it may be urged, and rightly, that any cure must originate, at all events partially, in the schools; and I do not deny it. The

question then is, how can the intellectual side of school life be amended?

• I have no hesitation in admitting that the first difficulty which besets public-school education nowadays is the multiplicity of subjects taught, or supposed to be taught. That a boy of moderate or small capacity should be supposed to be learning at the same time three languages—one modern and two ancient—besides his own, mathematics, divinity, history, geography, and science, is a simply preposterous state of things. The result is that in the majority of those subjects a boy never emerges out of the elementary stages, has no sense of mastery, and very little of interest. This congestion of subjects is the growth of the last fifty years. Before that time the education given was mainly literary and classical. I am not posing as an anti-classicist; and I humbly believe that the education of the earlier part of the last century was a better one than the present, merely because it was simpler, and because the boys had at least the chance of mastering their subjects.

And yet the difficulty of simplifying matters is very great. While the teaching of mathematics and science is obligatory, while French is insisted upon, while the Universities exercise so strong a compulsion, and demand Latin and Greek, while history and geography naturally have to find a place, it is very difficult to see what to throw overboard.

My own belief is that, if a boy could be taught the elements of mathematics and science, English by means of history and geography, enough French to be able to read a French book, and write a letter in grammatical French, and possibly to read German, he would have got together the materials for a good education. But this extrudes the classics altogether. The best system of all would be to let a boy be competently instructed in five subjects at the outside, and to let one of these, selecting it by natural taste and capacity, be a special subject, which he might feel he had mastered.\* But the practical difficulties are enormous; this system, so simple to describe, would require probably a great increase of the teaching staff, and the timetable would present insuperable difficulties—moreover, from the financial point of view, the payment of these extra masters would at the majority of schools be entirely out of the question. I do not say that the problem might not be successfully grappled with, but it is idle to pretend that the solution is simple.

Next, as to methods. Sir Oliver Lodge here adopts an almost unreasonable attitude, and I think hardly allows for the conditions of school life. He asks why certain educational processes, such as repetition lessons, which I stated were, in my opinion, unproductive, are not given up? Does Sir Oliver Lodge suppose that the assistant-masters at public schools have a certain subject assigned to them which they may teach on their own method and in their own way? As a matter



of fact, the exact lessons that we have to do are all laid down in time-tables, and very little divergence is possible. The plain duty of an assistant-master is to prepare the boys for specified examinations, and an exact and undeviating system is laid down for him, which settles not only what lessons are to be prepared and what exercises are to be done, but exactly how they are to be done. In these matters assistant-masters have no independence. The theory, I suppose, is that the headmaster of a school is the teacher of the boys, and that the assistant-masters carry out his orders and teach the boys on the system laid down for them. Personally I think that many of our traditional methods are at fault; we aim at minute and relentless accuracy in the classics, to be arrived at by grammar papers dealing mostly with rare and exceptional forms, verses and prose interlineally corrected, words parsed on paper, and lessons prepared with dictionaries; these were all excellent methods when classics held the field; but to pursue them now, when classics have been practically crowded into a corner, and to pursue the same or similar methods with all the other subjects that have forced their way into the curriculum, only results in sacrificing everything, intellectual interest included, to accuracy. Accuracy is a noble and a necessary thing, but it can be insisted upon until human nature rebels, not in outspoken rebellion, but in a tacit blankness of mind opposed to all intellectual progress. There is no lack of *diligence* at public schools; what is lacking is interest, and intellectual activity.

Another point where Sir Oliver Lodge is unfair to the conditions of human life is where he contrasts the eager-eyed children, full of questions and curiosity, with the blank indifference of boyhood educated on public-school methods. But he must remember that simultaneously with the period of growth, and as a natural outcome of the physical strain inseparable from arriving at maturity, comes a listless period when boys undoubtedly do lose interest, quite apart from the interest which is sacrificed by our educational methods.

I do not think that this physical fact is sufficiently taken into account in schools; and I am strongly of opinion that as much drudgery as can be proved to be unproductive, like the heartbreaking toil of 'fair copies' or the mechanical labour of dictionary turning, ought to be spared the boys. But, on the other hand, it is necessary to make sure that the boy is using something, that *some* mental effort is being made; and that requires the direction of what I should call a sympathetic teacher, and Sir Oliver Lodge a trained teacher.

May I here advert to a small point made by Sir Oliver Lodge which shows I think that he is not fully aware of the idiosyncrasies of boys? I made a statement in my book about decisiveness in teaching, a quality to which I seemed to him to attach an extravagant

value. I think that the statement was made in too wide a sense. I was thinking, when I made it, of the kind of classes which I have generally had to teach, younger boys of moderate capacity. It would not apply to older or abler boys, nor would it apply to private tuition, with a smaller class. But for boys of small capacity, it is necessary by some means or other to disabuse them of a not unnatural delusion encouraged by commentators, that a writer in a foreign language might have meant anything, and may be made to mean anything by juggling with words. It is certain that many boys, under our system of education, do not understand that a writer, particularly an ancient writer, has had a definite thought in his mind which he is expressing in a natural way; and that our difficulty in understanding it arises from an absence of complete familiarity with the medium of expression. For such boys decisiveness is a pure gain. Moreover in young and sharp boys there is often a strong vein of a certain malice, and if they imagine a teacher to be imperfectly acquainted with his subject, they are quite capable of expending their energies in framing apparently innocent questions, with a view to exposing, if possible, gaps in that teacher's knowledge. Such boys would be quite incapable of feeling the reverent joy, to which Sir Oliver Lodge alludes, of finding themselves in communion with a teacher who is an eager and unsatisfied learner like themselves.

A few words must now be said about the teachers themselves, and how to raise the intellectual standard among them.

Suppose that at the present time an intelligent and active young man goes up to the University, with the intention of entering the teaching profession, how will he spend his time? He realises the practical necessity of taking a good degree, if he is to secure one of the better appointments, and the main part of the *solidus dies* is given to prescribed work. Moreover he comes up from a public school with a firm belief in the necessity and saving virtue of active physical exercise. Well, I venture to say that the margin of time left, after fulfilling a few social engagements, is not a very large one; and that it requires a man of very active and intelligent curiosity to read as well, widely and enthusiastically, and to indulge in the 'ingenuous collision' of mind with mind, that Carlyle speaks of as being one of the great benefits of a University. Probably a man of great intellectual eagerness, if he reads hard at his prescribed subjects, will be apt to neglect athletic pursuits, or at all events their natural sequel, the discussion of athletic topics, in favour of general reading. But if he is a severely practical man, he will know that a combination of academical success with athletic distinction is far more likely to procure him a good scholastic appointment than any amount of general intellectual interest. Here the pressure of

the public comes in ; headmasters know that the public attach great importance to their children being guided and directed in athletic matters by men of proved competence ; and when they also know that the public care very little about the boys being made intelligent, it needs a very strong headmaster, with a very definite theory of his own, to appoint men whose chief characteristic is intellectual interest and vivid intelligence, unless such intelligence has the hall-mark of academical success, and is moreover accompanied by athletic proficiency. I am inclined to think myself that athletic pursuits, however salutary in themselves, do occupy too much of the *mental* horizon at the Universities, among public school men. But I do not believe that this is generally felt. And, after all, there is a good deal to be said for the ordinary view ; for the civic life and the moral character of boys are largely bound up with their physical energies, so that in the end the pressure of public opinion does make itself felt, and the parents get the things that they value.

Of course this difficulty about the teachers would be remedied, to a certain extent, if the normal school and university training were a training in intellectual activity and mental interest. But this is unfortunately not necessarily the case.

Moreover it is unhappily clear—I have made careful inquiries on the subject—that masters at public schools live at the present time a life of such pressure, that it is practically impossible, unless in exceptional cases, for them to have any intellectual life of their own, or to pursue studies or to indulge interests apart from their specified subjects and professional work. I think that this is a great, but not an irremediable evil ; and it stands to reason that teachers are not likely to originate any very active intellectual interest among the boys they teach, if they have no particular interests of their own, apart from discharging their multifarious duties as conscientiously and cheerfully as possible.

Much more might be written on the subject which would be foreign to our present purpose. I will merely briefly recapitulate my argument.

I fully and entirely agree with Sir Oliver Lodge that the intellectual outlook in public-school education is not encouraging, and that the methods pursued are not such as are calculated to produce intellectual interest.

As to the cure for this state of things, my belief is that the only radical cure is a lifting of the intellectual tone of the nation ; but if this must originate in schools, then I would say that the grave fault of our present system of education is the congestion of subjects, and that this must at all costs be remedied. Next I would say that our methods are somewhat at fault, but that, if education could be simplified and pressure of subjects relieved, our present methods would

not be so much at fault as they are at present. And, lastly, I would say that it is necessary to raise the intellectual tone of teachers - and that this can be done partly by the teachers themselves, partly by relieving them of the pressure of excessive drudgery, and partly by making a schoolmaster's life more of a career for an active and energetic man. But, to argue in a circle, this last change is not likely to take place until the general public have a higher sense of the value of intellectual things.

ARTHUR C. BENSON.

SIR OLIVER LODGE  
AND OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

II

‘WE shall not greatly err if we take Mr. Benson’s book as representing English school life in its best and truest and sanest aspect.’ On this assumption, Sir Oliver Lodge, in the December number of this Review, bases a comprehensive attack upon our public schools. Yet I believe that the opinion of many schoolmasters about the book might be fairly expressed in the terms of Dr. Johnson’s famous comment on Pope’s translation of the *Iliad*. ‘Some very pretty essays, Mr. Benson, but please don’t call them representative of English public schools.’ We read in it, with interest and some amusement, the graceful *obiter dicta* in which a literary member of our profession has touched the fringe of the big problems of our work, passing from grave to gay, and from things important to things unimportant, with an ease and literary skill which disarm criticism. But it is a different matter when this work is treated as seriously representing English public schools, and when *obiter dicta*, with that superficial truth which characterises such sayings, are treated as dogmas of the scholastic creed and made the text for a serious attack.\* This is what Sir Oliver Lodge has done.

I content myself with one instance, before passing to the broader and more important subject of the article. ‘It is better,’ says Mr. Benson, ‘to be perfectly decisive, even if you may be occasionally wrong.’ Taken in connection with its context, it is not hard to see the element of truth in this dictum. The man who can never make up his own mind is, no doubt, liable to leave a feeling of hopelessness in the minds of his pupils. ‘If our teachers cannot be sure of the truth,’ they will argue, ‘why should we vex our souls to attain the unattainable?’ The attitude of philosophic doubt is apt to discourage the young mind. In contrast to such a teacher the enthusiast who knows no doubt, who has made up his own mind and hardly pauses to give reasons for it, even if he be intolerant of ignorance or difference of opinion, is both welcome and inspiring. Long may there be some such intolerant enthusiasts among us. But a

type no less common, I believe, and no less inspiring, is that of the teacher who is rather the joint investigator than the infallible expounder of already formed and unalterable opinions. 'Mr. A.,' so I was told lately about a former colleague of mine who taught on this method, 'didn't know so very much, but he taught you just twice as much as he knew.' We learnt long ago from Plato's 'Dialogues' that it is the process, not merely the result, of thought that has educational value, and I refuse to believe that this type of 'teacher who is also a learner' is rare on the literary side of our public schools. Sir Oliver Lodge might find even there many who have not bowed the knee to this Baal of affected 'omniscience,' which he assumes that we worship. I am sure that when he implies, as he seems to do, that literary studies, as contrasted with scientific, encourage this spirit in the teacher, he is doing a gross injustice to these subjects. It is largely because they afford so splendid a field for the other method of teaching, because they enable the pupil

to watch

The master work, and catch

Hints of the proper craft, tricks of the tool's true play.

that our classical studies continue to hold their place as mental training.

But the gravamen of the accusation (if I understand the article aright) is that 'the intellectual side is not cultivated' in our public schools. This criticism, which is a very serious condemnation, if true, is supported by several quotations from Mr. Benson's book. 'Intellectual things are, to put it frankly, unfashionable'; 'the germ of intellectual life in many cases dies a natural death from mere inanition'; 'intellectual life is left' (by the masters) 'to take care of itself'; if a boy's 'home is one where intellect is valued,' then only 'he has a fair chance of keeping interest up in a timid and secluded way.' Similarly the masters, we are told, 'have no intellectual ideal'; they 'must perpetually resist the impulse to soar'; they 'omit intellectual enjoyment from their programme.' Finally, we send out boys 'who hate knowledge and think books dreary, who are perfectly self-satisfied and entirely ignorant . . . arrogantly and contemptuously ignorant.' Sir Oliver Lodge, not unnaturally, but I think unfairly, clinches all this by comparing the similar indictment made against the state of intelligence in the army, and holds the public school responsible for both.

Now it is generally waste of time to discuss a question of fact. Mr. Benson says that our schools are hopelessly unintellectual, and Mr. Benson 'is an honourable man.' I, for my part, with a shorter but apparently less unfavourable experience of public schools, am inclined on this point *de republica non desperare*. To each of the above-quoted statements I should oppose a modest but deliberate denial.

I could speak from personal experience of an interest in literature created entirely by the influence of a public school, and of enthusiasms first kindled and then fostered by the boys and masters with whom I came in contact. I could name many a boy in the school I now serve, apart from those who have reached the highest form (to whom even Mr. Benson could not ascribe a complete absence of intellectual interests), whose literary or scientific interests and enthusiasms have developed steadily and apparently unhindered during their school career; and I have watched such boys not losing their enthusiasms but imparting them to others, and leavening the general mass with their wholesome interests. Above all, I protest against the ascription to the public schools of the failings of the army. Army 'education' is fast bound by Government regulations, by a prescribed examination which leaves us no choice. The result is that, in the matter of education, boys preparing for the army are 'with us, but not of us.' That the public schools are most successful in preparing for that examination I know well; but I believe that the examination itself is a bad one, and that the want of ideas and interests ascribed to army men is due to that point in which the teaching it necessitates differs from the rest of our education. I refer to the limitation of a boy to certain stages in certain subjects, and the necessary refusal to pursue a branch of knowledge beyond a certain point, because 'it doesn't pay' in the examination. It is just this limitation which seems to many of us to mar the army training, and, I may add, to make it unrepresentative of public-school education.

But what the public, our employer, has a right to expect from public schoolmasters in reference to a question of this kind is not so much a denial of the charge as a statement of what actually are the intellectual influences at work in our schools. How far, and by what means, does our system lend itself to fostering such influences? The personality of the masters, which must necessarily be an important element in the matter, I prefer to pass over. I would only say that some even of us might claim to be 'live people, engaged in real and progressive work and full of enthusiasm for it'—a class which Sir Oliver Lodge thinks the boy is first likely to encounter in the University 'don.' But, putting aside the character of the teachers, the intellectual atmosphere of the school will depend largely on two elements—on the boys, and on the curriculum.

What steps do we take to secure that the boys themselves shall be favourable to an atmosphere of intellectual ideas? I believe that more depends upon this than is always realised. A few boys with real enthusiasms for subjects other than athletics will speedily kindle interests and awaken enthusiasm in a House. It is just for this reason that we value so much our entrance scholarships, not primarily as providing us with boys who will do us credit afterwards, but as furnishing an intellectual leaven, as securing not infrequently intelli-

gent boys from a different class, to whom the high fees of a school like that to which I belong would be otherwise prohibitive. Such boys fully repay what is given them in the majority of cases. In most public schools they are distributed among the different boarding-houses, and eventually supply the chief, though not of course the whole, of the sixth-form rulers of those houses. If, like Plato's republic, we claim 'dues of nurture' from those whom we so train, and make our philosophers kings, who shall blame us?

In this particular, I am aware, not all schools have the same system. I cannot help thinking that the difference between Mr. Benson's experience and mine in this question of the intellectual standard of our schools may be due in part to the different treatment of scholars to which we are accustomed. The Eton practice of reserving one house for the scholars, on whom other schools depend largely to heave the whole lump, may have advantages of its own, but must certainly have the disadvantage of depriving the rest of the school of most valuable intellectual influences. In this respect, at any rate, we may claim that Eton and Winchester, if the most historic, are not the most representative, of our public schools. I believe the difference to be of fundamental importance.

But it is by diversity of intellectual interests as well as by a heaven of intelligence that ideas will be fostered. Most of our schools now are no longer confined to one groove. The scientific boy is housed with the classical, the historian and the mathematician live side by side, and the juxtaposition necessarily produces a certain rivalry of studies and interchange of ideas. In few, if any, of our public schools now is it possible for a boy to grow up thinking that his own groove is the only one. In this way, I am sure, any school which has not a modern side as well as a classical, and which does not also give opportunities for more definite specialisation in science and mathematics and history, loses a valuable intellectual asset.

This brings me to the subject of our curriculum, against which, so far as I understand him, Sir Oliver Lodge's main attack is really directed. He talks rather vaguely of 'a surfeit of book-knowledge and dead and fusty material,' and tells us that 'everything is so portentously dull' in our subjects, 'that degrees of unattractiveness seem unworthy of attention.' Without taking quite seriously a statement so sweeping and unjust as this, we may understand him to believe that most of what is taught in our schools has no interest of its own, and is calculated to chill rather than foster enthusiasm. It is the old cynical criticism, that our education consists in 'teaching boys subjects they hate by methods which make them hate them still more.' What truth, or rather what basis of truth, is there in this accusation?

I should like to say one word on this term 'interesting,' which is so commonly applied now as the test of teaching. It seems likely



that 'interest' is to be the fetish of the new schoolmaster, as 'accuracy' was of the old. Both are good things, but both are liable to be exalted at the expense of true education. Much work must be done in life to which the term 'interesting' can hardly be applied, and any education which exalts 'interest' at the expense of application is, to my mind, going on the wrong tack. To be 'stimulating,' I should say, rather than to be 'interesting,' is the true ideal for the teacher. Interest is undoubtedly one of the most stimulating elements, but it is not everything.

With this proviso, I do not for a moment deny that, if it be true that our subjects are completely lacking in interest, we are failing in our educational duty. But let it be remembered that there are various kinds of interest. There is the superficial pleasure of hearing new information, or seeing new experiments. That will always form part, though not a very large part, of our education. But there is the higher interest of grappling with new difficulties, of realising by practical experiment one's own mental growth. The exercise of the faculty of understanding is in itself pleasant, if once the boy can be got to realise it. Mr. Benson's bribe of easier work to follow, whereby he persuades an unwilling form to grapple with Greek conditional sentences, is a confession of weakness hardly to be expected from so good a teacher. There is no reason why a problem of language of this kind, involving as it does an insight into the working of our own minds, and not merely into Greek constructions, should not be as interesting, as it gradually becomes clearer to the intelligence, as any of the thousand and one puzzles with which a boy voluntarily employs himself. In such a case I do not believe it is the subject which is at fault.

• To the growing mind, no subject need be dull in which the boy feels that he is 'getting on.' Ask a small boy what subject he likes best, and ten to one he will name the one in which he finds that he can make most progress. To the weak linguist, science or mathematics or history or English literature lessons will be the most interesting. To another boy who lacks (as so many boys do up to quite a late period in their development) the power of grasping the meaning of English literature or history or Scripture, the Latin prose or Greek translation will give the most satisfaction, because it is in this that he feels he can get most 'grip.' Stagnation is always dull; but no subject is dull to the specialist in it.

We at the public schools are, I think, realising this more and more. We are beginning to make provision to allow boys who have a special bent in any direction to concentrate upon it, to the partial (but not complete) exclusion of others. The historian, the scientist, the mathematician, is provided for in this way as well as the classic. I hope that we may soon see the purely literary, as opposed to the linguistic, faculty similarly recognised, and that boys to whom the

higher and more accurate side of scholarship is unattainable may yet be admitted to a wide reading of the classics, even at the expense of some of that grammatical accuracy which is so valuable to the real scholar and so great a stumbling-block to his weaker, though perhaps hardly less appreciative, brother. I admit that tradition and Oxford and Cambridge entrance examinations stand in the way; yet I have reason to believe that a change on these lines would be welcomed by many of the leading teachers of our public schools.

If I may return, in conclusion, to Mr. Benson's book, I would suggest that he seems to feel himself more tied and bound than many of us do by the limitations of system. English literature is not to be taught as a subject because its 'treatment by commentators is as a rule so profoundly unintelligent.' If so, why use commentators? No English literature lesson need be dependent on special editions, if the teacher chooses to shake himself free. That the individuality of the teacher need not be cramped by routine may be realised by anyone who passes from Mr. Benson's book to read the recently published *Life of Edward Bowen of Harrow*. We cannot all have his originality or his freedom of action; but some measure of both is welcomed and allowed, I doubt not, by every wise headmaster to his colleagues. Not in a complete upheaval of our old system, but in the broadening and adaptation of it, lies to my mind the hope of the future. We have in our public schools and in the classics too much criticised, but long-valued, bases of education. In both, I believe, there is life and vigour yet, if we will but use them to the full. 'Spartam nacti sumus: hanc exornemus.'

FRANK FLETCHER.

*IS SOCIETY WORSE THAN IT WAS?*

WHEN Queen Victoria began to reign, her youth and innocence had such an effect on Society that people, conscious of their imperfections, began to amend their former ways. Respectability became the fashion, and those whose conduct had not been irreproachable were ashamed, and, outwardly at least, conformed to all rules of propriety.

This, however, lasted only for the lifetime of one generation, and then, as Society grew larger, people became more and more worldly, and less and less careful to maintain a high standard until now, when though perhaps not sufficiently ashamed of it they are not altogether pleased with the state of affairs.

If the question be asked, 'Is Society now better than it was a hundred years ago?' the frequent answer hastily and cheertully given is, 'Yes, undoubtedly, for people are more sober, more refined, and no longer swear.'

This is true to a certain extent, but when we consider how much more educated, refined, and sober the whole nation has become, and what vast strides have been made in science and all kinds of knowledge, then in comparison Society seems to have made little, if any, progress. There may be now as many wise, charming, and brilliantly clever people as there were then, but they have not increased in number, though Society has.

Society has its rules, and claims as heretofore to be an example in good manners and honourable behaviour. Any person openly convicted of cheating, or of breaking the marriage laws, is expelled. A few who manage to conceal their misdoings and appear outwardly respectable are welcome to remain.

There are others, really noble and good, who, though in the world, are not of the world, whose homes are an example of all that is best in the British nation, and whose good influence would be felt if Society had not grown so large that it can no longer be controlled by one set. There are now many circles within it, each containing people who consider themselves leaders of their own surroundings, some of whom are so far from being patterns of good behaviour that it

Becomes a question whether the term of reproach 'not in Society' may not in future become one of commendation.

• But let us consider first the improvements claimed to have been made within the last century—in sobriety, manners, and refinement. Certainly among men it is no longer thought a fine thing to drink too much. Insobriety happens very seldom, and when it does, is considered a disgrace. But women drink far more than they did fifty years ago, not only wine, but spirits and liqueurs. People interested in the subject say that the liking for alcohol is increasing alarmingly among them, though of course they indulge in it secretly. It is said that dressmakers and grocers procure wine or spirits for 'the lady,' and call it by some other name in the bill paid by the husband. Whether this be true or not, there is little doubt that many women drink far more than is necessary or good for them. Perhaps the now common practice of smoking cigarettes habitually may tend to increase this evil. Then the taking of drugs seems much more common. There is a greater impatience at the least pain. A slight headache, often caused only by racketing about after too many pleasures, is made an excuse for taking antipyrine, or some other soothing medicine, with results disastrous to heart and nerves.

As to manners, it is curious to observe how far less they have improved in Society, than among those from whom good manners are least expected. Except in the case of a panic, it was less disagreeable to be in a common crowd at the entrance of an exhibition or theatre, than in a large drawing-room at the Palace, before the new regulations were made. In the common crowd, you are good-humouredly tolerated, sometimes even assisted, never intentionally pushed.

In Croker's Diary we read: 'A great crowd at the Drawing-room, and the absence of hoops brings the ladies into such close contact that some of them quarrelled, and were near pulling one another's feathers.' We are not quite so bad as this now, but some years ago a man in uniform, desirous of helping his wife and daughters to the royal presence, forgetting his manners, said, 'No room? Oh, you just follow me, I will *make* room,' and assisted by sharp epaulettes he did so.

Good manners are often to be met with in a 'bus or third-class railway carriage. There you are welcomed with kind hands stretched out to lift your birdcage or handbox. It is surprisingly rare to meet with common civility in a first-class carriage. For instance, going by train to garden parties near London, without any encumbrances of birds or boxes, you are unwillingly, ungraciously permitted to squeeze into a seat, the other occupants of the carriage making it very clear that, because you happen to be unknown to them, no civility is to be expected on their part. It may be urged as an excuse that heat,

stuffiness, and overcrowding are more annoying to gentlefolk, but then good manners should conceal it. As a French writer has said, '*La politesse a été inventée pour remplacer la bonté de cœur qui nous manque.*' But those wanting in kindness of heart do not always avail themselves of the invention.

The same can be said of those who extinguish all view of the stage with their large hats at a morning performance, and others who discuss the play, or their own affairs, in a loud voice during the performance. This, in the last few years, has become an intolerable nuisance. Can nothing be done to put an end to it? In a Paris theatre any attempt at talking is instantly stopped by loud hisses. In London a polite request for silence has no effect. It is people in Society, as well as those out of it, who are guilty of this kind of selfishness. The other day a little girl, whose father had vainly tried to remonstrate with some chatterer in the stalls, said in a clear but subdued voice, 'Oh, it's no good; leave him alone, papa! He looks like my dentist, and might pay me out some day.' The child's remark had the desired effect.

As to refinement, of course a spade is no longer called a spade quite so plainly as long ago, and swearing is never heard. Some of the slang expressions now in use may not be considered very refined, but they are harmless. It is, however, doubtful if anything in former years can have been more seriously objectionable than the conversation that goes on in some houses at the present time. What excuse can be made for people, by birth gentlefolk, who allow stories and jokes to be circulated round the dinner-table in whispers, because they are too bad to be repeated aloud; and for those women who encourage by their laughter coarse conversation full of allusions and *doubles-ententes*, who discuss such disgraceful gossip in their drawing-rooms that it must poison the mind of any innocent young woman who may be present?

Honesty has always been reckoned one of the essential qualities of every member of society, and when it concerns gambling and racing is strictly adhered to. But in other matters not connected directly with friends or acquaintances, some people have very lax ideas on the subject. To be so extravagant as to buy more than can possibly be paid for, is certainly cheating, though not perhaps of the same kind as Society blames most. And this is done by many without shame or remorse for the ruin it often causes to the tradespeople. There are women, for instance, who indulge in every kind of extravagance they cannot afford, and at the same time are willing enough to give away money which is not theirs, thereby gaining the credit of being charitable. In a few instances they have even been heard preaching to working girls on the desirability of dressing quietly and being respectable. It is doubtful if such incongruity and hypocrisy were practised a hundred years ago.

\* No doubt there always were, and are now, people who do not pretend to be otherwise than worldly, and are for ever striving to obtain pleasures or advantages. Some of them, whose greatest fear is being uncomfortable or bored, try to avoid these by running after the wealthy. Now and then they discover new rich people, and hastily introduce them into the inner fashionable circle, without the least caring whether they possess anything besides money, nor how this was acquired. They stand at what we will call the 'turnstile' of Society, and say (in veiled language no doubt), 'What will you give in return for these introductions?' The answer comes later, honestly paid in some substantial form or other, a carriage, horses, or a sum of money purposely lost at a game of cards. Occasionally some charity benefits largely, but seldom in the real giver's name. Once through the gate, they are welcomed by many; albeit some may smile and call them 'vulgar,' in reality they are not more so than those who introduced them.

Sometimes, when fault is found with the present-day manners and morals, the blame is laid on Americans and *nouveaux riches*, of whom there are a greater number than formerly. But it is doubtful whether this accusation is justified. It is true American girls are supposed to be independent and free and easy in manner, but surely not so silly or so devoid of womanly dignity as to behave as a few English young ladies do, who, in trying to copy fast married women, only succeed in imitating the saucy, romping manners of factory girls, and even, like them, in 'keeping company with their young man.' For what else can it be called, when girls consent to drive off at night in hansoms with their partners, instead of dancing? Yet this has been known to occur at balls where chaperones were considered superfluous.

As to American women, they certainly encourage extravagance in dress, but they are generally speaking well-educated, energetic, self-reliant, and those who have married Englishmen have in most cases proved to be exemplary wives and mothers.

As a rule the *nouveaux riches* help to exaggerate the importance of wealth by their extravagance, but there are many exceptions. Some, aware of the responsibility of riches, spend their money not only in the encouragement of science, culture, and art, but also in charity. If some bring an element of vulgarity into Society, it is no serious fault, nor one that can be cavilled at by those who toady to and worship the wealthy.

If there be reason to think that Society is deteriorating rather than improving, it is not owing to these, nor even perhaps, as some suppose, to the bad influence of a few among the aristocracy, who, by their conduct, have extinguished the respect hitherto accorded to their old family names, but rather to the apathy of some, and the timidity amounting to cowardice of others, belonging to that

vast majority of respectable people who condone conduct which in their heart of hearts they condemn.

They ought to be the example, but they have never realised their responsibilities. With some the dread of being considered strait-laced or prim, is far greater than the fear of evil. Virtuous themselves, they yet know and believe all the evil gossip about others from whom they readily accept invitations and benefits. They allow gambling to go on in their houses, for they have not the pluck to forbid games of cards being played for money. Idle people are encouraged by them to play 'bridge,' not merely as a recreation in the evening, but as the business of the day, beginning after luncheon and continuing throughout the night. In entertaining their friends and acquaintances, so anxious are they to be popular and please those who are the fashion of the day, that they encourage flirtations among married people, and would sooner think of leaving out the husbands, than of not including in their invitations the well-known admirers of their guests.

They pride themselves in knowing all the *on dits* and latest gossip, so that they may be able to arrange for people to meet in their houses whom it would be far kinder to keep apart. If it result in marring the happiness of some man or woman's life, they are unconcerned. 'It is no business of theirs,' they say. If, however, it all ends in some open scandal, they are the first to turn away in virtuous indignation, and are shocked at what they themselves have really done their best to bring about. It never dawns upon their minds that they have shared in the evil, and are in a great measure responsible for what has occurred. If, however, they suspected their cook of making *rendez-vous* with the married policeman, they would see the harm more clearly, and consider it their duty to put a stop to it at once.

These are people who never think perhaps, because they never give themselves time. By no means wicked, for, on the contrary, they are kind, well-intentioned, and even in their way religious. They go regularly to church, and are horrified at any unorthodox ideas. When for a moment they have time to speak seriously, you find that Divine words, like 'Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of these,' are loved and revered by them, but, like holy relics of some long lost friend, they are locked away and treasured carefully, but have no part or meaning in their daily life.

Yet it is to them that many a man or woman might point and say, 'In your house the great sorrow of my life began,' or 'The gambling in your house was the beginning of my ruin.'

With some respectable persons the fault lies in their denseness or stupidity. For instance, one will tell you all sorts of wicked unpardonable things Lady X. has done, and shortly afterwards will say, 'She is giving a ball next week. There she is, standing near

the door in pale green. Shall I introduce you? She may invite you and your pretty daughter!' Surprised, you reply, 'No, thank you; after all you have told me I would rather not make her acquaintance.' 'But she gives such excellent balls; surely for the sake of your daughter?' and if you take the trouble to explain that you object to making the acquaintance of, or accepting a kindness from, anyone whose conduct you abhor, your opinion is received with the same shocked surprise as if you had spoken lightly of the Bible.

Or, again, somebody deplores to you in confidence, 'What a dreadful pity it is that the objectionable little Mrs. Dragonfly has quite got hold of Mr. Z., who is so charming. I know you have asked him to your dance, but I fear he will not come unless you send an invitation to Mrs. D.!' Then you answer, 'I agree with you, Mr. Z. is charming, and he will come or not as he chooses, but I shall not ask Mrs. D.' This somebody goes on urging you, saying, 'After all, Mrs. Dragonfly is very pretty, lively, and much admired. *Everybody* asks her. You know, a few smart married women like her are always an attraction to any ball.' This advice, if worldly, is genuine and kindly meant.

Another time some timid woman will reveal to you in confidence how terribly shocked she was at something said in the conversation, when the women were alone after dinner. When you ask, 'What did you do? Did you remonstrate, or get up and leave them?' 'Oh no,' she answers, 'I could not get up. I was afraid they would think me prudish, or that I considered myself better than they; I said nothing.'

Sometimes this kind of weakness only comes from humility or a mistaken idea of charity. 'Are we then,' they ask, 'to decline to invite or to meet any person whose conduct, in our opinion, does not come up to our own standard? Are we to judge others whose lives may be more beset with temptations, difficulties, and dangers than our own? If so, is this consistent with Christian charity?'

No, nor are they required to judge others, but rather to judge themselves. To be lenient to the faults of others, only if they be fashionable, and for as long as they prosper, and their friendship be of worldly advantage, is not charity. It is also easy to forgive sins when they are not committed against ourselves. We know that, though we may love sinners, we are to hate sin.

It is possible to be hospitable, generous, considerate, and kind to all our friends and acquaintances, and at the same time to be firm and true to our own principles.

Parents who are not wise in choosing their friends, and invite gamblers and other idlers to their houses, cannot bring up their children well. This may account for there being now so many young people who spend their whole time in madly rushing after



amusements. Though born in a position where the highest education is attainable, they seem to be idle, uncultivated, with little interest in anything beyond childish pleasures. If you ask them to go to the play, they will only consent provided it be one devoid of story, but with plenty of dancing and singing in it. They groan at the very mention of Shakespeare.

Even if they wish to improve, having never been taught the necessity of any duty or work, always surrounded only by the worldly, frivolous friends of their parents, it is almost impossible for them to do so. The boys go to school, and may come in contact with better influences; but the girls, if they marry, have little chance of becoming good wives or mothers, or in any way useful members of society.

Men, as well as women, may be held equally responsible for the faults of society. But women, if they have the will, possess greater power for good. A man, beyond his own personal example, has fewer opportunities of influencing others. He is afraid of appearing priggish if he expresses disapproval, and believes he has no influence.

Yet, though he may not know it, sometimes he possesses more influence than he thinks. One word of good and true friendly advice of his may have more effect on a woman than any preaching from her own sex. From them she is accustomed to hear virtue extolled, but from him it surprises her and obliges her to think. Perhaps startled to find his ideals are higher than her own, she follows his counsel; and who knows whether or no it may be just at a turning point of her life? If men, on the other hand, realised the effect their flippant words may have on others, they would be more careful.

A woman, however, has the greatest influence over society in general. To begin with, the home and children are much more under her influence. If she entertains, all the invitations and social arrangements are, generally speaking, entirely under her control. Therefore her opportunities for influencing the conduct, manners, tone, and conversation of her surroundings are greater than those of her husband. There are many good women who do all this, but it were better if there were more. As long as people continue satisfied, the present state of affairs will continue.

That the responsibilities of Society are very great and can in no way be evaded is true, for no one denies that the vices of Society have a disastrous effect on the nation at large.

If a desire for improvement were to arise again as in 1837, it would be hailed with joy by all those who still cling to the old-fashioned ideas embodied in the saying, *Noblesse oblige*.

No doubt the leaven is there, but the mass of dough is too great to be effectually pervaded by it. The hope for improvement

lies in the young people of this present generation. If some young married women will only lead the way, others will follow.

• Do not listen to the cynical worldling who tells you there is no use in trying to alter anything. Let him sit with folded hands in contented apathy saying, 'All is not so bad,' and that it is better 'to live and let live,' and *surtout point de zèle!* Pay no heed to him; remember that Society's influence reaches to the heart of the nation; so for the sake of your country, for the sake of all you love best, cling to your highest ideals of life, and your home will become a beacon for good. No matter if you are poor or stand alone, there is still power in your life's example if only (to use the words of Emerson) you take care to 'hitch *your* car to a star.'

GUENDOLEN RAMSDEN.

## LABELS

MANKIND has a great love for labels; a person, quality, or action without a ticket is as unsatisfactory as a store-cupboard where the different pots and tins display no outward evidence of their contents. We feel vaguely irritated at any specimen which is fluttering loosely about, instead of reposing in an orderly manner impaled on a pin in its appropriate compartment. Besides, the label is usually supposed to give some indication of the nature of the article; we are saved the trouble of investigating a man's character, for instance, when we learn that he is a 'hero' or a 'felon' or a 'saint;' we need not waste time in trying to discriminate between A's attitude and B's, when we are told that the former is remarkable for his 'firmness' and the latter for his 'obstinacy;' C we might deem 'bad-tempered,' had we not been forewarned that he 'possessed a great deal of character.'

Probably there never was a greater lover of labels than Dr. Johnson; the very strength as well as the narrowness of his intellect drove him to find a name for everything, and when once the name was found and applied, there was an end of all discussion, so far as the Doctor was concerned: 'Sir, the man's a rogue, so let's hear no more about him.'

Of course it sometimes happens that the labels get a little mixed: the good dog gets a bad name and a consequent short shrift, while the bad dog gets a good one and so carries on a long and unchecked career of that barking and biting which we are told on high authority is natural to him. In fact, we are sometimes tempted to believe that some freakish sprite has been taking a hint from *The Wrong Box* and 'playing billy with the labels' in transit. Even in the nursery we begin to discover that the sinner is not quite so sinful or the saint so sanctified as their respective labels would indicate—especially if the saint or sinner is a member of one's own household.

This has been, quite inappropriately, called a whitewashing age; presumably because certain writers, in analysing the characters of Judas Iscariot, Cæsar Borgia, Judge Jeffreys and others whom our forefathers deemed infamous, have discovered that, like the Master

they served, they were not quite so black as they were painted. But analysis is not whitewash; so far from being anxious to cover over any defects, the modern spirit makes an almost frenzied use of the scraper and the burning lamp; it has but one aim, to remove all the incrustations of time or prejudice, and get at the real facts, at the real man behind the facts; and to do this it must disregard the label attached to the man.

If we push this to extremes we shall end by discarding labels altogether, in which case we shall be reduced like the sages of Laputa to carrying things about with us to save the trouble of using words; and this would obviously be inconvenient. But without adopting such an extreme course, we may yet advance one step in the direction of clear thinking by investigating a few of these labels and seeing how far they are in themselves responsible for the attitude we take towards the world at large. We are all in a greater or less degree the slaves of words, judging of an action by the name we give it or hear given it by others. This tyranny of words was well illustrated by a remark made by a woman of at least average intellect: 'That sounds very reasonable. But are you not now preaching Protection? Because if you are, I entirely disagree with what you say.' She had been willing to swallow the doctrine, but the label stuck in her throat.

It was only in the frankness of her avowal that this elementary politician differed from a great number of ordinary people who have made up their minds—or what does duty for their minds—on most questions which they have heard discussed, Imperialism, Nihilism, Free Trade, Free Love, Atheism, Militarism, and half a score of other -isms; so that on supplying them with the title they will talk both loud and long for or against the topic in accordance with their convictions; whereas, if you introduce the subject matter, carefully keeping the label out of sight, they will generally be found to admit that there is a good deal to be said on both sides of the question; and this is tantamount to admitting that the picture called up by the label is not a true representation of the object.

The use of labels, then, is subject to two drawbacks: the label may be misapplied, or though rightly applied it may be misleading owing to the false ideas inherent in the name. Owing to long misuse and a number of sentimental influences, many qualities which come outside the sphere of morality—i.e. in themselves are neither right nor wrong—are invested with attributes of praise or blame which they by no means deserve. And this prejudice is not easily got rid of; for, though we all—except Nietzsche and his disciples—love the virtues and abhor the vices, we very rarely venture to dissect any of the qualities which we learnt in the schoolroom to classify under these two heads; such an examination being generally termed 'tampering with one's conscience,' and productive of a very advanced

state of immorality. To which it can only be answered that the conscience which cannot endure the investigation of any of the facts of life must be based on rather a rotten foundation.

As an instance of the first danger in the use of labels, the danger of misapplication, we may take the word *Duty*, the name we give to one of the deepest and finest of all human impulses, the only one of the great spiritual trio of which, as George Eliot says, we can feel perfectly certain at all times. Yet is there any degree of rudeness, malice, or unkindness, which is not rendered excusable, and even praiseworthy, if it can be labelled '*Duty*'? The phrase '*I must do my duty*' more often than not means '*I am going to make myself unpleasant to my neighbour*'; and this not from any conscious hypocrisy. The man or woman who opens a neighbour's eyes to the '*real character*' of a third person is generally under the impression that he is more than justified in what he does; he begins by tying the label *Duty* on to his action, and then very often feels genuinely distressed at having to carry out this self-appointed task. Indeed when we ask '*What is duty?*' we propound a riddle comparable only with that asked long ago by the Procurator of Judæa, and will do well to imitate his speedy retirement, recognising the futility of our own questioning; for one thing alone is certain, that the answer can come from no lips but our own.

Think, again, of the amazing series of actions that are glorified under the term '*Patriotism*'; there is hardly a crime in the calendar which does not become praiseworthy if the perpetrator can be held to have acted from patriotic motives. Even thinking people admit that '*political crimes*' come in quite a different category from those attempted for private ends, while those actions which would land a man in gaol or on the scaffold if done in the interests of Tom, Dick, or Harry, will earn the perpetrator distinction if the dominions of King Thomas, King Richard, or King Henry can be held to have got any benefit from them.

A few minutes' reflection will furnish anyone with half a dozen other labels, equally useful for the malevolent, equally injurious to society. '*Liberty*,' '*the Public Weal*,' '*the maintenance of the Constitution*,' '*the interests of Morality*;' were all these personified, how they would gasp and stare at the strange brood of actions to which they are forced to act parent! Not that I would for a moment be held to undervalue these principles in themselves; they are as real as the Equator, and a reasonable being would as soon speak disrespectfully of them. The pity is that these labels, so admirably descriptive of certain lines of action, are all too often applied, with most disastrous results, to actions entirely foreign to their scope and purpose.

The second drawback to the use of labels—that is the praise or blame which attaches to the mere utterance of them—is well instanced

by the term Constancy, or Fidelity; for these words are always used with a certain appreciative significance, though the quality they connote is in itself neither good nor bad. Feeling that perseverance in a good cause is praiseworthy, we are misled by analogy and cherish a sneaking admiration for persistence in a bad one. We usually consider the life-long devotion of a bad woman to a bad man a redeeming feature in her character; really it is only an item in her list of vices, and a very serious one, for her reformation is not likely to begin until she gets rid of it. The persistent belief in the Stuarts, long after they had manifested their incapacity to rule, is regarded as commanding our respect at least, if not our admiration. The glamour which the word 'Loyalty' sheds over the men who came out in the '15 and the '45 blinds us to the really selfish and criminal nature of their undertaking. No clearer instance can be given of the possibility of detesting a cause and at the same time admiring the man who perseveres in it than the touching Jacobite epitaph, written by Lord Macaulay of all people in the world. Those beautiful lines would certainly never have been written had he not felt that loyalty was a quality admirable in itself quite irrespective of the justice or injustice of the cause.

It is only because we do not look things squarely in the face that we denounce inconstancy in love or friendship. The fundamental law of life is the law of change; the man who for the whole of his life loves the same woman in the same way, so far from manifesting his greatness of soul, has probably only proved himself to be a very unprogressive person. It is only possible for a man to keep his early ideals by shutting his eyes to the facts of life, by laying out a pleasure garden round his soul and refusing to stir beyond its bounds, lest he should find something to spoil his dreams. But the man who would fulfil the law of his being, the law of progress, whose supreme desire and aim in life is to learn, to whom each year is but a new term at school with new lessons to be learned or neglected, how can he keep the same ideals, preserve the same tastes, worship the same God, his whole life through? And since it is mainly on these three factors that love and friendship depend, how can he keep the same objects of his affection? It may be, of course, that the woman you love will so grow and progress along the same lines as yourself, that she will always hold the same position in your thoughts which she held when first you loved her; but this does not prove your constancy; it proves your inconstancy; for every year the woman you love is different: and between loving a woman who is different and loving a different woman, tell me, O splitters of hairs, where lies the distinction?

The same is true of friendship. We part in early manhood from one who is to all appearances our Second Self, and when we meet again after the lapse of years we are surprised to find how little we

have in common. We can meet, it is true, in the green meadows of the past, and each 'Do you remember' seems to put us for the moment on the old terms again. But conversation cannot be all reminiscence, and as soon as we talk of ourselves as we are, we too often find that there is a great gulf between us; we take ourselves to task for not feeling the same warmth as of old, and are apt with a lurking feeling of shame to accuse ourselves of inconstancy. We seek to drown the idea by taking repeated pulls at the flagon of Memory which we have in common, but sooner or later, if we are honest, we have to admit that we no longer love the friend of our youth. But we have not proved ourselves inconstant; just the reverse, we are constant to the memory of the man we knew years ago. All through our absence we have pictured him trudging along the same path as ourselves, climbing the same heights, struggling through the same bogs; while all the time his steps have taken him in quite another direction, his experiences have been quite different from ours, and it is only by the rarest of chances that we find him landed on the same plateau or lying at the foot of the same cliff as we.

If, then, what is commonly termed inconstancy turns out to be constancy, and if all healthy-minded people are bound to advance, even at the cost of severing the links which unite them to the past, must we not admit that the use of such terms is mischievous?

Of all the labels which mankind uses, none probably embraces more remarkable incongruities than the word 'Pleasure.' Well might Democritus split his sides at the sight of the toil, the discomfort, the expense, the real physical pain that people will cheerfully undergo so long as they can persuade themselves that their sufferings are all in the cause of Pleasure. It requires a man of more than ordinary discernment to observe, with G. H. Lewes, that the world would be a good enough place but for its pleasures, while only a very few possess enough strength of mind to squarely turn their backs on enjoyment and be happy. The hours we spend in uncongenial society, in pursuits which cannot by any possibility be of use to anyone, in doing things we take no interest in, in reading books which need never have been written, in writing articles which need never be read—all these added together would amount to years in the course of a lifetime, and yet we submit smilingly, uncomplainingly, because we find all these things labelled 'Pleasure' and we ought to take a little relaxation.

C. B. WHEELER.

## *ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN POLITICS IN THE EAST*

FOR some time we have been witnessing certain incidents, such as the passage of the Russian fleet through the Straits, and the Shipka manifestations, which point to great black clouds upon the Turkish horizon. And while the troubles continue in Macedonia the only Power to counsel the Sultan to apply a policy of reform is Russia.

This reversal of the natural order of things forces us to pass in review the history of Turkey, since the Eastern Question has become the supreme problem of the diplomatic world in Europe, and to seek the causes of this sudden change.

Until the eighteenth century Turkey was governed according to the democratic system of the religious laws of the Mussulmans; but Europe having changed her mode of administration, the organisation of the States was based upon quite a different system, which obliged Turkey also to modernise her ancient form of rule. This change gave rise to many internal conflicts, while repeated wars with Russia weakened the State, when Europe was advancing, thanks to the improved method of her administration.

That this state of things had become intolerable was made manifest in the reign of Selim the Third, towards the end of the eighteenth century, and the Sultan endeavoured to reorganise the Empire and ameliorate the condition of the army in accordance with the exigencies of the times, but the opposition of the janissaries and a change of ruler left these projects unexecuted, and the honour of suppressing the janissaries and initiating military reforms fell upon Sultan Mahmoud. This Sultan resuscitated the Empire by establishing military discipline, and changed and improved a great number of the customs of the country; but he could not bring himself to relinquish that absolute power which accorded so well with his character, and the form of government remained the same.

In 1838, on the accession of Sultan Medjid, the administration of the country underwent a certain change, and a law, under the name of *Tanzimat Hairie*, was drawn up, assuring the security of



property, life, and honour, and a Supreme Council was formed at Constantinople to see that it was carried out. These reforms continued until towards the end of the reign of Abdul Medjid, and year by year improvements became more numerous; the people looked forward to the future with confidence, and trade, industry, and agriculture increased to such a degree that they did not suffer by comparison with the old state of things. The revenue of the State rose in 1850 to ten million Turkish pounds, and although there was no surplus on account of the proportionate increase in expenses yet it is also to be remarked that the State had no debt, either at home or abroad.

If all these reforms applied by Turkey, who had been the victim of such untoward events and had been forced to submit to a disorganised administration for so long, may count for progress, yet it is certain that they were not sufficient to place her on a level with the rest of Europe. Rechid Pacha, the great reformer, was the first to try and institute reforms and to liberate the people; but his life was very short. It is true that upon the promulgation of the *Tanzimat* by Rechid Pacha, which secured peace and safety to all classes of Turkish subjects, the Christians were the only ones to complain of certain restrictions; this was because they were better educated and knew more of the world, their business bringing them continually into relations with foreigners, and it came to be believed that the Christians were oppressed by the Mussulmans.

This state of things attracted, on the one hand, the attention of Europe towards Turkey; and Russia, on the other side, taking as her basis the clauses of the Treaty of Kainardje, claimed her right of protection over the Christians of the Empire, which gave rise to the Crimean war. Although the Treaty of Paris had annulled the claim of Russia to protect the Christians in the East, and had assured the integrity of Turkey, Panslavism was the principal lever used by the Russians against Turkey. To put these Panslavist ideas into execution societies were formed in Russia, which excited the country, and the Crimean war was hardly over when Prince Gortchakoff sent notes to the European Powers, complaining afresh of the condition of the Christians in the East.

The Turkish nation had kept in grateful remembrance the friendship of the two great nations of the West; and the reform party, under the energetic leadership of Rechid, Fuad, and Midhat Pachas, sought to obtain the goodwill of England.

In 1860 Abdul Medjid died, and was succeeded by his brother Abdul Aziz, and Ali and Fuad Pachas found themselves at the head of power, and continued the reforms which they had begun. These two statesmen recognised the inutility and futility of all reforms which were not based upon a radical change in the form of government, and which did not give the people a share in its administra-

tion. But before giving up the ancient system it would be necessary to form a Chamber of Deputies, establish electoral laws, and to invest the Ministers with a certain amount of power to oppose to that of the Sultan. But in consequence of the despotic nature of Abdul Aziz it was found impossible to undertake the execution of these projects, or even to bring them forward for discussion. So they were forced to have recourse to another method, which, although leading up to the same object, purported to arise from imperial initiative. Ali and Fuad Pachas recalled Midhat Pacha from the government of the Danube, and the three together succeeded in getting the law on vilayets promulgated. But Sultan Abdul Aziz was not sufficiently advanced. He thought that the nation and the State were two entirely separate affairs, and that their ideas were quite foreign to one another; moreover, believing in the flattery of some of his 'ministers' and courtiers, his despotic ideas took deeper root in him day by day, and, instead of himself submitting to the law, he wanted the law to submit to him and his caprices; all the measures adopted for the improvement and re-organisation of the Empire were a dead letter to him. After the death of Ali and Fuad Pachas, in 1871, Abdul Aziz made Mahmoud Nedim Pacha his Grand Vizier, who was a declared partisan of Russian policy, and who involved the State in debt to the amount of two hundred millions, after having separated the Bulgarian Church from the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople. The new Grand Vizier aggravated the condition of affairs in Herzegovina, and was the cause of the assassination of the Consuls at Salonica. He also allowed himself to become a docile tool in the hands of the Russian Ambassador. Any one who wanted a post under Government was obliged to address himself to the Russian Ambassador, General Ignatieff, to get his wishes put into execution. On the other hand the Russian Ambassador was the man who settled the troubles which supervened in the provinces. I think that a letter from the Russian Ambassador to Mahmoud Nedim, which was passed on to the Sultan, and was published at the beginning of the reign of Abdul Hamid in a pamphlet called *Ussi-Inkilab* ('The Cause of the Evolution'), will be an interesting document in proving this fact.

*The First Dragoman of the Russian Embassy to Mahmoud Nedim.*

My dear Highness,—I have communicated the observations of your Highness to His Excellency the Ambassador, who has assured us in his reply that he will use his influence to arrest the Herzegovinian insurrection. No one desires more earnestly than ourselves the success of your Highness's projects.

Your Highness may give the necessary assurances to whom they may concern.

Dated 1873.

The people rose in indignation against this bad government, and the critical situation of the Empire forced Midhat Pacha to place

himself at the head of the party which brought about the dethronement of Abdul Aziz. Russia, displeased at a change which by its very nature was calculated to destroy her interests, made difficulties on all sides, and addressed herself to the Powers who had signed the Treaty of Paris, calling upon them for a Congress, under the pretext that the troubles in Turkey in Europe were brought about for the object purely and simply of hindering reform.

Abdul Hamid, on succeeding to the throne, in 1878, wrote to Midhat Pacha, assuring him of his intention to respect the various clauses of the Constitution which Sultan Murad, his brother, had respected concerning the sovereign power. But later on he changed his mind, wished to introduce certain modifications, and demanded to be allowed to personally revise the Constitution, a rough draft of which he sent to Midhat Pacha in the following letter :

*Letter addressed by the Sultan to Midhat Pacha, on the Eve of His Grand Vizierat.<sup>1</sup>*

To my Illustrious Vizier Midhat Pacha,—We have made ourselves acquainted with the Constitution which you unofficially forwarded to us, and we have noticed in it passages incompatible with the habits and aptitudes of the nation. Our desire is to assure the future of the country by just administration, and we cannot but appreciate all efforts towards that end. And one of the objects to which we attach much importance is that of safeguarding the sovereign right by a new organisation drawn up with regard to the needs of the people. We desire therefore that the Constitution should be discussed by the Council of Ministers, and should be revised in the manner referred to above. Communicate our greetings to our Grand Vizier and show him this order. In any case we expect from your patriotism that your efforts shall tend towards the object we have in view and demand that this Irade shall be kept secret between our Grand Vizier and yourself.

ABDUL HAMID.

25 November 1876 (9 Zilkadé 1293) Hegeira.

To which Midhat Pacha gave the following reply :

*Letter written by Midhat Pacha to the First Secretary at the Palace.<sup>1</sup>*

Excellency,—As it was impossible for me to thank His Majesty for the favours and the many proofs of goodwill with which he overwhelms me every day and every moment, I am unable in all my life to testify to my gratitude for the signal honour, so disproportionate to my deserts, which I have received in the reply of an autograph letter from His Majesty, inviting me to furnish certain explanations of the text of the Constitution unofficially forwarded to His Majesty. As to the contents of the report which has been submitted, I myself also recognise that the majority of the articles require to be modified and changed, and I think it is not necessary to say that if this text has been submitted to His Majesty as an incomplete rough draft, it was simply with the intention of correcting it later, according to the views and wishes of His Majesty. This report has been drawn up and completed by the Commission convened for the purpose by Imperial command, and, as the time has come when the text should be studied by the Council of Ministers, the terms of the Imperial Irade have been communicated to His High-

<sup>1</sup> Translated from the Turkish originals

nals the Grand Vizier. Now, urged by my fidelity to my Sovereign, and my love for my country, I feel it incumbent upon me, and have the courage to be of opinion that there are two methods of extrication from our present position. The first consists in putting into execution, before the meeting of the Conference, the reforms for our home government that were promised and proclaimed to all the Powers, and the time needed for so doing would be three or four days at the outside. The second method is to accept the proposals formulated by the Powers and to make up our minds to live henceforth and for ever under their tutelage. If the first method is not adopted, or even if its promulgation is delayed and retarded until after the meeting of the Conference, the second becomes inevitable. My attachment to my Sovereign and my love for my country force me to give utterance to these ideas.

MIDHAT.

27 November 1876 (11 Zilkadé 1293) Itegeira.

And the Ottoman Constitution was then officially proclaimed. This proclamation was published on the day that the Conference met, and there are historians and statesmen in Europe who do not hesitate to declare that Midhat Pacha played a trick on Europe. That is a great mistake. It is true that Midhat Pacha did not accept the propositions of the Conference which made certain concessions to Bulgaria, for the concessions made to Bulgaria, initiated by Russia, might lead the other provinces of Turkey to follow its example, which would cause sooner or later the dismemberment of the Empire. It was for this reason that he forced the Sultan either to accept the clauses of the Conference or to promulgate the Constitution. This Constitution, which assured liberty to the various elements of Turkey, put an end to despotic government and united under the same flag thirty million Turkish subjects. The Sultan accepted the Constitution, but Midhat Pacha, having lost faith in his Sovereign, wished to place the Ottoman Constitution under the protection of some of the friendly Powers, who hesitated to undertake the task while congratulating the Turkish Government upon taking such a step. We publish a letter from Midhat Pacha to Lord Derby, which sets forth his policy.

*Letter to Lord Derby.*<sup>2</sup>

My Lord,—The object of the Crimean War, so generously undertaken by England and France, was the perpetuation of the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire and a strong and prosperous Turkey, which involved the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, if the Ottoman statesmen who succeeded to power at the close of this memorable war, and whose dearest wish it was to break with the traditions of the past, had only understood the full significance of their responsible task; but they were so absorbed in foreign politics, and so many difficulties arose at every turn, that they limited their efforts to assisting the introduction into the legislature of the Empire of certain liberal principles, with the object of restraining and repressing the despotic form of government generally deferring until a later date the inauguration of reforms more serious and more suited to the time and circumstances. Unfortunately the reforms which they had

<sup>2</sup> Translated from the French original.

undertaken, restricted though they were, could not be developed in the manner which was anticipated, and did not do the work which their authors had expected of them, nor satisfy the needs of the time.

Therefore every Turk who is sincerely devoted to his country cannot but regret from the bottom of his heart that the Ottoman Empire did not know how to profit by the position in which the Powers had placed her in order that she might secure for herself a future consonant with the wishes of Europe and worthy of the generous sacrifices of England. But if Turkey is guilty—which in point of fact she is—of having lost a precious chance of profiting by the eminently benevolent services of England, services manifested in such a striking manner by the results of the Crimean War, perhaps the English Government may have to reproach itself with having cast away the seed before it had had time to germinate, and of having relaxed too early that severity which it had previously shown in the interests, we admit, of Turkey, and of having thought us ripe for emancipation when our enemies were only flattering our passions and enticing us into a path beset with dangers.

Turkey formerly owed her prestige to the institutions of past ages, which, while respecting the absolute power of the Sultans, also served as a powerful counterbalance to all abuse of sovereign power and safeguarded the interests of the peoples subject to its sway; at the present time she is deprived of every institution calculated to defend the rights of her subjects against an absolute power.

It is obvious to many minds that our present condition can but engender, in the more or less distant future, consequences disastrous to the Empire. They have tried to solve the problem of the amelioration of our government by the creation of institutions which, without being perfectly identical with the national institutions of the most highly civilised European countries, would be, nevertheless, powerful enough to arrest the deviation of sovereign power, to ensure the benefits of a settled government with a special object of improving the disastrous condition of our finances by exerting supreme control over the public revenues and granting absolute equality to all classes of the population without distinction of race or religion. And probably the statesmen of Turkey, who had turned their attention to this important subject, would have succeeded in solving the problem they had set themselves if they had been able to count upon the support of England, whose powerful moral influence, always exercised with discretion and in season, would have succeeded in satisfactorily applying the required system to the above mentioned limited conditions and in gradually bringing about the required result. Such result was well worthy of the benevolent solicitude of England, who might have brought it about either by her own isolated action or by mutual agreement with all the Powers. Moreover Europe had already decided to interfere, should any insurrectionary movement threaten to disturb the peace of the East, no matter whether that movement might have been provoked from outside or should have arisen from troubles proceeding from bad administration, and to impose means of pacification, without any regard for the independence of the Sultan, guaranteed by the terms of the Treaty of Paris. Nothing would have prevented the Powers from interfering, in the interest of Europe, and recommending the Sultan to adopt certain institutions, guaranteeing political rights to all his subjects, and at the same time insuring the peace of Europe and the East. Yes, my Lord, the present position of Turkey, a position of which the Powers had never even dared to dream, whose political principles are diametrically opposed to those of Great Britain, might have been markedly improved if Turkey had learnt by the experience of her late mistakes, and applied herself earnestly to repair them, and especially if England, overlooking what had taken place in the past, had interested herself in our fate with the solicitude and affectionate severity with which she had watched over us at an earlier date. The lack of this severity is most certainly one of the causes of the present troubled state of the Empire.

In submitting confidentially the preceding considerations to the kind attention of your Excellency, as they have been inspired by my conscience, I have a secret conviction that if they should have the good fortune to merit the approval of your Excellency, who are so worthy a subject of that Power whose sacrifices for the Turkish Empire awaken a feeling of profound gratitude in every Mussulman and Christian who is sincerely attached to Turkey, they may become the starting point of the establishment of a system of government to which the Ottoman Empire will owe the birth of her political organisation and Europe the solution of the problem of the pacification of the East.

I am happy, my Lord, to take this opportunity of offering your Excellency the assurance of my greatest esteem.

(Signed) MIDHAT.

17 December 1876.

As may be seen from the correspondence which took place between Midhat Pacha and Said Pacha, then Chief Secretary at the Palace and now *Grand Vizier*, England and France contented themselves with expressing their satisfaction at the promulgation of the Constitution, without entirely participating in the aims of Midhat Pacha.

*To the Chief Secretary of the Palace.*

Excellency,—All the sincere friends of Turkey never cease to engage us—as M. Thiers did lately—to advise us to give, in the present circumstances, proofs of our goodwill to Europe. This very day a despatch from Mussurus Pacha informs us that Lord Derby congratulates the Imperial Government on the dissolution of the Conference, which he considers as a success for Turkey. Lord Derby at the same time advises us to conclude peace with Servia as soon as possible, and to put those of the Articles of the Constitution and those questions adopted by the Conference in the way of immediate realisation. And while taking this friendly counsel into very serious consideration, let us set to work to put into execution without delay the Firmans having reference to the reforms. An Imperial Irade, promulgated the day before yesterday, forbids the admission of Christians into the military schools, which a former Irade had authorised. Now this prohibition is of a nature to compromise in its very beginning an important reform which the whole world is expecting the Constitution to make; and it is natural that obstacles of such a nature should discourage and paralyse the efforts which we are constantly making to serve our country with devotion. We therefore greatly regret that, of all the questions that are to be placed before to-day's Council for its consideration, this one alone remains in suspense, all the more so since the explanations which we submitted to His Majesty in writing yesterday morning have remained unanswered. For this reason I must throw myself upon the Imperial goodwill, and cannot pray too earnestly that His Majesty will bring to bear upon this subject all the prudence and attention which it deserves.

MIDHAT.

24 January 1877 (8 Mouharam 1294) Hegeira.

*To the Grand Vizier Midhat Pacha.\**

Highness,—I had the honour to receive on my return home your Highness's letter, together with the translation of Odian Effendi's telegram.

The despatch, the transmission of which to Constantinople by Lord Beaconsfield is announced by Odian Effendi, seems to have already reached its destination;

\* Translated from the Turkish original.

for to-day at the Palace Sir Henry Elliot said that a happy solution of the present difficulty appeared imminent, and that the Porte having given evidence by her actions of her intention to bring about reforms, the Conference was thinking of only retaining such of its various proposals as concerned the institution of a composite and temporary commission to deal with the insurgent provinces.

I take the respectful liberty of submitting to your Highness my personal opinion upon the following point:

The reflection issued by Odian Effendi with the view of guaranteeing the application of the Constitution and of entering this engagement in the report of the Conference cannot but serve our interests. Your Highness may remember that about twenty days ago I drew your Highness's attention to this very point, for the Constitution, which is your Highness's work, cannot stand without such a guarantee. In order to avoid a loss of precious time in long correspondence and interminable discussions, it is my opinion that your Highness would do well to go yourself direct to the Palace and to explain to His Majesty in an audience the true state of the case and thus bring the question to a satisfactory conclusion.

I have the honour to be. . . .

(Signed) SAID,<sup>4</sup>

Chief Secretary of the Palace.

11 January 1877. Hegeira (25 Zilhidje 1293). 6 o'clock P.M.

*To the Grand Vizier, Midhat Pacha.<sup>5</sup>*

Highness,—

I have informed His Majesty that Lord Derby, after learning the decision of the Grand Council, far from manifesting displeasure, even went so far as to consider the propositions very favourable, and to pronounce that the composition of the Grand Council, due to your distinguished talents, merits not only all our appreciation but also that of foreign States.

All these actions being very praiseworthy, His Majesty has been pleased to approve them. In view of the remarks of Lord Derby that the earliest possible application of the reforms compatible with the Constitution ought to be begun as soon as possible, and taking into consideration the recommendations of the Great Powers that a study of the details of these reforms cannot but be in the interest of the country, His Majesty orders that, starting from to-morrow, and without losing a minute, your Highness shall make it your business to inform him of the measures that must be adopted for the improvement and organisation of the insurgent provinces.

I have the honour. . . .

SAID,

Chief Secretary of the Palace.

21 January 1877. Hegeira (5 Moharem 1294). 2 o'clock (night).

Russia, perceiving that the change that had taken place in the form of government would entirely upset the policy that she had pursued for so long, then sought through the instrumentality of General Ignatieff to regain her influence in the Palace, expressing herself in very strong terms. The visit of the Ambassador's representative to the Palace is related in detail by the Chief Secretary to Midhat Pacha in the following letter:

<sup>4</sup> Now Grand Vizier.

<sup>5</sup> Translated from the Turkish original.

*To the Grand Visier, Midhat Pasha.<sup>c</sup>*

Highness,—By Imperial command I hasten to give your Highness the following information :

The Russian Ambassador having indirectly insisted that His Majesty should accept the proposals already made, the following official declarations have been made to him in reply : From the outset of the events which have given rise to these propositions the Imperial government has exerted every effort, and still persists in that intention ; nevertheless the reciprocal and pacific agreement of the Powers is indispensable, in order that these efforts may bear fruit without giving rise to any annoying incidents which would disturb the general peace. That is to say that any persistence in proposals of a nature likely to injure the rights and independence of the Empire would create a regrettable situation, the responsibility of which would fall upon those who had brought it about.

This decision was remitted to the Ambassador by the intermediary ; he showed anxiety, and displayed signs of annoyance and irritability ; moreover, having listened to these replies in silence, the Ambassador took some minutes to consider, then delivered himself of a long speech, the gist of which is as follows : The Russian Government in no way desires war ; as to himself personally, considering the position he has held with regard to the Sublime Porte for some time, he had not hoped to obtain a satisfactory result by entering into direct communication with His Majesty ; he had therefore decided to propose to the Ambassadors and Delegates of the Powers that they should confer with His Majesty upon the subject. With the object of getting his propositions accepted, and in support of his demands, he enumerated the evils of war, and charged his intermediary to explain to His Majesty that the safety of the Empire demanded that the matter should be referred to the decisions of the foreign Powers. The Ambassador also told the intermediary in question that the Ambassador would receive a substantial reward from his Government in the event of his getting the Sultan to conform to his wishes.

At the reception of the intermediary by His Majesty, the same answers were given, and His Majesty added that latterly all Ottomans had learnt to know in which direction lay their safety and their danger, and that Mussulmans and Christians alike were ready to avert that danger, that excitement ran high among his subjects, that feeling was so strong that the Bulgarians, who were considered by Russia to have been ill-treated by the Government, were disposed to join their compatriots for purposes of war and defence ; moreover, they were proving the sincerity of their words by their deeds, the peaceful intentions of the Imperial Government and the Conference alone opposing the execution of their desires. Nevertheless, if the Conference insisted upon its proposals being carried out, war would inevitably ensue, which would be entered upon as a duty, for the purpose of avenging the insults to our honour. All resistance to public opinion would become impossible to the Imperial Government, and His Majesty would be forced to put himself at the head of his people to defend the flag.

His Majesty thinks it probable that Ignatieff will change his mind with regard to insisting upon these points ; on the other hand, the information recently received here would indicate that Lord Salisbury's line of conduct having met with as much disapproval in England as among the English residents here, it is possible that Lord Salisbury may not persist in carrying out his first intentions.

We think it would be advisable for our delegates to express themselves in similar language.

I have the honour. . . .

SALD,

Chief Secretary of the Palace.

8 January 1877. Hageira (22 Zilhidge 1293).

<sup>c</sup> Translated from the Turkish originals.



Midhat Pacha, on his part, wrote to Mussurus Pacha, the Ambassador in London, with the intention of giving England full information concerning the Russian activity in Turkey.

*Confidential Telegram to Mussurus Pacha.\**

For some days the idea of a direct connection with Russia has most inopportunistically made itself apparent among us. Those who applaud this idea take care not to mention the propaganda in the hearing of the Sultan's ministers, nor to proclaim it openly, but nevertheless it seems to exercise a certain influence over timorous and egoistical minds. If these gentlemen are to be believed, Russia cares nothing either for the autonomy of the three provinces or for the administrative and governmental reforms which have been projected. We need only throw ourselves upon her generosity to avert the dangers of war. She wishes nothing better than to leave Turkey in the enjoyment of her independence and integrity, would not be the most exacting of Powers so far as the Oriental Christians are concerned, and if the Sublime Porte would only renounce the privileges contained in Article V. of the Treaty of Paris, which under no circumstances has prevented the Powers from interfering in the relations between the Sultan and his subjects, the effect in Russia's goodwill towards the Empire would soon make itself felt, and would fortify us against all interference from without. It would not even be the protectorate of the orthodox demanded by Mentchakoff; Russia would only ask to help us with her advice, in her character of a neighbouring Power directly interested in the tranquillity of our country.

Those who have been able to imagine such a combination cannot be aware either of the position that their country would take or the part they destine her to play, and in any other circumstances this combination would not warrant the Imperial Government in taking any notice of it. But so overwhelming are the inextricable difficulties among which we are struggling at the present moment, with no possibility of finding an issue to the situation, that at any given moment this fatal idea may gain the upper hand. Threatened by a war in which they cannot hope to find an ally, brought face to face with proposals and demands which they find it impossible to reconcile with the independence and integrity of the Empire, brought also face to face with an exasperated nation, the present ministers of His Majesty at this eleventh hour would only take counsel of their mortified patriotism, and if the country is to be lost by war they would prefer to give themselves up altogether to despair to lending themselves to any combination tending to turn Turkey into a Russian province. But their voice cannot make itself heard—and there would remain to them nothing but to retire.

It is in quite a confidential way that I am giving you this information respecting the catastrophe which is preparing. I think that we ought not to allow Lord Derby to remain in ignorance, that we should entreat him not to abandon us in the midst of the dangers which threaten us on all sides. In our opinion these dangers may be averted if they would make up their minds only to demand guarantees for reforms based upon the principle of decentralisation, and for a control of the people in conformity with the Parliamentary system.

Will you kindly let me know as soon as possible what impressions you receive from your conversation with Lord Derby?

MIDHAT.

10 January 1877.

After all the efforts exerted by Midhat Pacha to procure for Turkey the friendship of the Western Powers, and particularly that of

\* Mussurus Pacha, Turkish Ambassador in London, 1876. Translated from the French original.

England, who would not attach to the question the importance it deserved, it is not surprising that we have to state that at the present time Russian policy is gaining much ground in Turkey. The Turks know perfectly well that those Turkish statesmen who have the safety of their country at heart are inclined towards the English and French policy. The great Rechid Pacha, Ali, and Fuad Pacha were supported by Lord Palmerston, and Midhat Pacha by Lord Beaconsfield; while those Ottoman ministers who only sought their own personal advancement, such as Mahmoud Nedim Pacha, and gave themselves up to the ruin of their country, enjoyed great consideration on the part of Russia.

In making allusion to the support which England gave to such statesmen as Rechid, Fuad, and Midhat we cannot bring ourselves to believe that her friendship was altogether personal. Each of these men was the representative of an idea, a party. This Liberal idea, this reform party (called Young Turkey) did not perish with the assassination of Midhat, but on the contrary Liberal Ottomans have greatly increased in numbers.

Sultan Abdul Hamid, who for twenty-five years has done all in his power to bring discredit on the partisans of reform in Turkey, has sent among them men without either faith or law, who have tried to prejudice them in the eyes of the world. And if this Liberal party remains in the shade it is because of the terror that reigns at Constantinople, and also grows in a direct ratio, and because not one partisan of reform is in power or protected by a friendly Power. It is fighting the Government in the midst of the ignorance of the population.

In comparison with its situation in the reign of Abdul Aziz the Ottoman Empire has manifestly declined; her navy is ruined, her army broken up, her finances in a state of bankruptcy.

The State revenue amounts at the present time to about 6,000,000*l.* Turkish, which is derived from the National Debt, which now reaches a sum of more than 200,000,000*l.*

The Bagdad Railway Concession has been obstinately refused to the English by Sultan Abdul Hamid, though they have more than once made offers for it on terms very advantageous to the Turks; notwithstanding the fact that, in accordance with the programme of Ali, Fuad, and Midhat Pachas, this concession was to have been offered to England.

If events had been more favourable to the partisans of the English party, and if, on the other hand, the agents of Russia had been less lucky in their intrigues, it is certain that the face of the Eastern Question would have worn quite another aspect.

The domination of Russian policy and the decline of English influence since 1884 have caused not only chaos in the home Government, but have insensibly modified all the treaties existing

with foreign countries. To-day it is the passage of the Straits, brought about by the Skipka rising; to-morrow it will be the defence of the Russian Consulates in the provinces, which are agitated by the Russian troops; then the North Anatolian Railway Concession, which is in negotiation, will turn a part of Turkey into a tributary province of the Muscovite Empire.

For many years it has been a question of a sick man. Who will deny that he is in his death throes to-day?

In an article published by a Russian personage in the *Revue de Paris* in 1899 it was clearly proved how the Cabinet at St. Petersburg hesitated to insist upon the Treaty of San Stephano, in face of the activity displayed by Great Britain. The author of this article is surprised that, considering what has taken place in Armenia, the Russian Government did not take advantage of the circumstances to occupy Constantinople, at the same time declaring that he who would offer a barrier to this traditional policy of Russia must needs be a very bold man.

ALI HAYDAR MIDHAT.

## THE ABYSSINIAN QUESTION AND ITS HISTORY

Le Négus: . . . sait après lui, comme de son vivant, l'unité Abyssine ne court pas de péril. Il est sûr, d'autre part, que la France et la Russie ont un intérêt trop net à maintenir l'intégrité de la nation et de la patrie Abyssine, pour permettre contre ce pays quelque nouvelle entreprise de violence. Il tient l'aveu que les Anglais ne peuvent se passer de lui pour régler la question du Nil. Il sent à son côté la clef de la fécondité de l'Égypte. . . .

Je sais de quoi je parle, ayant vu, par la volonté du Négus, le secret dont il a écarté d'autres yeux. . . .

Ce n'est point une prophétie que j'écris à la dernière ligne de ce livre, mais une conclusion logique que je tire de faits observés :

Avant que du Cap au Caire coure un chemin de fer de conquête, boulevard de l'ambition d'un seul peuple, en travers de l'Afrique, il y aura une grande route commerciale offerte à l'activité bienfaisante de tous. Sur le carrefour de la mer Rouge, sa porte triomphale aura été ouverte par Ménélik et nous.

Such are the concluding sentences of M. Hugues Le Roux in his book *Ménélik et nous*, published during the latter half of the year 1901 as a result of his travels in Abyssinia from December 1900 to June 1901. And this book is not, like our English descriptions of the Negus' territories, the work of a private explorer, bent on sport or even on scientific research. It is, *prima facie*, a political study of the nation. M. Le Roux was officially invited to visit the country by the Emperor Menelik, through his chief councillor M. Ilg. He became the guest of His Imperial Majesty during his stay in Ethiopia. Before deciding to leave home, he consulted in Paris the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, for the Navy and for the Colonies, all of whom urged him to accept the invitation and offered to advance a sum of 18,000 francs towards defraying his expenses. His journey may be termed an official visit. He began by inspecting the English ports of Aden and Zeila.

His book leaves no room for doubt, even if any still existed, that through Abyssinia the French hope to establish a line of trade across Africa from east to west in opposition to our Cape to Cairo railway from north to south. In this they have already achieved some success. They have settled themselves along the Gulf of Tadjoura, on the south of which they hold the magnificent Bay of Djibouti, while

on the north their flag waves over the small port of Obok. But their real triumph in these regions has been the establishment of a lasting friendship with Abyssinia by judicious consignments of arms and ammunition—which were used against Italy in the war of 1896. Finally, they are now in the act of building a French railway from Djibouti to Addis Abeba, the capital of Abyssinia. This railway will completely cut out the British port of Zeila, for in the concession granted by Menelik it is stipulated that no company is to be permitted to construct a railroad on Abyssinian territory that shall enter into competition with that of M. Ilg and M. Chefneux.<sup>1</sup>

Such being the condition of affairs, it is perhaps time that Britons should realise the importance of the Negus and his Empire—a state that has entered the political circle almost without our being aware of it.

Its population, the major portion of which is Semitic in blood, consists perhaps of 10 million inhabitants, and its army of about 400,000 men. These are the highest estimates. In 1896, when Menelik made a public appeal for volunteers against Italy, it is said that 200,000 men answered his call to arms. But since then he has increased his territory and improved his organisation; his prestige has been enormously enhanced. It is quite possible that he may have doubled the number of his fighting men. He has modern rifles and modern guns; even in 1896 his artillery was equal to that of Baratieri, though not so well served. Anent this last point, a characteristic story is told by an Italian officer who while hostage in the Shoan camp was asked by a chief to explain some points relating to the service of artillery. On his refusing the Balambaras merely remarked, 'Never mind. We have learnt to use modern rifles, and we shall soon learn to use modern guns.' It seems that they have done so.

For purposes of clearness this sketch of the last sixty years will be divided into three periods: I. The period before European intervention. II. The period when European nations begin to threaten Abyssinian independence. III. The period of the great struggle between Italy and Shoa.

I. Abyssinia,<sup>2</sup> or Ethiopia, as it is more correctly called, is the oldest nation in the world, if we except Egypt, which can now hardly be called a nation. For forty centuries we see Egypt a land of fertility and bright sunshine, while Ethiopia from time to time looms through the mist of early history, appearing then, as it does on our modern maps, a dark mass of mountains of which but little is known. But mountains breed a hardy race of men and a spirit of independence.

<sup>1</sup> *Ménlik et nous*, Hugues Le Roux, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> The word 'Abyssinia' is derived from Abeschi, meaning 'cross-breeds' or 'mongrels,' and was first applied to the Ethiopians by their Arab invaders as a term of contempt. Ethiopia is the true and ancient name of the country.

The Ethiopians have probably never been permanently conquered, whereas Egypt has again and again fallen a prey to her invaders.

• Pre-Christian Ethiopia does not concern the present subject except that in 986 B.C. we come to the first traditional date of any actual importance, when Maqueda, Queen of Sheba, visits Solomon, and the result of this visit is the birth of a son named Menelik, from whom every subsequent emperor deems it necessary to trace his descent. The history of modern Ethiopia does not in reality begin until about the year 330 A.D., when Christianity was first preached by St. Frumentius (a bishop consecrated by St. Athanasius), who was wrecked on the coast of the Red Sea. This is the great landmark in the story; from that time a fresh basis of continuity is introduced into the national life. It is its Christianity that has preserved the integrity of Abyssinia. When the Mohammedans swept round the coasts of the Mediterranean, cutting her off from the rest of the civilised world, when they penetrated westward through Constantinople to the walls of Vienna, even when they spread their creed deep into the centre of Africa, the Ethiopian mountaineers threw back wave after wave of invasion, opposing a dogged resistance, that might at times be defeated, but could never be permanently overcome. 'Ethiopia,' says Menelik in his letter to the civilised powers (the 10th of April, 1891), 'has been for fourteen centuries an island of Christians amidst the sea of pagans. As the Almighty has protected Ethiopia to this day, I am confident that He will protect and increase her in the future.'

Owing to these desolating wars of religion which for 250 years cut her off from all connection with the civilised world, Abyssinia has not yet developed beyond the feudal stage. Her dominions consist of innumerable small fiefs grouped into four large provinces, each of which has at times formed an independent nation: Tigré in the north, Amhara in the centre, Gojjam in the west, and Shoa in the south-west (to these the south-eastern province of Harrar has lately been added by Menelik). Each province was constantly at war with its neighbour. For 150 years before 1840 the history of Abyssinia is nothing but a story of internecine struggle. It presents all the worst aspects of feudalism. The chiefs are practically independent, the people are downtrodden, and the Negus is powerless. The Mohammedans, taking advantage of the general chaos, are rapidly gaining ground.

So far had this degeneration gone that in 1840 the Negus, of the line of Solomon, had fallen entirely under the control of Ras Ali and his mother Menen, who were Mohammedans, so that Ethiopia, hitherto invincible, had actually sunk for the moment under the rule of Islam.

It was at this epoch, when it seemed that she might actually fall to pieces owing to her internal dissensions, that a great man appeared—

namely, the Emperor Theodore. During the next sixty years, from being a collection of unknown and barbarous tribes, Abyssinia gradually becomes a united and an important factor in the politics of the civilised world. She owes her regeneration to a succession of three rulers of remarkable ability—the Emperors Theodore, John, and Menelik.

Never probably has there been a more remarkable life than that of Theodore, or Kassa, as was his true name. He was born in 1818, or according to other authorities in 1820, being the illegitimate son of Hailo, chief of the small province of Quara. Owing to the rebellion of his father and Ras Ali's consequent invasion, he was obliged to fly with his mother, and for some years they lived in the most extreme poverty in Gondar. Yet from being a beggar he rose to be emperor. The regeneration of Abyssinia is undoubtedly due to his genius. He deliberately set himself to overthrow the Mohammedan power and to reunite the whole race under one Christian ruler. That he should have been unable to complete the latter project makes it extremely probable that it was then impossible, for he was a man of extraordinary talents. So great was his fame as a warrior that on more than one occasion hostile armies fled before him without striking a blow, deeming his power supernatural. Yet he was unequal to the task of subduing the border chieftains. He had conceived the true method of doing so—namely, by organising a standing army on European lines. But the difficulties were insurmountable; he found himself constantly deserted and betrayed. Irritated and reckless, he became half insane. At times, like Ivan the Terrible of Russia, he ordered the most savage cruelties to be carried out for no purpose whatsoever: men were beaten to death without a cause, priests died at the stake, monasteries were sacked—until one by one his followers deserted him in terror for their lives and for their souls. Yet no one dared to meet him in battle. His career of success remained unbroken. At length, in 1868, it was brought to an end by the expedition under Lord Napier, who advanced to free the Europeans that Theodore had imprisoned. Although while still at the height of his power he had more than once commanded armies 150,000 strong, to meet the British Theodore could only raise a paltry eight or ten thousand men. Almost all had deserted him; yet even now no man of his own race dared to face him in the field. The struggle was short. As the British entered the gates of Magdala they crossed the body of Theodore, who had blown his brains out, proving once again, what he had shown throughout his whole life, that he preferred death to defeat.

The greatest benefits that the Abyssinian nation owes to him are the expulsion of the Mohammedans and the revival of a central imperial government. Before him the power of the Negus Nagasti had sunk into being merely a name. After him it was a reality. The rival chiefs no

longer claim independent sovereignty; they each endeavour to become emperor of the whole race. If Abyssinia should some day become the first native African civilised nation, it will be due to the iron determination of Theodôre.

During the period of his true greatness he was well disposed to Great Britain. Two Englishmen, Plowden, the British consul at Massowah, and Bell, a retired naval officer, were amongst his best and truest friends to the day of their death. It was only due to the mistaken action of the British Government and to his own violent temper that the final breach took place.

By the death of Theodore the Ethiopians felt that they had been freed from the ravages of a wild animal. The relief throughout the nation was intense, and a salutary feeling of respect was excited for a people that did not hesitate to spend its blood and money simply in order to restore to liberty a handful of fellow-countrymen. The Abyssinian expedition of 1868 cost us 9 millions, but, after the first seven or eight weeks of uncertainty, it was well done. The sight of the British field force slowly and surely advancing for hundreds of miles through that strange and almost impassable country, and, once the object was accomplished, retracing its steps without seeking any compensation in plunder or territory, inspired a deep feeling of admiration amongst those warlike populations. An Italian officer, Major Gamera, relates that even in the next generation one of his native soldiers told him he had enlisted because he heard that the Italians were friends of the British—more openhanded, so it was said, though not so rich. And we were allies of Abyssinia; for the new Emperor John gained his throne chiefly through British rifles and British advice. He therefore regarded himself to his dying day as the friend of Queen Victoria.

In John of Tigré the Abyssinians were fortunate enough to find another ruler of unusual ability. He had not the genius of Theodore, but he had far more patience and stability. He worked in a careful manner and with good results for his country. Personally fearless, he has left behind him the reputation of a great warrior and a successful leader; at the same time he was tinged with that religious fanaticism which also influenced the life of his generalissimo, Ras Alula; yet he was a man (comparatively speaking) of enlightenment and moderation, who understood the importance of European influence. His personal appearance is thus described by Sir Gerald Portal, who visited his camp in 1888:

He appeared to me to be taller than the majority of Abyssinians, about forty-five years of age, with a thin, intelligent-looking face and keen bright eyes. His complexion was very dark, though by no means black, the forehead prominent, and nose thin and aquiline; an otherwise good and intellectual face was, however, somewhat marred by a cruel-looking mouth, the thin lips of which were usually parted, disclosing an even row of strong white teeth. . . . His Majesty's manner had been courteous and dignified throughout (the interview).



In another passage Sir Gerald Portal says that Ras Alula was feared, but hated, whereas John was feared, but 'appeared to be loved and respected by his wild subjects to a remarkable degree.'<sup>3</sup>

It is impossible to study the history of his reign without sympathising with his difficulties; from the very first he shows an unusual power of judgment as well as a bold heart. In 1869, when the British retired, a state of anarchy reigned throughout Abyssinia. John had been the ally of England, but he could only raise 12,000 men, whereas his chief rival, Gobasié of Amhara, had 60,000. But the 12,000 Tigréans were well armed with British weapons, and he was acting under the advice of a non-commissioned officer named Kirkham, who had seen service in India. The result of the encounter was a complete victory over Gobasié, and Kirkham was promoted to the rank of general in the Abyssinian army, but he shortly afterwards fell into disgrace and died in prison.

The Emperor (John now claimed that title) was thus rid of his chief enemy, but he had still to meet the rulers of Gojjam and Shoa. Gojjam had been given by Gobasié to a young and valiant follower of his named Ras Adal, who, however, took the name of Tecla Aimanot (foundation of religion) on becoming Negus of Gojjam—a throne that he occupied until his death in 1901. Discouraged, perhaps, by the overthrow of his master, Tecla Aimanot submitted without a prolonged struggle, and John had no longer any rival left except Menelik of Shoa, who is now known to all the world as the Negus Nagasti of Abyssinia, and celebrated as the victor of Adowa.

For the next eight years the history of these two men is the history of Abyssinia. The contrast between them is strongly marked. John is the greater warrior, but Menelik is the abler politician. John wins our sympathy by his courage and activity, while Menelik, though by no means deficient in these qualities, does not fight unless (as he himself has said) he is compelled to do so. Yet his early days were full of adventures and danger. As he has since become famous, a short account of his life may perhaps be interesting.

When Theodore in 1856 conquered Shoa, the Shoan Prince Ailu, unable to contend against the invader, entrusted Menelik, his only son, at that time about ten years old, to the care of his most faithful followers. In spite of their desperate resistance young Menelik was captured, and compelled to go to the imperial court; but Theodore seems to have taken a fancy to the boy, for during ten years of captivity he treated him well, and gave him the title of Dedjazmatch. Finally, in 1865, Menelik, now twenty-one years of age, escaped and sought refuge with Workitu, Queen of the Wollo Gallas, determined at all costs to recover his inheritance in Shoa.

<sup>3</sup> *My Mission to Abyssinia*, p. 152.

Now Queen Workitu had been compelled to give her son as a hostage to Theodore; so no sooner did the Emperor hear that Menelik was at her Court than he sent her the following laconic message: 'Either you protect Menelik and your son will be executed, or else you give up Menelik and your son will be restored to you.'

The old men, her advisers, strongly urged her to surrender Menelik, firstly in order to save her son's life, secondly in order to save her own throne; but, contrary to all expectation, this brave woman firmly refused to do so. 'If I follow your advice,' she said, 'it would mean two victims, both my son and Menelik; now God designs that one of the two shall be saved.' She therefore sent Menelik to Shoa under a strong escort, and Theodore had her son executed; this was the first of three great occasions on which Menelik's life was preserved in an almost miraculous manner.

On reaching Shoa he was confronted by an army under Bezabu, the governor appointed by Theodore, and it became evident that he must fight if he were to save his life and win back his inheritance. The chances were all against him, for his enemies were numerous and appeared resolute. Menelik, therefore, as seems to be his custom, entered a church near the field of battle, and prayed long and earnestly for success, then, mounting his horse, he prepared to lead the attack. But here for the second time fortune stood by him in a wonderful manner. No attack was necessary. When the Shoans understood that it was indeed the grandson of the great Selassié and the son of their beloved Prince Ailu, they refused to strike a blow against him; they received him in triumph and crowned him their king (August 1865).

During the next eight years we find Menelik consolidating his dominions and extending his rule over the Galla tribes. In 1868 Theodore died, and it was not until 1873 that the duel really began between Menelik and the new Emperor John.

In that year certain Shoaan rebels fled to John and besought his protection. This was the opportunity that the Emperor required—an excuse for bringing all Abyssinia under his rule and subduing Menelik, who from the very first had been his rival. He invaded Shoa. But here for the third time fortune interfered on behalf of Menelik. Before John could complete his conquest he heard that the Egyptians were marching against Abyssinia; he was therefore obliged to withdraw his forces and prepare to meet the foreign invader.

The crisis could not be regarded as anything but serious. The Egyptians were armed with Remingtons and organised according to

\* Called Alesié by other writers who consider Bezabu as merely a rebel. The accounts vary; according to some of them, Menelik was compelled to do a great deal of fighting before being finally victorious.

European ideas. Indeed, John is said at first to have contemplated seeking European assistance, but he was soon convinced that he must rely only upon his own energy and resources. His cause was a good one. In 1875 the Khedive Ismail had planned an invasion of Abyssinia, whose border chiefs were constantly making small raids on Egyptian territory. But he did not intend to limit his efforts to mere reprisals; he planned a conquest of Ethiopia—at all events of Tigré—and arranged that an expedition should start secretly from Massowah. Once the success had been achieved, he believed that the European powers would acquiesce in his new conquest.

Amongst the Egyptian officers the whole affair was regarded as a triumphal march, consequently the expedition was very badly managed. Only 5,000 men had been ordered to start from Massowah, and only 2,200 arrived at Gundet,<sup>5</sup> where John had determined to meet them. The Egyptians were echeloned over a space of nine miles, a straggling column marching southwards to the River Mareb. Their advanced guard, under Zichi (a European), was a mile in front of the main body, under Colonel Ahrendrup (a Danish officer in Ismail's service); in rear of him came an American colonel with 800 men; and in rear of all came Arakel Bey with 800 good Sudanese riflemen.

The night before the battle John crossed the Mareb River unperceived; he then divided his army into three columns, sending one to the right and one to the left. At early dawn he surrounded and attacked the advanced guard, driving it back on to the main body under Colonel Ahrendrup, and after an hour's fighting both detachments were destroyed. The next body of men, however, the eight hundred under the American officer, held out well, and although John attacked them at 9 A.M. it was not until 2 P.M. that their resistance was overcome. There now remained only the Sudanese under Arakel Bey. These unfortunate men saw plainly that they had not the slightest chance of victory; they were entirely outnumbered and their retreat was cut off. Nevertheless they fought with characteristic courage, struggling on gamely for two hours longer. Quarter was neither asked nor given. In the evening four men out of the whole Egyptian force escaped and made their way to Massowah, where their narrative was at once suppressed by order of Ismail, who desired that the whole matter should remain unknown. But throughout the Sudan there still lingers a story of how the body of Arakel Bey was found lying with its back to a rock and surrounded by fifteen dead Abyssinians whom he had shot.

Shortly afterwards the news arrived that Münzinger Pasha, who had been ordered to create a diversion by advancing from the east through Aussa, had been surrounded and killed by John's allies. The campaign for 1875 was therefore at an end. 6

<sup>5</sup> In the south of Serae, on the road from Godofelassi to Adowa.

In 1876 Ismail prepared to avenge his defeat at Gundet. This time he sent a well-organised force of 10,000 men under Prince Hassan, and they penetrated as far as Gura, in northern Okule-Kusai. Here they took up a strong position in front of a mountain, on which their Sudanese reserves were posted. Either flank rested on a small fort; it seemed, in fact, to be a place of absolute security for these 10,000 men, armed as they were with the latest weapons of Europe.

John employed the usual Abyssinian tactics. He proceeded to attack the front of the position, at the same time enveloping both flanks and attacking the mountain in their rear. The Sudanese again distinguished themselves by their brave defence, but they were unable to hold out against the rush of the Abyssinians, who must have been almost 100,000 strong. The Egyptians gave way as soon as they saw their retreat threatened, and Prince Hassan remained a prisoner in the hands of John. Thus ended the battle of Gura in another complete defeat for the Egyptians. Prince Hassan was afterwards set free on payment of a heavy ransom, but not until John had tattooed on his arm, as memento of his visit, a cross with the inscription, 'The mark of the Christian King.'

These glorious campaigns added greatly to the prestige of the Emperor and to the renown of the nation. But during his absence Menelik had not been idle. In 1876 he had seized Gondar (the capital of Amhara) and proclaimed himself Negus Nagasti, invading Gojjam, which was defenceless owing to the absence of Tecla Aimanot with the Emperor. In fact, Menelik might have been successful had it not been for the revolt of his own subjects, who disapproved of these aggressive tactics. When John returned he found Menelik almost powerless owing to rebellions and discontent. Had it not been for the rainy season the Emperor could have invaded Shoa without difficulty; as it was, he did not succeed in doing so until 1878, and Menelik, though he had raised an army, submitted almost without a blow, agreeing to pay tribute on condition of being granted the title of Negus. From this time forth John was nominally master of the whole nation.

This, then, was the condition of affairs when the British and Italians first came into close connection with the native powers on the Red Sea coast. John and his faithful follower Ras Alula were the heroes of the successful wars against Egypt; but in the background stood Menelik at the head of the most populous of the four provinces (Harrar was still in the hands of Egypt). That he had no sense of patriotism beyond the boundaries of Shoa he had already made clear; but he was unalterably determined to avenge the humiliation inflicted on him by the Emperor, and some day himself to sit on the imperial throne of Ethiopia.

II. It is at this period that we reach an entirely new phase in

the history of the world—namely, that which ended in the partition of Africa. Abyssinia was now to find herself face to face with European nations, that came, not as heretofore for temporary purposes, but to effect permanent settlements, and eventually to extend their sway over the whole continent. Those with which she had to deal were Great Britain, Italy, and eventually France. At the same time her western flank was threatened by the huge Dervish empire, founded originally by the Mahdi.

The greatness of Turkey was on the wane, and already her possessions were being divided up amongst the Christian nations. In 1882, after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, England may be considered as having definitely established herself in Egypt. In the same year the Italians officially declared Assab, on the Red Sea coast, to be an Italian colony. John was therefore brought into contact with two new powers, acting in unison, and both bent on expansion.

For the moment, however, their own difficulties were more than they could cope with. The rise of the Mahdi had formed the innumerable savage tribes of central Africa into one single empire—aggressive, proselytising, and fanatical. These Mohammedans were a danger not only to British and Italian interests, but to the very existence of Abyssinia herself. They pressed hard upon the southern frontiers of Egypt, and they overran the whole of north-eastern Africa almost to the coasts of the Red Sea, besieging the Egyptian garrisons in Tokar, Sinkat, Kassala, Berber, and even threatening the ports. United action became necessary to repel the invaders. Great Britain, now that she had established herself on the Nile, felt responsible for the Egyptian garrisons. We find, therefore, that in 1884 Admiral Hewett concludes an alliance with John, whereby the Abyssinians were to relieve the garrisons of Kassala, Amedib, Sanhit, &c., whose provisions were beginning to run short.

The enterprise was a failure. The Negus occupied the northern province of Bogos, though only after a gift of 10,000 rifles—which, together with those captured in 1875 and 1876, made a total of about 25,000 that he had secured in the course of nine years. But he only relieved the smaller garrisons of Gallabat and Gera. Then on the 5th of February 1885 Khartum fell. This was a blow to British prestige. But Kassala was still holding out, so Ras Alula started to its relief. He was met about half-way by Osman Digna with about 8,000 Dervishes, his own force being perhaps 10,000 strong. This was a notable encounter between the two greatest native leaders in Africa. Osman Digna was the best known of the Mahdi's generals, and Ras Alula was already celebrated for his service against the Egyptians in 1875 and 1876, though he has since won a far higher renown by his victories against Italy. At Kufit the two armies met. For a time the fanatical valour of the Dervishes bore back the Abyssinians. But Ras Alula was a man who

never failed in an emergency. At the critical moment of the battle, marking an important point in the Dervish line, he himself galloped forward, and led the Abyssinians to the charge, shouting, it is said, 'This time we will conquer or die.' The Mahdists were routed. But the garrison of Kassala unfortunately failed to take advantage of the victory. They remained in the town, where, after a magnificent resistance, they were eventually compelled to surrender. The defence of Kassala is the most glorious episode of any during these wars, excepting, of course, Gordon's defence of Khartum.

Up to this point Great Britain had always been the ally of Abyssinia. But here we come to the parting of the ways. From this time forth the British Government had to choose between their friendship for Italy and their alliance with John. They chose the former. It was no longer possible for them to support both powers, because the breach between Italy and Abyssinia was daily becoming more serious.

For some years the Italians had been aiming at the establishment of a permanent colony on the Red Sea coast. On the 5th of February, 1885, the very day of the fall of Khartum, Colonel Saletta with 1,000 men had occupied Massowah, a port that had hitherto been held by Egypt, but which the Emperors of Ethiopia had always claimed as belonging to their ancient dominions. This, however, alone, would not have been sufficient to provoke hostilities. But the Italians very soon discovered that the sea coast was almost useless for purposes of colonisation, owing to its low and unhealthy character. They wanted to advance thirty or forty miles inland in order to establish themselves on the high plateau of Abyssinia. It was in endeavouring to accomplish this that they came into conflict with the Emperor John and Ras Alula.

A series of untoward accidents rapidly increased the latent hostility that culminated in 1887 in the first Italo-Abyssinian war: the protection by General Saletta of a native chief who afterwards turned out to be a personal enemy of Ras Alula; the capture by the Ras of Count Salimbeni's party, whom he took to be spies because it contained two military men; and finally the advance of General Gené to the village of Ua. On hearing of this last move Alula sent an ultimatum on the 12th of January, 1887, demanding the evacuation of Ua by the 21st of January—'otherwise know that our friendship has ceased.'

This meant war. To such a letter there could of course be only one answer—a refusal; so on the 25th of January Ras Alula with 10,000 men advanced against Saati, then a fortified village held by two companies, a section of artillery, and 300 irregulars under command of Major Boretti.

At 11 A.M. the action began. Alula quickly surrounded the village and cut it off from Massowah; he then posted some of his

men on the heights opposite the Italian position, whilst the remainder of his army crept forward amongst the valleys, evidently intending to get as near as possible before exposing themselves in the final rush.

Boretti, however, observed this advance and sent a half-company of white men and fifty natives under Lieutenant Cuomo to compel the enemy to show themselves. The movement was entirely successful. In a valley Cuomo discovered about a hundred Abyssinians, on whom he opened a deadly fire. As if by enchantment, the whole force of the enemy discovered themselves, and while the men under Lieutenant Cuomo (who was mortally wounded) were retiring, according to orders, they moved to attack the fort.

Boretti was in no wise discomposed, and received his bold assailants with a terrible fire from both rifles and artillery, repulsing them several times and finally compelling them, discouraged by their losses, to give up the attempt and retreat towards Desset.<sup>6</sup>

The Italian casualties were only five killed and three wounded; those of the Abyssinians were about 200 killed and wounded.

It was a brilliant victory for the small force of white men, and the news was received with enthusiasm at Rome. But the Italians might well have remembered that Ras Alula was a leader of many years' experience, and that a repulse of this magnitude was no new or important matter to him. His reply was swift and decisive.

On the following day General Gené, being anxious about the fate of his garrison at Saati, sent a battalion 500 strong, with fifty irregulars and two machine-guns, under Colonel De Cristoforis, to reinforce it from Monkullo; this order led to an action that has become famous.

News of Boretti's success had already reached De Cristoforis, and it was with highly elated spirits that the battalion began its march from Monkullo. For the first eight miles all went well, until, in fact, it had arrived at Dogali—a name that is remembered with pride by every Italian. Here their advanced guard was suddenly attacked by Ras Alula, who with his whole army was lying in wait for them.

De Cristoforis might perhaps have retraced his steps to Monkullo, but this was the last course that he was disposed to adopt. In any case, being in charge of a large convoy for Saati, his movements were necessarily impeded. He was in the unfortunate position of having to defend a convoy against overwhelming numbers—a situation that usually leads to the defenders being sacrificed—so, instead of retiring, he merely sent a message to Massowah asking for reinforcements. It was eight o'clock in the morning when the affair began. The Italians made a magnificent resistance, but from the very first their chances were desperate. Alula, whose followers were chiefly armed with spears, was working forward by wide circling

<sup>6</sup> Melli, *La Colonia Eritrea*.

movements on both flanks with the intention of completely surrounding them, and then narrowing the circle by slow degrees until the moment should arrive when a final rush of his 10,000 men over the last two or three hundred yards would complete the matter in a few seconds. The Italians had taken up their position along the side of a hill on the right of the road, and during the action they advanced by rushes to another higher hill, where they made their final stand. After the first half-hour both machine-guns jammed, so that they had only their rifles to rely on. At one o'clock Ras Alula, having completed two concentric circles round them and closed inwards to within a short distance, gave the order to charge. Then the hand-to-hand fighting began; the Italians having opened fire at the longer ranges had by this time exhausted their ammunition, but each man defended his life with bayonet or sword.<sup>7</sup> To the last they struggled against an enemy twenty times their number, falling one by one on the position they were holding; 23 officers killed and 1 wounded; 407 men killed and 81 wounded. Such is the death-roll of that sad but glorious day.

It was a brave end for the battalion, and one on which Italian writers love to dwell. Even amongst the last ten or twelve survivors not a man thought of flight or surrender: when the reinforcements arrived from Massowah on the following morning they found their comrades lying side by side along the brow of the hill that they had defended, where they lie to this day with a white cross above them.

Within the following twenty-four hours Major Boretti evacuated Saati, and, conducting his retreat with great ability, reached Monkullo in safety.

The massacre of Dogali created a profound sensation of sorrow and anger in Italy. The Depretis ministry fell, and De Robilant, who in one of the African debates had referred to the Abyssinian chiefs as 'three or four plunderers,' was replaced by Signor Crispi as minister for foreign affairs. (It is noticeable that at this period, while supporting the popular desire for revenge, Signor Crispi described himself as *hostile to colonial expeditions*.)

Meanwhile the preparations for 'the Revenge' were proceeding apace. Twenty million lire were voted and a special corps organised for Africa. The British Government offered their assistance, and, with the hope of detaching the Negus from supporting Alula, Sir Gerald Portal was sent to Abyssinia. This mission was a failure, so Italy prepared to face war alone against John and his whole empire.

The massacre of Dogali had taken place on the 26th of January, 1887; by November a corps of 18,000 fighting men was assembled at Massowah, of whom only 2,000 were natives. In addition to this force there were several friendly chiefs who had ranged themselves on

<sup>7</sup> 'They fought like devils until the last man fell,' said one of the Abyssinian afterwards, when describing the scene to Sir Gerald Portal.



the side of Italy. In command was General Di San Marzano, Saletta being retained in his post as far as the normal military institutions of the colony were concerned; everything was being prepared for a great struggle.

On their side the Abyssinians were not idle. Messengers had been sent far and wide throughout Ethiopia, and almost every chief had answered the summons. Sir Gerald Portal returned to Massowah with the news that the Emperor was marching with 80,000 men to support his faithful vassal and companion-in-arms, Ras Alula. Two men only amongst his more important subjects were not in arms against Italy: one was the King of Gojjam, who had been left to defend his own country as a bulwark against the Dervishes; the other was Menelik, Negus of Shoa, who through the efforts of Count Antonelli, then Resident in Shoa, had signed a friendly convention with Italy whereby he was to receive 5,000 rifles and remain neutral. This had not prevented his marching in obedience to the orders of the Negus; but it was obvious that in case of any reverse he would proclaim himself the ally of Italy; he was in fact waiting to see which side was the stronger.

In view of such a formidable superiority of numbers, Di San Marzano resolved to stand on the defensive. Massowah itself had been fortified until it was impregnable—at all events to any force that Abyssinia could bring against it. A railway had been built almost as far as Saati; two lines of forts had been constructed; everything had in fact been done that modern military science could suggest—within the limits of 20 million lire (about 760,000*l.*)—and the result was a defensive position against which it was hoped that the Abyssinian army would dash itself to pieces in paroxysms of fruitless heroism.

At the beginning of March 1888 the Negus appeared before the Italian fortifications. At first he seemed ready to enter into negotiation, but this soon proved fruitless; it was then hoped that he would attempt an attack on one of the prepared positions, and, indeed, it is said that Ras Alula strongly urged him to do so. But on this occasion John must be considered to have established more fully than by all his victories a just claim to be regarded as a great leader. He recognised from the first that the task was beyond the power of his army. Although surrounded by fighting chiefs who had come from all parts of Ethiopia to win spoil and glory, although he must have seen his prestige decreasing daily in the eyes of his impressionable followers, he refused to allow any assault to be made on the forts. For a whole month the two armies faced one another, and then, on the night of the 2nd of April, the Emperor began a rapid retreat. The campaign was over.

Thus ended the 'Revenge' of the Italians. It is a very curious instance of how little is often understood of the true nature of success by those who are concerned in gaining it. In Italy it

became the subject, amongst certain classes, of the bitterest gibes about an army that dared not fire a shot even against savages. Yet what could be more foolish? The Government had ordered Di San Marzano to risk nothing; they merely wished to make their existing possessions secure against invasion, and they had done so. They required no fresh accessions of territory. Had they desired to extend their boundaries, it was not the moment to do so when the whole of Ethiopia was united in arms against them—a thing that had hitherto so rarely occurred. By a policy of inactivity they had defeated the Negus and ruined his prestige far more effectually than by a successful attack. Had they been in a position to spend 40,000,000*l.* sterling instead of 20,000,000 *lire*, greater results might have been hoped for; but they were not. Many of the soldiers of course desired a revenge for Dogali; but those who fight merely for the abstract idea of revenge are on the road to reap the most unprofitable crop in the world.

On the Abyssinian side similar opinions prevailed. During the Italian campaign the Dervishes had attacked Ras Adal and defeated him at Debra Sin, after which they burnt Gondar, the capital of Amhara; this was one of the reasons that later on led the Emperor to retire. Yet to such a degree had his prestige suffered from the month of inactivity before Saati that even he, the hero of so many victories, was at first unable to raise an army for the reconquest of Gojjam,<sup>a</sup> now in revolt.

Meanwhile Menelik, true to his treaty with Italy, but a traitor to his race, was carrying on open negotiations with the Roman Government, and had incited Tecla Aimanot, King of Gojjam, to rebellion. These two rebels, when united, were now more powerful than the Emperor himself. John, in fact, was surrounded by enemies. On the east he was at war with Italy, on the west with the Dervishes, and in his own empire with Menelik of Shoa and Tecla Aimanot of Gojjam. He is said also to have been suffering from an internal disease. But difficulties and danger had been his portion from early youth, and he was ready to meet all his antagonists. By October (1888) he had collected a sufficiently large army to invade and reconquer Gojjam. He then turned his forces against Menelik, but that astute chieftain had no longer any fear of him: the 5,000 rifles had by now arrived, and Menelik was in a strong position on the banks of the Abai. The Emperor found the Shoans were too powerful to be attacked, and was obliged to encamp opposite them and open negotiations. For over three months Menelik kept his sovereign engaged in discussing terms; he himself was making

<sup>a</sup> Ras Adal (Tecla Aimanot) had complained bitterly that John sent him no reinforcements with which to meet the Dervishes; hence his rebellion. The importance of this Dervish inroad has been somewhat exaggerated. It was merely a raid that achieved some success owing to its rapidity.

arrangements for a Shoaan embassy, under his cousin, Dedjatch Maconnen, to go to Rome, and hoped for further good results from his European alliance. And this policy was successful. While still exchanging messages with Menelik, news was suddenly brought to the Emperor of a fresh invasion by the Dervishes; so he was obliged to retire, leaving his rebellious vassal in triumphant possession of the field.<sup>9</sup>

Here, however, was a cause in which the heart and, indeed, the very existence of Christian Ethiopia was concerned: for a war against the infidels John soon found himself able to march northwards with a numerous army, even though Shoa stood aloof. On the 10th of March, 1889, he approached Metemmeh, on the borders of the Sudan, first sending messengers to announce his coming, that his enemies might not say that he arrived like a thief in the night.<sup>10</sup> The Dervishes were 85,000 in number, and occupying an entrenched camp so strong that it seemed unwise to attack it. But John had had some unfortunate experience of waiting opposite fortified positions for the enemy to come out and take the offensive. Trusting in his superior numbers, he determined to try whether fortune, that had been so kind during his youth, had entirely abandoned him in his old age. Having surrounded the Dervish zariba, he led his men to the attack, which they carried out with desperate courage. At first he was repulsed, but eventually the headlong dash of the Abyssinians bore all before them; the zariba was entered and burnt; a fraction of its defenders escaped to a smaller zariba, where they rested themselves, awaiting death. The Abyssinians spread through the town triumphant, plundering and burning. Victory was theirs; but its fruit they were never to enjoy. During the evening the news spread from mouth to mouth that John himself had been mortally wounded. The army left without a chief vanished as rapidly as it had arrived, for the warriors, being heavily laden with plunder and encumbered by prisoners, were anxious to return to their homes. Three days later the Dervishes succeeded in overtaking and destroying the royal bodyguard and capturing the corpse of John, which they afterwards showed to the Khalifa as a proof of victory; but they did not dare to continue their invasion, and they have since been compelled to admit that they were completely defeated and well-nigh annihilated at the battle of Metemmeh.<sup>11</sup>

Thus ended the Emperor John—a man of uncertain moods, but worthy to be honoured amongst the bravest. He had no legitimate heir, for his son had died while he was encamped before Saati; but after learning that his wound was mortal he called the chiefs around him

<sup>9</sup> Whether he was obliged to retire by news that the dervishes were moving, or whether he came to some secret understanding with Menelik, is not certain.

<sup>10</sup> *Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan*. Sir Francis Wingate, K.C.B.

<sup>11</sup> Sir Francis Wingate, *ib.*

ld presented to them Ras Mangasha as his successor, openly acknowledging him to be his natural son by the wife of his own brother. After his death, however, this acknowledgment became useless, for there was now no man powerful enough to contend with Menelik, who was at once crowned Negus Nagasti.

III. The third period is that in which Italy attempts to extend her protectorate over the whole of Abyssinia. This she endeavours to do by means of her old ally Menelik.

This policy of the Italians is identified with the name of Count Antonelli, a nephew of the celebrated cardinal: 'He had been many years at the Shoan court, and had succeeded in winning the confidence of Menelik to the exclusion of the Swiss and French interest. His scheme of action was to bring Menelik under the Italian protectorate, and then to set Menelik over the rest of Ethiopia, thus bringing the whole country into their sphere of influence. This policy was for a time successful; but it had the serious defect of relying entirely on the gratitude of Menelik and the treaties signed by him. And Menelik was far too astute to allow any advantage to escape him, and indeed too patriotic to allow his nation to sink into a mere protectorate of Italy.

On the death of John the Italians dashed down from the north and seized three outlying provinces, Seræ, Okule-Kusai, and Hamacen. At the same time Menelik advanced from the south until his forces joined hands with those of Italy. It was in vain that young Mangasha and his sole supporter, Ras Alula, struggled against the rival powers. They were too weak to oppose them both.

The Italians, therefore, arranged a treaty whereby Menelik acknowledged himself under their suzerainty, and assented to certain boundaries, the exact limits of which were to be arranged by mutual agreement. North of these the Italians were to establish their colony of Erythrea, and south of them the Negus was to hold sway under their protection. So far all seemed to have gone well for Italy, and Menelik was permitted as a reward to borrow four million lire in Italy.

Then, however, the elusive nature of the agreement became evident. The Shoan Commissioners refused to assent to the boundaries demanded by Italy, and Menelik openly repudiated her suzerainty, repeatedly asserting that he had never understood the treaty to imply any idea of protection. And it may indeed be true enough that he had not understood what article 17 of that treaty (the Treaty of Ucciali) implied. Certain it is that the Amharic version did not in any way imply the establishment of a protectorate. The Italians of course assert that Menelik's interpreters were responsible for the mistranslation, but Menelik accused the Italians of having inveigled him into signing a treaty of which he did not understand the meaning.

The result was that Antonelli's influence vanished at the court of Shoa, and was replaced by that of M. Ilg (Swiss) and M. Chefneux (French), on whose advice Menelik has since then chiefly relied. His prestige rapidly increased, and soon the whole of Abyssinia began to turn to him as their representative. Young Mangasha and Ras Alula, though at first bitterly hostile, were gradually forced to support his policy. It is undoubtedly the presence of the Italian invaders that has driven the Ethiopians of every province to forget their private quarrels and to unite against the white men.

In 1895, when General Baratieri occupied Adowa, it was evident that war against the whole of Ethiopia was inevitable. Unfortunately for Italy, her financial position was then very uncertain, and she was unable to make any adequate preparations. In the autumn of that year Menelik called for volunteers, and 200,000 men flew to arms. He was well prepared for war. He had imported modern rifles and modern guns through the French port of Djibouti. Italy, on the other hand, was far from ready. The result can be easily imagined. At Amba Alagi, on the 7th of December, 1895, 30,000 Ethiopians under Ras Maconnen annihilated, after a gallant resistance, a small force of the Italian native army, about 2,100 strong. Some six weeks later the hastily collected defenders of the Italian fort of Macalle were obliged to surrender, though not until they had consumed their last drop of water and run very short of ammunition. Then, finally, on the 1st of March, 1896, General Baratieri's force, about 20,000 strong, was completely routed by Menelik's army of 120,000 men at the battle of Adowa.

Such is the history of the unification of Ethiopia. There are some who prophesy fresh civil strife on the death of Menelik, but this seems, as far as may be judged, to be growing less and less probable with each succeeding year. Menelik, though he has been obliged to leave, to Italy the three northern provinces of Seræ, Okule-Kusai, and Hamacen, has added to his territory the flourishing district of Harrar, formerly garrisoned by the Egyptians. He is building railways and establishing telegraph and telephone service. He is, in fact, civilising his people as rapidly as possible. The difficulties are immense, but a beginning has been made.

Others may give a more exhaustive description of modern Ethiopia, but the aim of this article will have been attained if it has assisted in pointing out that she is beyond all doubt an important nation, especially to ourselves who possess such wide interests in all the surrounding territories. With the exception of a few travellers and politicians, there is hardly one Englishman in a hundred who knows or cares anything about Ethiopia, her interests, or her past history. It seems, in fact, as if her development was to be left to the French.

At Menelik's capital, Addis Abeba, there is, to use the expression

of M. Hugues le Roux, a silent duel in progress between the representatives of the various nationalities. We are represented by Colonel Harrington. But, although Menelik is wise enough to extend a friendly greeting to all, there is no reason to suppose that we should enjoy as great a share of favour as other nations. Although throughout the war we preserved a strict neutrality, we are regarded as a powerful and aggressive neighbour, and as the ally of Italy, whereas the French have been the truest friends of Abyssinia. The Russians are also in communication with the Negus, and their efforts are, of course, seconded by France. As for the Italians, their position seems now to be as good as that of any European nation—a status which is due partly to the ability of Major Cicco di Cola, and partly to the fact that, having defeated them, the Negus is disposed to be their friend.

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## THE FINANCIAL FUTURE

IN a 'warning note'<sup>1</sup> in this Review, nearly four years ago, I ventured to call attention to the general rapid conversion of floating capital into fixed capital, which first became noticeable about 1897 all over the world; and since that time this tendency has become greatly intensified. For instance, in that article it was mentioned, with some apprehension, that in the fourteen months ending the 28th February, 1899, there had been definitely formed in the United States new industrial combinations having an authorised capital of 400,000,000*l.*, and that 'totals of such magnitude carry their own comment, and it is unnecessary to say anything to add to their force and their significance.' Looking back now, this 400,000,000*l.* looks like a little cloud no bigger than a man's hand; for in the interval the amount has grown until it is now over 1,400,000,000*l.*, and instead of being a little cloud, it has become a threatening mass darkening the financial atmosphere.

Attention was also called to Germany, 'at the same time undertaking stupendous financial obligations,' and to 'Russia, France, Japan, India, China, all at work converting floating into fixed capital.' The paper ended with a glance at the enormous increases in the Government and municipal expenditure of Great Britain, and at the lock-up in South Africa.

If we follow the course of the subsequent years, it will be remembered that Russia, Germany, and Japan have all been passing through a long and trying process of liquidation; a process which is not yet ended, because unfinished railways in Siberia, in Manchuria, and in the Euphrates valley remain a constant drain; not to mention huge industrial plants which must be kept running, on Government or private work, even at a loss—and there are the new navies which absorb a great deal of cash.

Then we have had our war in South Africa and the troubles in China, causing a considerable destruction of capital.

Coming to this new year of 1903, we see before us the four continents—America, Asia, Africa, and Europe (and we may add Australia)—still competing against one another to obtain the means

<sup>1</sup> *The Nineteenth Century*, May 1899.

for their industrial development; and the available means are necessarily limited in amount.

The American continent, including of course the United States, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, and the Argentine (and shall we add Venezuela!), has been the most attractive to capital, because it is the best equipped for the rapid and profitable extension of industries, and consequently the pressure there continues to be the most powerful and the most striking.

In another little paper last April,<sup>2</sup> I referred incidentally to the financial position of the United States, and endeavoured to show that the lately developed increase of their imports of commodities as well as securities, with the consequent danger of gold exports, pointed to trouble. Since April there have been magnificent harvests, showing bountiful records in the production of grain and cotton, the shipment of which will presently be felt beneficially; but not even a succession of good harvests can sustain the ever-increasing strain that is being put on the financial resources of the country by the over-capitalisation of new companies.

It is difficult to follow closely the course of transactions on the other side of the Atlantic, the pace and the constant transformations are so rapid and so dazzling; but some figures have been published within the last month which are certainly very remarkable.

In a paper read by Mr. Ridgely, the comptroller of the currency, before the American Bankers' Association, at New Orleans, on the 11th November, presumably a competent authority on the subject, addressing a competent audience, he submitted a statement showing that the individual deposits in all the banks of the United States amounted in 1902 to 1,800,000,000*l.*, against 1,000,000,000*l.* in 1897, and the loans in 1902 amounted to 1,440,000,000*l.* against 840,000,000*l.* in 1897. Putting aside for the moment the question of the danger of such an unprecedentedly rapid expansion, and putting aside also the intricate question of the circulation (which consists of a mixture of gold, silver, and paper, now amounting altogether to 6*l.* per head of population, or a total of nearly 480,000,000*l.*), it will probably come as a surprise to many people in England to learn that the banking resources of the United States are, broadly speaking, now about double the banking resources of the United Kingdom; for we cannot count the 200,000,000*l.* British Savings Bank deposits amongst our banking resources, as the whole amount is invested in Government securities.

But these increases in six years of the American banks' deposits and loans are so striking that they would almost be incredible if we had not the further light of the clearing returns, which, at the same time, illuminate and explain them. These clearings have been for the past two years at the rate of 23,000,000,000*l.* a year, compared with the former maximum of 12,000,000,000*l.* a

<sup>2</sup> *The Nineteenth Century and After*, April 1902.



year, in the greatest previous periods of boom, ten or twelve years ago. Now, looking at the fact that the deposits have increased in six years by 800,000,000*l.*, which is nearly the amount of the deposits in all the joint-stock banks of Great Britain, it seems to me that two propositions arise on the figures which merit very serious consideration. The one is that such a pace has never been approached before, and the other is that such a pace cannot possibly be maintained. It may therefore be useful for us in England to look quietly and carefully at the present position, endeavouring to foresee what the financial consequences are likely to be, not only to the United States, but also to ourselves.

The feverish activity of the last six years has mainly been in the direction of industrial extension, just as the previous feverish activity before 1890 was in the direction of railway extension. We have all read a great deal lately, in the newspapers, about these frenzied over-capitalisations of new companies. There is 'too much of water,' but we must remember that the principle—or want of principle—of 'water' is not new. It is familiar in South African gold mines, and it is not unknown even in our virtuous English industrial companies. It is rotten, but, unfortunately, it is universal, and all we can say about the Americans is, that they do it, as everything else, on a bigger scale than other people. In dilating too much on 'water,' we must be careful not to get 'water' on the brain. It would be difficult, for instance, to conceive of any stocks containing, originally, more 'water' than the 1,000,000,000*l.* of American railroad stocks, because the railroads were practically all built with the proceeds of bonds, and the stocks merely represented the possibility of future profits. But anyone looking at a price list can see the value of these ordinary stocks to-day—and the value that they have maintained for the last five years—from which it is apparent that every investor who bought previous to 1898 has had an opportunity of getting his money back with a good profit. The original 'water' has consolidated into dividend-paying substance, owing to the wonderful growth of the country. The finance was unsound, but the *land* was sound; and there seems to be no reason why the future course of the American industrial stocks should not follow the course of the railroad stocks in process of time, for, in the ultimate analysis, they both depend on the *land*. Let us never forget that there are 5,000,000 families occupying farms in the United States to-day, over and above the mighty army engaged in industrial occupations in the cities, and this enables us to understand the breadth of the home market and the power of consumption as well as of production. But just as, after each rapid extension of railroads, there was a set-back and long years of waiting, such as occurred between 1873 and 1879, and again between 1893 and 1897, so there will probably be a set-back and some years of waiting after the

industrial extension. Speculators carrying the securities on borrowed money are bound to have a hard time, because there are likely to be many sellers and few buyers; but the point for us to bear in mind is that the furnaces, the factories, the machinery, and the hands are all there, and *the power of production remains.*

What that power of production is may also be gathered from Mr. Ridgely's address, for he states that the value of manufactured products during the year 1900 was over 2,600,000,000*l.*, and considering that there has been a very great increase since 1900, we may fairly assume that 2,700,000,000*l.* will be well under the figure for 1902. Now twenty-seven hundred million pounds value of products cannot be manufactured out of water; there must of necessity be thousands of millions of pounds' sterling value of capital in the businesses, and that is what concerns us vitally. Do we in England really appreciate what it means, or have we been lulled into false security by being told, consolingly, that competition with us in manufactures was practically impossible? The suggestion of an answer to these questions was given in 1877 in an essay which I happened to be reading the other day, on 'foreign competition,' by Sir Robert Giffen.<sup>3</sup> I make no apology for quoting his words at some length, for there is no more enlightening process than looking backward to learn the power of prediction in the so-called science of political economy.

The capital sunk in producing annually 140,000,000*l.* of value [the net income supposed to be derived from the British exports of 1877] must be immense, at least several hundred millions. But even 100,000,000*l.* would not be easily found in the whole civilised world outside of England for the erection of new works to compete with our manufactories. . . . We see, therefore, what an effort of imagination is required when the displacement of England as a manufacturer for export is talked of. . . . There is even a more serious difficulty, we believe, in the way of quickly increased foreign competition. It is the complexity, variety, and minute subdivision necessary in great manufacturing enterprise, which make displacement almost inconceivable. . . . England is one vast workshop, fitted with complete appliances of every sort, with a capability of turning on great force in any given direction unexampled, and not even approached elsewhere. We come, then, to the question of our home trade. Foreign nations, we are told, are not only going to do without us, and cease altogether to be our customers; they are to send goods here, and cut up our own manufactories. . . . If foreign nations are likely to find it difficult to procure capital which would enable them to take away a material part of our foreign export trade, how are they to find the capital to make any impression on our vast manufacturing industry for home consumers? Here, it is a question not of hundreds, but of thousands of millions of capital, and of a transfer of labour which fairly takes our breath away. In this respect, foreign nations would have to begin at the beginning.

To-day it is curious, interesting, and instructive to read this view of the industrial future of the world, but Sir Robert Giffen merely represented the common opinion of the Manchester School in the seventies,

<sup>3</sup> *Essays in Finance*, 1st Series.

which was that the only reasonable division of labour was for the United States (or any other backward country) to supply the food and the raw materials, and for Great Britain to eat the food and work up the materials. Yet twenty-five years have scarcely elapsed when we see the United States with thousands of millions of pounds invested in industrial enterprise and with the best manufacturing appliances. If any doubt be entertained as to the accuracy of these United States census figures, they can be supplemented by some *pièces justificatives* from other sources. For instance, in 1870, seven years before the date of Sir Robert Giffen's essay, Great Britain produced nearly four times as great a quantity of pig iron as the United States, whereas in 1902 the United States produced nearly twice as much as Great Britain: and in 1870 Great Britain's consumption of cotton in the mills was more than double the consumption of the United States, whereas in 1901-2 the United States consumed one third more than Great Britain.

So much for the materials of our two greatest industries—on which millions of our people depend for their subsistence—and when we further look at the appliances for manufacturing these materials, we become even more conscious of the great change that has taken place. We are indebted to the *Times* for a notable service in sending out a commissioner to report on the engineering workshops of the United States in 1899, and to Mr. Mosely for an equally notable service in his commission which is now on the way home. A Lancashire operative on this Mosely Commission summed up in a single sentence, cabled the other day from New York, the whole gist of one side of the matter: 'In the Fall River Mills one hand attends to thirty looms instead of attending to four or six looms as in Lancashire.'

This is a bed-rock fact. If the unit of labour in the United States can produce more than elsewhere, either by his own handiwork or by minding machinery, the result must be inevitable in a country incomparably endowed by nature with available resources and where the ingenuity of man has developed the best machinery.

This was the case with England during the long years of her industrial supremacy; and it is now the case with the United States. Nothing apparently can prevent it; but we may still, by foresight, prepare to meet certain evil consequences, and my point now is that we should rouse ourselves to look a little ahead, for there is a serious problem immediately in front of us—quite independent of the question whether or not the merits of 'American methods' have been exaggerated. I incline to think that they have been, and that we have got 'Americanisation' out of perspective, but that is a question for industrial experts, and may be left to them to decide.

Let us confine ourselves here to looking at the question merely from the financial side, for it is already pretty evident that our part in the financial drama is not going to be an easy part.

If the trouble in the United States comes to a head, we must necessarily be affected, for in my judgment there are only two courses open to that country at the present moment. The one is, to attempt continued borrowing in Europe, and so to keep on a full head of steam in constructive work (which apparently aims at rebuilding all the cities of the Union in steel!), and the other is to call a halt for a breathing space.

Neither of these courses will be agreeable to Europe, for, in the first case, so far as we in England are concerned, we shall have a formidable competitor in the money market for the capital we require to develop our possessions in South Africa, Canada, Australia, and elsewhere abroad, and at home—capital fitting wherever the attraction is greatest; and in the second case, if the United States calls a halt, the European markets are certain to be flooded with American manufactured products. The late lock-up of millions of capital has unquestionably been carried to a wild excess (although, looking back, ten years hence, perhaps it will rather appear as an exaggerated appreciation of events before they occurred), but we may rest assured that production will go on, the products must be sold, and if the home consumption cannot be kept up on the present scale, owing to the lack of floating capital available for new enterprise, then these products must be shipped abroad.

We saw, only the other day, that the first effect of the German liquidation was that our markets were becoming embarrassed with quantities of products, and it was only the American demand that lightened the load both here and in Germany. But if later on the Americans become sellers instead of buyers, we are bound to have a period of serious difficulty. It is not quite an adequate answer to say 'and a very good thing, too, for the consumer,' for, if we look at the effect of American railroad extension on our agriculture, we have an object-lesson as to the probable effect of their industrial extension on our manufactures. Let us beware of the shibboleths that seduced us into believing that the rents of agricultural land would not fall in England. Once bitten, twice shy.

It may be asked why the United States are to be shut up within these two concise alternatives of borrowing money from Europe on the one hand and calling a halt on the other hand. Here again we may refer to Mr. Ridgely, who faces the facts with an engaging candour, for he admits that the United States have been trying to do too much in too short a time; and then proceeds: 'It seems to be inevitable that we should have periods of rest and recuperation. They are apt to be most severe when we have been going too fast. The pace we have travelled, for the past five or six years, has been a rapid one. The signs are not lacking that it should be moderated before we are too far spent. There is yet time, and, with prudence and care, we should be able to avoid any lasting ill effects. I do not

believe that the strain is more than we can safely stand, up to this point, but it is time to pause and consider. We have prices of materials of all kinds up so high that the cost of living has greatly increased. We have been consuming our available liquid capital at a very great rate, and changing it to fixed capital where it may be unproductive for a long time. Cost of production has so increased that our balance of foreign trade is falling off at the rate of hundreds of millions per year. Our bank reserves are low, and the loans as highly expanded as is prudent. The situation has lately been so acute as to render assistance from the Treasury Department necessary to give some relief.'

That the people of the United States are at last being awakened up by their own financial authorities to the gravity of their position is, to my mind, the most reassuring circumstance in the existing situation. It is an immense safeguard against a sudden catastrophe. To be forewarned is to be forearmed, although the warning comes a little late in the day; it would have been more useful a couple of years ago, but at that time Mr. Ridgely would no doubt have been pooh-poohed as a pessimist.

The American people had got into a state of feverish excitement from the very exuberance of their real prosperity in 1898-9. Their temperature has now to be reduced, but there is no need for us to worry ourselves overmuch as to the future of the country. We have seen that it is capable of producing over 2,700,000,000*l.* manufactured products in one year, and we may add that the value of farm products in the year 1902 will probably come up to 1,100,000,000*l.* These two items form a visible solid asset of nearly four thousand million pounds sterling, which is a very good backbone, amongst many other assets. The prodigious power of the country lies in the diversity of employment in agriculture and manufactures; a country with land, improvements, and buildings, in the farming States, valued in 1900 at 3,300,000,000*l.* against a value of 2,600,000,000*l.* in 1890, or an increase of 700,000,000*l.* in the ten years, besides an increase in the value of live stock during the same period of over 150,000,000*l.* It is this power of production, rather than the mere interchange of commodities, that increases most rapidly the wealth of a country.

Let us dwell on these figures, particularly now, when a period of stress and strain is at hand, for we shall soon be hearing enough and to spare of the other side of the picture. And may we not also try to find some profit for ourselves, by laying to heart anything we can learn for our own guidance in the future? Here we see a country with more than our supposed 15,000,000,000*l.* of capital, with more than our supposed 1,500,000,000*l.* a year of income, which finds that 'it is time to pause and consider.' It will be easy to lecture the United States, but perhaps it may be wiser to 'reck

our own rede.' To say that all this over-capitalisation in America is merely money going out of one person's pocket into another person's pocket in the same country, is just about as true, or just about as unwise, as to say that our war expenditure does not really matter to us for the like reason. In both countries, there has been an unhealthy inflation—whether of currency or credit—which has upset all our normal notions of the right way and the wrong way in finance. For instance, there cannot be a doubt that if the United States had an income tax the returns for 1902 would be quite fabulous compared with any other year in its history, but big income returns do not necessarily prove real stability in financial position, as we may see by looking back at the returns immediately preceding any crises in our own country. These incomes may result, as is now apparent, from a vicious system of inflation—from over-borrowing.

We shall presently have our own statistics of 1902, and we shall find a record of bank clearings in London (over 10,000,000,000%): probably also a record of excess of imports over exports (about 180,000,000%) and no doubt many other records. But surely the experience of the United States will prove to us how valueless these statistics are, except to show that we have been doing a very big business; they do not necessarily show that we have been doing a very sound business; and this is the point we ought to look to while there is time. It would be really useful if the Board of Trade would attempt a valuation of our 'invisible exports,' and furnish us with an official estimate of our investments abroad, as the French have done lately with their investments abroad. We are constantly told that there is no use troubling about the present excess of imports, because such excess is nothing new. The simple answer is, that it *is* new. In the whole records of our trade, every five-year period up to 1898 showed a large surplus of the recorded exports, plus the 'invisible exports,' over our imports; and it is only the five-year period 1898–1902 which shows practically no excess. Wherever there is anything so abnormal as this in the trade figures there is a certain reason for investigation, and my belief is that the increased Government and municipal expenditure may throw a good deal of light on the problem. We have been too extravagant and have built too many houses and too many ships on borrowed money. The result is an unprofitable lock-up at home, and we are committed to a very large lock-up in South Africa. Fortunately, like the United States, we are very rich, and, more fortunately still, there has not been lately any great speculation on the Stock Exchange, and prices, generally speaking, are low.

We want to eliminate the betting and the booming elements, for they eat into the vitals of the country, and no 'good money' ever came from them. Solid trade is far better without booms, for they always end in crashes. The core of our people is sound, as we have

seen during the late war, and in the long run there will be plenty of room in the world for the United States, Germany, and ourselves, but we may have a difficult period to go through. In one respect we may take a more hopeful view of our prospects at the beginning of 1903 than we were fairly entitled to take at the beginning of 1899, because we have learnt a great deal in the interval in regard to the industrial forces outside of England, and what we really want is to face the facts.

J. W. CROSS.

## *THE GROWTH OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD*

A FRIEND of mine, not wholly unintelligent, though little versed in political matters, expressed to me last summer, in speaking of the Education Bill, his surprise at the prominent part played in the matter by the President of the Local Government Board, who not only was one of the four persons whose names appear on the back of the Bill, but also was, at that time, frequently taking part in the debates in the House of Commons. The business of the Local Government Board was, my friend said, to deal with the Poor Law and Public Health; he did not understand what it had to do with education.

I, of course, pointed out to my friend that, though perhaps the acts of the Local Government Board in reference to the Poor Law and Public Health had especially attracted his attention, the essential function of the Board, as shown by its very name, was to serve as the central authority for local government in its various developments. I added that the Education Bill, whatever view might be taken of its special features, marked a step onwards, and indeed a very definite step, in the direction of local government, and that therefore the Local Government Board could not be indifferent to the features of the scheme of the Bill, not merely as regards local taxation, but also as regards other matters involved in local government.

The Education Bill, however, is only one, and that by no means the most striking, of the many tokens which show how strongly the stream of political development is setting in the direction of local government. On the one hand, one hears the cry of an overburdened Parliament hampered in its treatment of national problems by reason of its energies being so largely taken up in brave but ineffectual efforts to deal justly with local questions in the absence of adequate local knowledge. On the other hand one sees spread throughout the country a stock of local administrative talent which either, submitting to the situation, lies dormant and unused for lack of opportunity, or, rebelling against the situation, finds vent in activities the satisfaction of which tends neither to the local nor to the



general good. In almost every electoral area, for the one man who is sent to Parliament you may find a score of men at least as well fitted for legislative and administrative duties. Why should the one be spoilt by being made to attempt more than he can possibly accomplish, and the others left to rust through not being called upon to do what they are so well fitted to carry out? During these latter years much, it is true, has been done, if not to relieve the one, at least to employ the others. And it needs no great political insight to foresee that in the coming years still further changes of no small magnitude must take place. Much that Parliament now vainly attempts, or slowly and imperfectly performs, will before long be done swiftly and well by means of local governments, and many a member of Parliament weary with listening to a debate, or still more weary with waiting to vote on a question of local interest, about which he is conscious that his local knowledge is of the scantiest or comes from a tainted source, yearns for such a good time to come with the least possible delay.

If, however, an increase—a great increase—of local government is imminent in the near future, the Local Government Board, which is the central authority for local government, or, at least, for the mechanism of local government, must share in that development; and it may be worth while to pass briefly in review the position and functions of that Board at the present moment, having regard to what may be its future duties.

The Local Government Board is not an old institution: it came into existence in 1871, and hence, though older than the Board of Agriculture, which was established in 1889, is much younger than the Board of Trade, which, assuming its present title in 1862, has existed as a permanent committee of the Privy Council since 1782, and, indeed, is still such. The Board consists of the Lord President of Council, the Secretaries of State, the Lord Privy Seal, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a President appointed by the King. But, as Sir William Anson, in his admirable *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, says, the Board is a phantom Board, its distinguished members never meet, and it really consists of a President and a Parliamentary Secretary, with a permanent staff.

The relations of this comparatively young Local Government Board to the much older institution known as the Home Office, presided over by one of His Majesty's five Principal Secretaries of State, are somewhat peculiar; and the way in which they have come about affords an interesting illustration of the evolution of the machinery of government in England, an evolution strikingly like that of a living being. When, in 1782, the two Secretaries of State, in charge respectively of the Southern and the Northern départements, became the Secretary of State for Home Affairs and the

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the former, the Principal Secretary of State, was placed in charge not only of all home affairs, but also of Irish and Colonial business, and in a peculiar way of War matters. By the appointment of a Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs and a Secretary of State for War, and in consequence of the Union, his functions were reduced to the charge of home affairs, and so assumed a character more closely corresponding to his title. He still remained, however, the first or Principal Secretary of State. With the growth of the nation, the business coming under the definition of home affairs increased rapidly in importance and complexity, and part of the work of the Home Office was by successive steps transferred to other departments. The transference was in some cases due to the fact that the matters transferred were special matters, needing special treatment and special knowledge. We may thus explain the functions of the Board of Trade and the Board of Agriculture. A different principle, however, guided the establishment of the Local Government Board; it, as its name indicates, was founded to take charge of those home affairs in which local government is an important factor.

Hence the duties of the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, limited now entirely (or almost entirely, for there may be found here and there some obscure remnants of his old multifarious functions) to home affairs, are largely of a general kind. One of his most conspicuous functions, that which perhaps especially marks him as the Principal Secretary, is to act as the means of communication between the Sovereign and the subject. He is responsible for the maintenance of peace and order throughout the realm, and hence has charge of prisons and police, and, by way of prevention, of lunatics and young offenders. These matters supply a large part of his duties, but he has also other duties of a very varied kind, prominent among which is the charge of factories, workshops, and mines, duties which may be in general terms described as directed to the general well-being of the people. In all these several duties he may, with more or less exactness, be regarded as dealing with His Majesty's subjects as individual members of the whole kingdom.

The Local Government Board was instituted, as we have just said, to deal with home affairs in which local government is an important factor. Hence its main duties are concerned with local government, with the constitution, powers, and area of local authorities, and with local finance; these it has taken away from the Home Secretary. It has, further, charge of the Poor Law, having absorbed in 1871 the duties of the pre-existing Poor Law Board, and it is entrusted with the care of Public Health, taking over duties which in an intricate manner had previously been performed by the Privy Council, the Home Office, and the Poor Law Board respectively. In both these classes of duties we recognise the factor of local government.

Seventeen years after its establishment, namely in 1888, the

Board received what, looking to the future, we must regard as potentially a vast increase in its powers: the newly constituted County Councils were then placed under its central control.

Looking back, then, we may see that the Home Office, while its business may have increased in quantity with the growth of the nation, has become more and more restricted in its functions; things which it used to do have been taken away from it and given to other bodies. The Local Government Board, on the other hand, even in the brief period which has elapsed since its establishment, has not only shared the general increase in the quantity of business to be performed by Government departments, but has undergone and is undergoing an expansion of its functions. Looking forward, we may venture to prophesy that what has already taken place will continue to take place, and probably at an increased rate. Seeing that the stream of development sets so strongly towards local government, it needs no boldness to forecast that the Local Government Board, important as it is at present, will in the near future become one of the most important bodies of the State.

It may be urged that, in obedience to the laws of evolution, it too may, like its progenitor the Home Office, shed some of its duties on to newly constituted bodies. It may be urged, and indeed has been urged, that the Public Health, the provisions for which are of so complex a nature and demand such special knowledge, ought to be placed in the charge of an independent body, the head of which, as Minister of Public Health, ought to be able to give undivided attention to so great a matter, untrammelled by the other responsibilities which now rest on the President of the Local Government Board. But, without prejudging this question, or even if we admit the advantages of some such step, we may still conclude that the future growth of local government will always sustain the great importance of the Local Government Board, in spite of developments taking away from it some of its more special duties.

Considerations such as the above, and others which might be added to them, suggest the question. Seeing how important is the Local Government Board, even at the present moment, and how greatly that importance must increase in the not far-off future, is that importance recognised in the hierarchy of Government departments? The answer to this question is most decidedly, No.

No test of the importance of an office is better or more sure than the amount of salary attached to it, provided that allowance be made for the influence of historic development. If we apply this test, we find that, while the Secretary of State for Home Affairs receives a salary of 5,000*l.* a year, as do each of the other Secretaries of State, the salary of the President of the Local Government Board

is not more than 2,000*l*. Even admitting that, on historic grounds, the Secretary of State should receive an emolument out of proportion to what might be called a business remuneration, it can hardly be contended that this should lead to his salary being more than double that of a President of a Board. Moreover, and this is perhaps of more importance, the high salary of the chief carries with it higher salaries to the subordinate officials. The latter feature cannot be explained by the principle of historic development; it can only be justified by the assumption that the duties of the one office are more arduous, more important, demanding greater ability and higher qualifications, than those of the other.

This justification has, indeed, been officially put forward in the House of Commons. In answer to Mr. David Thomas, who on the 25th of March in the year just ended put the following question :

I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the upper division officials in his department are recruited by the same examination, and do the same class of work as corresponding officials in departments presided over by Secretaries of State, and if so, will he state on what ground they are placed on an inferior scale of salary ?

Mr. Austen Chamberlain replied :

All clerks of the upper division are recruited by examination in the same subjects. Vacancies in the offices of Secretaries of State are filled by the most successful candidates, or by the transfer from other departments of officers who have shown exceptional merit. In the opinion of the Treasury the work in the offices of Secretaries of State, taken as a whole, requires higher qualifications than does that of other public departments.

And again on the following 8th of May, in answer to a continuing question by Mr. David Thomas :

I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state the grounds upon which the Treasury formed the opinion that the work done by higher division clerks in the Secretary of State offices requires higher qualifications than work done by higher division clerks in the Board of Trade; and whether a similar conclusion has been arrived at in respect to the character of the work done in the Local Government Department.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain replied :

The opinion is based upon the character of the work done in the different offices. It applies to the Local Government Board as well as to the Board of Trade.

The matter at issue in the above questions and answers is not, however, limited to upper division clerks; it has to do with the whole staff. And I venture to submit if there be any truth in the considerations which I have put forward above, very serious doubts must be felt as to the validity of the opinion of the Treasury, as reported by Mr. Austen Chamberlain. Knowing something of the work of the Local Government Board, I have learnt to value the knowledge, skill, and judgment demanded of and displayed by the members of

the staff." And my experience of the other departments of Government has not brought to my notice any marked superiority in the staff of one department over that of another.

The importance of the matter on which I am dwelling reaches, however, beyond even the whole permanent staff. If there be any truth in the view, which is not mine alone, but that of many, that the future welfare of the nation in no small measure depends on the ample development of local government, on the devolution of power from the central Parliament to local bodies (whose name, whatever it be, will not be that of Parliament, since, it is to be hoped, debate will not be their prominent feature), and on the wise control of a central authority which shall keep efficient and harmonise local action, then that central authority, by whatever name it be called, must become one of the most important, if not the most important, of Government departments. The Local Government Board is at present that central authority; and whatever modifications in the powers, in the organisation, or in the title of the Board may seem desirable in the future, it is even to-day of the greatest importance to the nation that its work should be done by the men best suited for the task. The work which even now it has in hand is difficult enough and great enough to demand that the choice neither of the chiefs nor of the staff should be hampered by the idea that the department is an inferior one whose needs are not to be considered until those of other departments have been satisfied; and this demand must grow stronger as time goes on.

Nor does the Local Government Board stand alone in this respect. The time has surely come when the question of some re-adjustment of our Government machinery ought to be seriously considered:

M. FOSTER.

## ANOTHER VIEW OF JANE AUSTEN'S NOVELS

It is almost an impertinence to add another article to the many that have been written on Jane Austen. Her merits have been extolled, her every defect pointed out, until it would seem that criticism had said its last word. Yet, after all—after Macaulay has compared her to Shakspeare, and Mr. W. D. Howells has placed her above 'Scott and Bulwer and Dickens and Charlotte Brontë and Thackeray and even George Eliot,' while Charlotte Brontë has found in her work only the 'accurate daguerrotyped portrait of a commonplace face,' after a revival of fame which has had few literary parallels, and a recrudescence of admiration which one must suspect is in some quarters a mere fashion—after all these, is not Jane Austen's true position in the world of books as indeterminate as ever? She has been placed by enthusiastic votaries on the very pinnacle of literary achievement; she has been accused by equally fervent detractors of being commonplace, monotonous, and, worst of all, feminine! Mr. Walter Frewen Lord in the October number of this Review so emphasises against her this last objection that one would think that a woman should of all things avoid being feminine, and that her work is only valuable as it apes the characteristics of a man's mind. The verdict reminds one of a recent remark on a picture by a gifted woman artist, 'Why, it's so fine, you might think it was done by a man!'

This kind of criticism, however, obscures the real points at issue and contributes nothing to our knowledge or our insight. It is the function of genius to give us the author's individual point of view; a man's view if a man is writing, or a woman's view if a woman's hand holds the pen; but whether man or woman, the thing seen, the very thing seen by that one soul, and perhaps by no other out of all creation. To say that Miss Austen's work is feminine is indeed its highest praise. She, and she alone, has given us the *womanly* outlook of the time from 1775 to 1817, the time when Scott, who could depict anything and everything but an actual young lady of his own day, was enchanting the kind of mind that to-day is

enchanted rather by his great contemporary; the time when our great-grandmothers were girls working samplers, and our great-grandfathers in powdered hair were absorbed in the interest of 'the war with Boney'; that old, old time, barely a hundred years ago, yet so far removed from our world; the time before railways, before Catholic Emancipation, before the Reform Bill, when the Navy was still recruited by the press-gang, and Lord Sidmouth's Seditious Meetings Act made a public assembly even more dangerous than was two years ago a pro-Boer meeting in these days of our enlightenment. Writers of our own epoch with infinite labour of research have endeavoured to reconstruct for us those vanished days. She alone has written with full, intimate knowledge, with delicate satire, with the ease that comes of life-long familiarity, of that old world in which she lived.

'It must have been a dull world, after all,' says Mr. Lord in the article already quoted. Indeed it was, for a woman especially, and what thanks do we not owe Jane Austen for investing this dull world with the quaint, dainty grace, the delicious humour, and the absolute humanity that we find in her novels! Like Wordsworth she

Saw into the depths of human souls,  
Souls that appear to have no depth at all  
To careless eyes.

Is there, for instance, in literature a character more true to ordinary life, more humorous, with that true humour that lies so near to pathos, than that of Miss Bates, the gossiping, good-hearted old maid, so humble, so cheerful, so forgetful of self, so truly good yet so ridiculous, and, in spite of her absurdity, so estimable? The hand that drew that portrait went with a heart that beat strong with kindness and an eye that had a wide range.

For it is not surveying mankind 'from China to Peru' that makes the range of the artist's vision. I would not, indeed, make a remark so obvious were it not that Mr. Lord seems to consider Miss Austen's range as narrowed and limited by the geographical boundaries of her experience. 'What was Miss Austen's world?' he writes. 'Take the world of to-day and eliminate Japan; eliminate China and the South Seas—all Asia, in fact, except India. In Europe, eliminate everything but France. For purposes of polite conversation you may include the Rhine. . . . It is very important to remember how small Miss Austen's world was. *We are thus saved the annoyance and surprise at finding ourselves called upon to consider seriously the doings of children of seventeen who have never been outside their village.*'<sup>1</sup>

Clearly this is the note of the superior person. Wordsworth must be an even greater offender in Mr. Lord's eyes, for Wordsworth

<sup>1</sup> The italics are mine.

asks us 'to consider seriously' the doings of children of five and eight who have hardly been outside their village, and Shakespeare is not much better, for does he not ask us through a whole play 'to consider seriously—surely we must take her seriously!—the doings of a girl of fourteen who had probably never been out of her native Verona?

If the tender age and limited travels of a heroine cause Mr. Lord such 'surprise and annoyance,' with what accumulated disgust must he read of the sixteen-year-old Perdita, the fifteen-year-old Miranda, and the fourteen-year-old Juliet! None of them had much acquaintance with the world; and as regards Miranda we have the best authority for believing that both her topographical knowledge and the range of her social intercourse were remarkably narrow. Yet we do not therefore find her uninteresting.

It is difficult to take such a criticism seriously. What has the geographical area known to us to do with the quality of our look at it? Robert Burns wrote his sweetest songs and uttered his noblest thoughts before he had left the seclusion of his farm. Shakspeare, as far as we know, had never been out of England, nor have we any reason to think he had travelled much within it. Dante's wanderings were confined to his native Italy. And to both Dante and Shakspeare the limits of the known world were even more constricted than they were to Miss Austen. Yet we do not feel obliged to make allowance for either on the ground of the smallness of his world. Can anything be more obvious than that it is the mind which gives the range, not the amount of the earth's surface known to it? The parochial intelligence is not seldom found in globe-trotters, and the wide outlook which makes the earth look small has been found in a certain Bedfordshire tinker who had never been a hundred miles from home.

The subject, what matters the subject? It is the treatment of the subject that is significant. The criticism that holds that because a man writes about an ass he thereby writes himself down an ass, that if he writes of an idiot he proves himself the hero of the story, one had thought was dead and gone. And why, pray, is a girl of seventeen who has never been outside her own village less interesting than any other theme? We must not forget that when we say a subject is not interesting to us we are really expressing not the defect of that subject, but our own limitations. We mean that we have little knowledge of it and less sympathy. And with human beings, so long as they are genuine, not affected, there is hardly one that would be uninteresting did we know him as he really is. I think of that wonderful feat of sympathetic insight achieved by the most cultured woman of the Victorian era when she showed us the heart and mind of the little dairy-maid Hetty Sorrel. We may not *like* the character, but who can say that it is not interesting?



'Come now,' said Thorwaldsen to Hans Andersen, 'write us a new story. I wonder if you could make up one about a darning needle?' And that is how *The Darning Needle* came to be written. Miss Austen has given us stories about very little more than darning needles, but what has she not worked into them? She has shown us the heart and mind of a whole generation of women.

It is a stock remark that Miss Austen's women have no mind and very little heart, but is it really true? Their mental interests were not ours, and compared with ours they had very few. But their mental powers, wasted as they too often were, seem quite equal to ours. They are better letter-writers than we. Or perhaps it is only that Miss Austen is a better letter-writer? I do not think many girls of twenty are more witty or more sensible or more generally interesting than Elizabeth Bennet, and can it be unimportant to us to recall in these pages the actual lives lived by our not very remote ancestresses? I think those of us who have known charming old ladies who were born in the closing years of the eighteenth century can trace in them many of the qualities that we find in Miss Austen's young girls—the refined and slightly formal speech, the gentle dignity and delicate consideration for others, of which perhaps Jane Bennet is of all her characters the best type.

Miss Austen's women indeed are her strong point. They are genuine types, yet absolutely individual. They express themselves differently from the women of our generation, but have we not all met the silly inconsequent Mrs. Bennet, though in our days we find her in a lower social class? Is not the delightful Mrs. Elton still among us, with the 'abundant resources in herself' of which she never tires of talking, and her constant effort to find some new gaiety or social distraction, her scorn of women, and her constant brag of being a married woman? The priggish Mary Bennet, who spends her life over books and remains a fool—the petulant Mary Musgrove, who is always feeling slighted by her husband's relations, yet never happy unless she is with them to have the opportunity of another quarrel—Mrs. Norris, who has all sorts of contrivances to save sixpence and who does all her good deeds by proxy—Mrs. Jennings, with her eternal talk of *beaux*, the mild, sensible womanly Mrs. Weston, the coddling mother Isabella with her indispensable doctor, the little silly Harriet Smith, do we not know every one of them among our contemporaries in spite of all outward differences?

The mind of a girl of seventeen—who has shown us that better than Jane Austen? The real, essential human creature hiding there under her immaturity, her small affectations, her ignorant outlook on a world of which she knows nothing. At the first glance it would seem that the Poles are not further apart than the modern high-school girl and Miss Austen's heroines. Indeed, in

externals it is so. The modern girl in her serge suit and sailor hat tramping home flushed and eager from the hockey field, is indeed a different being from the girl of a hundred years ago in her Empire frock of thin muslin or silk, her dainty stockings and shoes never meant for outdoor wear—the little coddled heroine who felt half a mile too far to walk alone, who sprained her ankle if she ran down a hill, and was thought hoydenish if she walked three miles through muddy lanes on an autumn morning. Yet just as despite all differences of dress and bodily habit the woman's frame was the same organically and potentially as it is to-day, so the womanly mind peeps out in Miss Austen's heroines the same, in spite of all its queer wrappings, its quaint diction, its conventional dress, essentially the same as it is to-day. As we see sometimes in a picture gallery an ancestress curiously like her young descendant, so may we not recognise in many a girl of to-day the modern representative of the sweet-tempered, witty, wholesome Elizabeth Bennet—the open, imperious, clever, unpenetrating Emma Woodhouse; the self-centred and rather sly Jane Fairfax; the impetuous, sometimes silly, but wholly refined and simple Catherine Morland; and, best picture of all, Anne Eliot, serious, intellectual, consecrated by the beautiful endurance of a life-long sorrow—a woman who hides, beneath a reserved and shrinking exterior, a great heart and an unconquerable soul.

I claim that in Miss Austen's characters we get the genuine stuff of womanhood, the stuff that remains the same though the background, the scenery, the dialogue, the incidents, the costumes vary from age to age. It must always be remembered that a novelist has to dress the souls as well as the bodies of his heroines in the costume of their period. The dress that drapes the minds of Jane Austen's heroines is reticence as to their deepest feelings—a reticence that is a remarkable contrast to the absolute unreserve with which things matrimonial are discussed in their circle. If ever we find one of them breaking through this reserve it is either because, as with Marianne Dashwood, she has fed on romances until she has lost sight of the actual world in which she lives, or because, as with Lydia Bennet, she is destitute not merely of conventional modesty, but of every decent womanly feeling. The normal among them are reticent. They do not tear a passion to tatters. The finer emotions, the great stresses of feeling, were not, in their day, things to be openly discussed. Love scenes were to be hinted at, not detailed. Sir Walter Scott invariably turned aside from the delineation of passionate love. He says himself, somewhere, that he could not lift the veil, feeling too much the impropriety of doing so. And long after his day this was a convention universally respected. Charlotte Brontë was perhaps the first to throw it aside, and when her passionate genius wreaked itself on expression the world was ripe for the newer

ideal. But we are all the products of our ancestry and our environment, and it is hardly fair to blame Miss Austen for sharing the universal feeling of her time as to the indelicacy of revealing the mysteries of the supreme passion.

Indeed, in the light of many recent novels, we may, not unreasonably, feel an admiration and an envy of the delicate reticence that we find in the earlier novels of the nineteenth century. In our days we have gone to the other extreme: the veil of the temple has been rent in the midst and there is no longer a Holy of Holies.

This reserve in Miss Austen's novels is probably the cause of her being charged with want of passion. 'There is no passion in her books, it would not be lady-like,' says Mr. Lord. This seems to me an absolutely mistaken estimate. It is veiled, hidden even from the woman herself, tremulous, womanly entirely, but it is there. The passion of love, though in its essentials it may remain the same, yet modifies itself greatly through the centuries, and the passion in Jane Austen's day was not the passion of ours; of what it was on the man's side, indeed, we are left in almost complete ignorance. But, as regards the woman, we see her feelings depicted with the most perfect art, that art which is nature. They love, as they do everything else, after their kind; and, if one thing in Miss Austen's work more than another reveals the master hand, it is, to me, the gradations and the variations she shows us in the love of her women. A passion of tragic intensity is as rare in Miss Austen's books as it is in life. Seldom, very seldom, do we encounter it in either. Once only—in *Persuasion*—do we get it from her pen, but that once she has given it perfectly. In *Sense and Sensibility* we have the two sisters, one showing the undisciplined emotion of a passionate untaught nature, but not the genuine stuff of feeling—the thing that can wear out life but not itself; the other sister breathing the calm yet deep affection of a very self-restrained and unselfish character. In *Pride and Prejudice* we again get the contrast of two sisters: Elizabeth, who alone, I think, of all Jane Austen's women feels a longing for companionship of mind, and Jane, who is the perfectly ordinary pretty girl attracted by the perfectly ordinary young man. In *Emma* we have a girl whose thoughts are mainly of love, and whose talk is mainly of marriage, yet who remains undiscovered even to herself for years, and when she does realise her affection it is of a calm yet thoroughgoing order which suits well with her healthy frame, her cheerful temperament, and optimistic outlook.

But in every woman Jane Austen has depicted we see the unerring lines of the women of that time with all their charm and their limitations, their virtues and their defects; their tenderness, their ignorance, their devotion to home ties, their want of education, their absolute dearth of public interests, their concentration upon

the idea of marriage, as women's minds always will be concentrated on that when there is nothing else for them to think about, when they are shut out from the thoughts and the interests of men; and in this antiquated mental costume she has painted the face and the form of the real woman as she knew her, and as we know her.

The whole circle is not rounded. There are types of women known to us that we do not find in her gallery. There are omissions that we find it hard to account for. Clergyman's daughter as she was, living all her life in a country rectory, we find only a single instance of that habit of 'considering the poor' that we are accustomed to regard as a prominent trait in women of that class even more then than now.

And, since I have touched on her clerical surroundings, one cannot fail to remark the entire absence of spirituality or religious earnestness in any one of her clergymen. Edmund Bertram feels that the Church is the right profession for a younger son, particularly as there is a family living. Henry Tilney is mainly occupied in decorating his house, erecting suitable farm buildings, and getting the garden in order. Mr. Collins is a most delicious picture of ineptitude and pomposity—one is sure that Jane Austen knew Mr. Collins well! But in all there is no touch of zeal or religious emotion.

When Matthew Arnold published his selected edition of Wordsworth he told us, in the preface that he could read *anything* in Wordsworth with pleasure and profit, anything but *Vaudracour and Julia*. Truth compels a similar confession here. I can enjoy all Jane Austen's women, all but Fanny Price. Fanny is, like Eve, 'too amiably mild;' too good, too proper, and too conscious of her own goodness and propriety. But with what consummate art is suggested the dead-alive, proper, dull atmosphere in which she grew up to be what she was! Fanny would make an admirable clergywoman when she was Edmund's wife. The slight tincture of censoriousness which never scolded but only manifested itself in disapproving mildness was the exact thing for Edmund's rectory. It suited it to perfection. I can fancy Fanny a few years later, attired in dove-coloured silk, a Paisley shawl and a coalscuttle bonnet, demurely sitting in the rectory pew, gazing with eyes of meek reverence at Edmund in gown and bands as he preached the driest of sermons. I can fancy Fanny's affectionate clasp of her little girl who has dropped off to sleep, and her glance of mild disapprobation at the smock-frocked Hodge who is audibly snoring. Yes! Fanny was cut out for her fate. But, I confess it with regret, she bores me exceedingly.

These considerations teach one tolerance. There may be—I do not know if there are—people who admire Fanny Price as I admire Anne Elliot or Elizabeth Bennet. After all, it is all a question of

taste. But how in the world, I ask myself again and again, how did Jane Austen do it? It matters nothing whether we should like or dislike to be limited to her little world. Probably we should all dislike it intensely. But how did she manage to paint it as she did? There they are, full rounded, with all the atmosphere, the half-tones of real life, quiet, natural, English—fifty people perhaps—and they have made their creator immortal. There is not one of them that shows marked originality, there is no new beauty of feeling, no reaching forth towards something greater than they could express. We may quite agree with much that has been said against her work; some of the talk may be, as has been said, ‘the very smallest of small beer,’ yet we read her books again and again and with ever new pleasure.

There are, however, two more remarks of Mr. Lord’s to which I must take exception; one is his endorsement of the opinion that she gives us as her main theme ‘the rather uninteresting doings and very uninteresting sayings of totally uninteresting people.’ As to the doings and sayings in themselves I quite agree; as to the people, no. They *were* uninteresting until Miss Austen touched them. Most of them are not people we should choose as our companions. But they are interesting to us not because they are clever, or beautiful, or because they do great deeds, or undergo remarkable adventures, but simply because they are human. She has shown us the universal in the particular, the beautiful in the commonplace. We know very little, and it is a great part of her art that we are kept in ignorance, of their inner life, and what we do know of it is told us in hints and suggestions. In the real world people do not draw up their chairs and recount to each other their history from childhood as they used to do in old-fashioned plays. We get it by hints, by the expression of the face, the tone of the voice, the smile, the tear, the flash of a new thought, or the involuntary laugh.

By these things we, rightly or wrongly, according to our insight and experience, place them. So with the characters of these novels; there they are with all their history behind them, and their little, pathetically narrow life so unlike ours, but interesting, always interesting.

The other remark with which I must join issue is that the fact of Miss Austen’s work being feminine in tone ‘implies a restricted range of vision.’ Why of course it does! But had the term been ‘masculine’ instead of ‘feminine,’ would not that equally have implied a restricted range of vision? Who can claim an unrestricted range of vision? All we can see is that very small part which we are endowed with the faculty of seeing. And if Miss Austen has given us, as she has, perfect pictures of the women of her time, of their talk, their doings, their thoughts and feelings, their daily life;

if she has given us an admirable background in the landscape of Charmouth and Lyme Regis and Portsmouth; if what she has seen, she has seen so truly, so delicately, with so womanly a sympathy and recorded for us with so exquisite a grace as perhaps no other has done, shall we say of her that her range of vision is restricted? Her heroes are, I grant, sometimes lay figures, but are they more so than the heroines of Scott or of Dickens? Men's heroines are at least as bad as women's heroes. And the idea that the masculine outlook is a truer one than the feminine is, I think, to be combated in the interests of art. A man's outlook may be wider, it is not deeper or more delicately discriminating. We have had women novelists who have tried to write like men and have been great failures. We do not want women who try to look at things with a man's eyes, or men who try to look at things with women's eyes. What we want is that both shall see truly, and truly tell us what they see and how they see it. We want the woman's touch in the woman's work quite as much as we want the man's special manly excellence in his.

We read Jane Austen glibly if we do not find beneath all the gaiety and the externality the sane, strong, sweet nature that accepted life with all its sorrow, all its deprivations, and cheerfully made the best of it. I think, after all, Macaulay was not so far wrong in ranking her next to Shakspeare. There *was* something in her nature like his—not only the keen observation, the sense of comedy, the delicate satire, the genial humanity—but also the power of getting outside her own feeling, and projecting, not itself, but its interpreted, harmonised result in external form. And she died at forty-two!

She told us what she saw. But the finest portrait she has given us reveals, I think, much of her own thought and feeling in the character of Anne Elliot. Too modest to make a great claim for herself, she has been acclaimed with more and ever more renown. While she was writing, the splendid romances of Scott were issuing from the press, and he was among the first to hail her great achievement. But to her belongs the honour of showing us what Scott with all his power could not show us—the charm and the grace of a perfectly ordinary but sincere and loving woman.

ANNIE GLADSTONE.

## THE PRICE OF FOOD IN OUR NEXT GREAT WAR

THE following resolution has been recently passed by the London Trades Council, a copy of which was kindly furnished to the present writer by the chairman thereof :

Resolved, that this Trades Council is of opinion that should this country become involved in a European war bread would rapidly rise to famine prices. Such a state of affairs, if nothing be done beforehand to guard against it, will prove a source of the very gravest national danger. The immediate result of bread rising to such famine prices will be the very greatest possible distress and misery and semi-starvation amongst the working classes.

Our reasons for this opinion are—(1) The changed industrial conditions of the present day, and the vast poverty-stricken masses congested in our great cities. (2) There are nearly 7,000,000 people to-day living in poverty so dire that they can hardly eke out a bare subsistence, even at present prices. They will not be able to pay famine prices. (3) The disruption of trade which must accompany a European war will throw a further very large number, how large cannot be foreseen, out of work—wageless, they will not be able to purchase food. (4) It is not necessary for us to point out that the prolongation of the war means the starvation of the poor and not the rich. And as week by week the pinch of hunger is felt more and more, we will not picture the consequences, which cannot fall short of a national calamity. We, therefore, call upon the Government to institute an inquiry into the present perilous position of this country in regard to its food supply in consequence of our dependence upon foreign countries, and to take measures to remedy this dangerous state of affairs.

It is at once apparent that from the point of view of the working classes, who constitute the majority of the nation, the question of our food supply, *i.e.* the price of food in war-time, is one which demands the deepest consideration.

Upon that supply depends our 'staying power' in the event of a European war. It may therefore be termed the foundation on which the whole fabric of Imperial defence is built up, and if in time of stress the foundation give way, the whole edifice must topple down into ruin.

The matter is simply this: that in the event of a European war the price of food will rise beyond the purchasing power of 7,000,000 of our people. What is to be done? If the poor are not able to

pay the price at which food is sold, it will be to them a case of starvation or semi-starvation. And the danger of course is, that after a month or two of such starvation or semi-starvation prices they may cry out so loudly and violently for peace at any cost, and cheap food again, as to force the strongest Government to make peace on humiliating, perhaps ruinous, terms. Or, in the alternative, the Government of the day would have to put down starving and riotous mobs by force of arms—a difficult task, a dread alternative. Can anyone in this country contemplate our soldiers being employed to shoot down their starving fellow-countrymen? And even so, the efforts of a nation disunited and torn by internal commotions could only lead to failure, while failure might mean, in the words of Lord Salisbury, ‘an end to the history of England.’

But why should such a dangerous state of things be allowed to continue, if it can be remedied? If the foundation of the building be insecure, why allow it to remain so till the storm comes? Why not strengthen it? Why wait? Why not do it now, at once?

Either the question of our food supply in the event of a European war is in a satisfactory state, or it is in an unsatisfactory state. There should not be much difficulty in settling that matter. The writer has not yet met anyone who has studied the matter at all, anyone whose opinion on the matter is worth having, who does not consider it to be in a thoroughly unsatisfactory state. The only people who consider it to be in a satisfactory state are those who manifestly have not taken the trouble to learn anything about it.

It is useless to point to the Napoleonic wars, as some people do, and say: ‘Oh, we got through them all right, though prices did rise, and the same thing will happen again.’ Since then the industrial conditions of this country have utterly changed, so much so that the experience of those far-away days is no safe guide to the future. To begin with, we were then a nation of 18 millions; we are now a densely packed people of 41 millions. We were then practically self-supporting; we now are dependent on foreign sources for three-fourths of our food supply. The working classes, who will feel the stress of famine prices most, were then unorganised and unable to make themselves heard, and had no Parliamentary vote; they are now very completely organised, and through their clubs and unions and Members possess every facility for making their opinions felt. We were then governed by the aristocracy, who naturally were not so much influenced by high prices; we are now governed by the democracy, by the very class who will feel the pinch of starvation prices most. We then possessed absolute command of the sea; we shall now have a hard fight to obtain it. We were then the only manufacturers, and the Continent, though at war, could not do without our goods; now Europe could do quite well without



them; and so on, and so on. Enough has been said to show that it is useless, that it is delusive, to point to the Napoleonic wars, because our next war will be fought under totally different conditions, industrial, commercial, financial, political, military and naval.

It is also useless to say, as some thoughtless people do, 'Oh, we are the richest country in the world; and as long as we are ready to pay for it food will come to us all right somehow, from America, or from the Colonies, or from neutral States, or in neutral vessels; it is merely a question of money, and of supply and demand.' The obvious fallacy of this argument (not to mention that it cheerfully overlooks the probability of food being declared contraband of war) is that it looks at the matter merely from the point of view of the rich and well-to-do classes, a small minority of the nation, and totally ignores the point of view of the poor, the great governing majority—of the democracy. Food will doubtless come, *at a price*, as long as we are able to pay the sum demanded. There is no fear of starvation for the rich. But what about the poor? Food will come into the country, but at a very high price. But what will be the use of that to those who cannot afford to pay the increased price? It might just as well not be in the country at all. Those who argue thus are thinking only of themselves; they don't give a thought to the poor, to the democracy. Let anybody who cares to understand this matter, as everybody ought, take Mr. Rowntree's able work, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, and examine his family budgets to see how far the poor could afford to pay famine prices for their food. He will see there demonstrated that 30 per cent. of the nation, or 47 per cent. of the working classes, could not. Take the estimate of a moderate family's weekly expenditure—a father, mother, and three children—the food being only equal to that supplied in our prisons, and worse than the diet given to paupers:

*In peace at present prices.*

	£.	s.	d.		
Food . . . . .	0	12	9	} Rowntree, page 296. Compare the budgets also pages 56 and 133.	} There are about 7,000,000 in the towns dependent on wages of 23s. a week and under.
Rent (say) . . . . .	0	4	0		
Clothing, fuel, light, &c. . . . .	0	4	11		
	£1	1	8		

*In war with price of food doubled.*

	£	s.	d.	
Food . . . . .	1	5	6	} Out of wages of 23s. a week and under.
Rent . . . . .	0	4	0	
Clothing, fuel, light, &c. . . . .	0	4	11	
	£1	14	5	

Or let him take Mr. Charles Booth's monumental work on the *Life and Labour of the People in London*, where he estimates that

30·7 per cent. of the total population of London were living in poverty. (For comparison of London and York, *vide* Rowntree, page 298.)

With such facts—demonstrated facts—before us, is it not truly amazing that any man can be found, in Parliament or out of Parliament, to say that the increase of the price of food in war-time will not matter, because we shall somehow get enough food for those who are able to pay for it?

Then there are people, who also ought to know better, who say ‘Oh, if you once admit that prices of food will rise greatly in war-time, then the situation becomes serious, but I deny that prices will rise to famine heights; I say that the matter is exaggerated. As for the corn merchants and the meat merchants, who all of them say, “prices will greatly rise,” I don’t believe them; they are working for their own interests.’ To such I can only answer, ‘Why do you, who are an amateur who know practically nothing about either the corn or the meat trades, venture to put your amateur opinion against the expert opinion of men who have spent their whole lives in the study of the probable rise and fall of prices in those two trades?’

• There remains the case of those who say, ‘Oh! Britannia rules the waves. The food-supply of the country is safe so long as we have a supreme Navy. It is an insult to the Navy to even debate the question. Spend enough money on ships, and we are safe.’

This is the only argument which deserves serious consideration. To all who hold this view I would say at once that as regards the necessity to us of a supreme Navy I and all those to whom I have ever spoken are absolutely with them. That is a matter which goes without saying.

But wishes and fine phrases and oratorical flourishes do not make ships, as some people seem to think. The ideal supreme Navy; such as could give complete protection to our sea-borne commerce, is the ideal at which we are all aiming; but that ideal we have not yet attained—indeed, are very far from having attained. And meantime, as practical men, we are bound to consider, not only the ideal towards which we strive, but, also the *actual* state of affairs. For, if war breaks out, it is the actual and not the ideal that will determine the decision, the momentous decision.

What, therefore, is the actual, opposed to the ideal, state of affairs? For it is upon the actual that we must base ourselves. The actual state of affairs is this:

(1) On the day after the declaration of war the prices of food will rise greatly, owing to commercial and financial causes beyond the power of the Navy to control—such as the preparatory demands of the belligerent Powers on the visible supply, the demands of merchants desirous of filling their stocks before prices rise further, the attempts of capitalists to buy and hold for a rise &c., the

reluctance of sellers to sell on a rising market, and last, but not least, the probable operations of the great Trusts &c. These causes will drive up prices at once beyond the reach of those 7,000,000 of our unskilled labour class already referred to.

(2) There must inevitably be a great disruption of commerce, also due to causes beyond naval control, such as the mere loss of the markets of the hostile countries and their dependencies &c. This will throw a further large number out of work, wageless and therefore foodless.

(3) Unless our Navy is sufficiently strong in cruisers to afford *complete* protection to our sea-borne trade, there will be a shortage of raw material, which will still further upset our trade, and the rates of marine insurance will rise to prohibitive heights, twenty or thirty times what they are now.

Have we therefore enough cruisers to afford such *complete* protection—such as was afforded at the time of the Crimean War? In 1886 Admiral Sir Geoffrey Hornby laid down that we required 186 cruisers for commerce protection alone. Since then our trade has largely increased, and the foreign navies to attack it have greatly increased.

We have now 153 cruisers (Admiralty return) and 30 auxiliaries = 183, while France and Russia have 98 cruisers and 52 auxiliaries = 150. Suppose that 50 cruisers on each side are required to attend the battle-fleets, that leaves us 133 cruisers to defend 6,000 vessels at sea scattered over 100,000 miles of trade routes (Lloyd's General Report, 1901), exposed to attack from 100 cruisers. That can by no means be called *complete* protection. At the most it can only be called *incomplete* protection. Therefore the actual state of affairs is that at the outset of war the Navy will only be able to afford our commerce *incomplete* protection.

I had almost forgotten to mention those people who laugh at the whole question of poverty in our towns, and refuse to consider it at all in relation to war, who say, 'Oh, the working classes are very well off; they could well afford to stint a few luxuries and pay more for food, and they will be all right.' One has heard such statements—in the House of Commons, too. People who say these things make the enormous error of lumping the whole of the working classes, skilled and unskilled, together. Statistics show that in the towns there are about 12 millions (skilled) in comfort, who could (if they would) stint luxuries and pay more for food, and about 7½ millions in poverty (unskilled), who earn at present prices a bare subsistence only, and who could not give up any luxuries (because they have none to give up) and thus pay more for food.

As regards the statistics of the poor, I quote from the June 1901 number of the *Royal United Service Institution Journal* the following application of Mr. Charles Booth's figures :

The most authoritative work on the condition of the poor is generally admitted to be Mr. Charles Booth's nine volumes on *The Life and Labour of the People*, worked out in the greatest detail for London. I shall, accordingly, work as far as possible on his figures. I take, 25,000,000 of our population to be urban to such a degree that Mr. Booth's figures for the whole of London will apply to them.

Mr. Booth divides the population as follows :

- A. The lowest class, occasionally labourers, loafers, and semi-criminals.
- B. The very poor, earning under 18s. a week, casual labour, hand-to-mouth existence, chronic want.
- C. and D. The poor, including alike those whose earnings are small because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work, though regular, is ill-paid. Earnings from 18s. to 23s. a week.
- E. and F. The regularly employed and fairly paid working classes of all grades, earning 23s. and upwards to 50s. a week.
- G. and H. Lower and upper middle classes, and all above this level, including professional classes.

The classes C. and D., whose poverty is similar in degree, but different in kind, can only be properly separated by information as to employment. It is the same with E. and F., which cover the various degrees of working-class comfort. G. and H. are given together for convenience.

The proportion of the various classes given for London are as follows :

A. The lowest . . .	37,610 or .9 per cent.	} In poverty 30.7 per cent.
B. The very poor . . .	316,834 „ 7.5 „	
C. and D. The poor . . .	938,293 „ 22.3 „	
E. and F. Comfortable working classes . . .	2,166,503 „ 51.5 „	} In comfort 69.3 per cent.
G. and H. Middle and upper classes . . .	749,930 „ 17.8 „	
Total . . .	4,209,170 100	

These figures applied to 25 millions of our urban population :

A. The lowest . . .	.9 per cent. =	225,000	} In poverty 7,675,000
B. The very poor . . .	7.5 „ =	1,875,000	
C. and D. The poor . . .	22.3 „ =	5,575,000	
E. and F. The comfortable working classes . . .	51.5 „ =	12,875,000	} In comfort 17,325,000
G. and H. The middle and upper professional classes	17.8 „ =	4,450,000	
Total . . .	100.0	25,000,000	

Taking all these facts into consideration, it seems to me, as 'the man in the street' who has studied the matter for three years, that there is no possible doubt that, as things are at present, European war will find us with 7 millions of the unskilled labour class unable to pay the price to which food will rise ; and that the strongest Navy (a Navy much stronger than our present) cannot prevent prices rising beyond the purchasing power of these unskilled 7 million working men and families.

So far it is all plain sailing. The laborious researches of Mr.

Charles Booth and Mr. Rowntree, available to us all, with their net result of thirty per cent. 'in poverty,' together with the ordinary business motto that 'business is business,' *i.e.* that business men will naturally try to make the utmost profit out of favourable circumstances (on both sides of the Atlantic), are enough to show us the state of the case. Our knowledge of human nature, our historic reading of the rage of hungry mobs, is enough to show us the danger. There are 1,000,000 'in poverty' within easy reach of the House of Parliament.

But that is not the worst. An able article appeared in last month's *National Review*, entitled 'Will War mean Starvation?' by Mr. Spenser Wilkinson. It is there asserted, on the authority of Lord George Hamilton, speaking with his experience as First Lord of the Admiralty, that in war all steamers under twelve knots, *i.e.* three-quarters of our Mercantile Marine, will be laid up in port for fear of capture, owing to our deficiency of commerce-protectors. Into the absolute accuracy of this forecast I do not propose to enter. It is controversial. It means that we shall have to face a loss of three-quarters of our raw material, and that three-quarters of our working classes will be thrown out of work, wageless. Taking, however, the most hopeful view—namely, that only a quarter of our Mercantile Marine are laid up—still even that will mean a shortage of a quarter of our trade and raw material, or that one quarter of the skilled labour class, now earning good wages, will be thrown out of work, *wageless*, and unable to pay famine prices for food.

So that, apparently, to the 7,000,000 unskilled labour class who will not be able to pay such prices we must add at least 3,000,000 of the skilled labour class thrown out of work by the inevitable shortage of trade and raw material. This makes a total of 10,000,000 who will not be able to pay famine prices, as a moderate estimate. It is too awful to contemplate. When once the reader has realised the meaning of these figures, I am confident he will never be able to rest till a remedy is applied. Since I realised the meaning of these figures, I have had no rest or peace of mind, nor shall have; and I am confident that all who think them out—all who realise their dread possibilities of social, political, and national ruin—will feel the same. For a hungry man is an angry man, a desperate man, a man careless of consequences. Let us put ourselves in the place of a man earning 18s. or 21s. a week, with food too dear to buy enough to keep his wife and children from starvation. How long would we stand it? How long will he? And what may follow?

Let a workman speak for the workmen, for it is good to know all points of view. We have heard the optimistic utterances of the rich and well-off as voiced in that marvellous debate in the House of Commons last year. Let us hear the other side. In the discussion before referred to at the Royal United Service Institution of January

(June number 1901), Mr. B. T. Hall, Secretary of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, declared :

I am a workman, and am now secretary of a society which comprises over a quarter of a million of workmen, and can say with confidence that the result of trebling the price of necessities would produce results so grave that the people would insist on the cause being removed at any cost. Here seems to me to lie the danger. The English workman has, as a class, no reserve of purchase power. The few who have, dread nothing so much as a depletion of that reserve. Given a state of semi-starvation consequent on a war, the people would cry out that the war should be stopped, *even to the extinction of Britain as a dominant power in the world*. This would not be at once, of course. Men would muster to the defence of the country, moved by a patriotism which is largely blind and inherent, not resolute and informed. But, however just the war, or however necessary, you would find men who would see only the side of our opponents. After the first month of starvation workmen would heed these arguments, and resentment with their terrible lot would grow. The second month the feeling in favour of peace—*of peace at any price*—would, under the fearful pressure of starvation, finally force the strongest Government to the acceptance of humiliating terms. Of this I am convinced.

No man can read this weighty warning without saying 'Herein lies a grave national danger.'

• I trust that, though limits of space forbid the production of statistics to prove each point in detail, enough has been said to show that the whole scheme of Imperial defence rests on an insecure foundation ; and consequently that, till that insecure foundation be strengthened, we can have no safety. Of this there can be little doubt. • The only point which remains is, How can the foundation best be strengthened ?

On this point I am not yet prepared to give a definite opinion, for all the data are not yet collected.

The subject resolves itself into three headings : . . .

(1) *The certain danger* that prices will rise beyond the purchasing power of the 7,000,000 unskilled labour population of the towns. With this the Navy, however strong, cannot interfere. It is a question of proper 'internal organisation' for war.

(2) *The probable danger*, due to the inevitable shortage of trade and raw material, that another 3,000,000 at least of the skilled labour class in the towns will be added to the 7,000,000 unskilled. This is where the Navy comes in, for upon the number of commerce-protectors which the Navy can supply the extent of the inevitable shortage of trade and raw material will depend. This is a case of proper 'external organisation' for war.

(3) How the inevitable rise in the price of food can best be minimised and kept within limits. This is a commercial and financial question.

These are the three factors in the situation which would at once confront us if we should be involved in European war next year or the year after. They are, therefore, most urgent, and their urgency

comes according to the order in which they are here named. They are of the most pressing importance, and should be taken in hand at once.

No. 1, the question of a proper 'internal organisation' for war adapted to the needs of the industrial conditions which have grown up in these islands since our last great war, comes first in order of urgency. For it is manifest that the 7,000,000 who won't be able to pay war prices must be fed somehow while the war lasts. A vast organisation of relief will be required, an organisation so vast that, unless it is all carefully prepared beforehand, it is bound to break down. This organisation would also be able to minimise the effects of the inevitable shortage of trade and raw material which must accompany a European war. For though men cannot live without food, yet if deprived of work they can live, so long as they are in receipt of relief.

No. 2 is of almost equal, though not quite equal, urgency. A certain shortage of trade and raw material there must inevitably be—more or less modified Lancashire cotton-famine conditions all over the country—due to the loss of the trade markets and material of the hostile countries. This must be dealt with under No. 1. How far this shortage can be kept within reasonable limits; how many millions will be thrown out of work, wageless, and unable to buy food, will depend upon the number of cruisers available as commerce-protectors at the *outset* of war. At present we have not enough, or nearly enough, to prevent a very great shortage indeed.

No. 3, as to how the prices of food can best be kept within reasonable limits, is a commercial question. It appears certain that they will rise beyond the purchasing power of all families dependent on wages of 23s. a week and under. As to how far they will affect the skilled labour class, with wages varying from 23s. to 50s. a week, will of course depend upon the height to which they rise. Various proposals have been made by business men by which they say the rise of prices could be minimised. The question is: Which is the best and most practicable, and which would involve the least disturbance of trade conditions? These have been made by practical business men, and all deserve most careful consideration, for somehow or other the prices of food *must* be kept within limits.

It is not one remedy, but a combination of at least three remedies, that is required, and such a combination of remedial measures is a matter of great difficulty. It is also a matter of great urgency. It is manifest that to collect properly all the multitudinous data required under each heading is beyond the power of an individual, be he a man in the street or be he a Member of Parliament.

Further, it is plain that so many questions come into this required combination of remedial measures, which are outside the

cognizance of any one particular Government department, that it is insufficient for the representative of any one particular department—as, for instance, the Board of Trade—to give an opinion on the question as a whole. The value of a departmental opinion is limited to matters within the cognizance of the permanent officials, and is of no value at all if given on matters which are plainly outside their cognizance. And there is no department under whose cognizance *all* the data required for the question come. Therefore it is plain that no opinion given by any single department on the whole question is of any value.

But the question of the security or insecurity of the foundation of our whole scheme of Imperial defence is one of pressing and paramount national importance. There should be no time lost in dealing with it, for we cannot tell when the storm of European war will come. Therefore it is plain that Parliament should at once make itself thoroughly competent to deal with the question. The only way in which this can be done is by a Government inquiry, either by Royal Commission or Select Committee, composed of men in whom the nation will have confidence, and with power to summon before them the best evidence on all the subjects involved, which the country can produce. Action must follow, and be based on, knowledge. When all the data have been thus collected and put into a Blue Book, and when Parliament has had time to study that Blue Book, then, and not till then, will it be possible for Parliament, for the nation, to form an opinion worth having as regards the necessary combination of remedial measures.

STEWART L. MURRAY.



## THE STORY OF 'THE FOURTH PARTY'

(Concluded)

### III. ITS NIRVANA

IN concluding the preceding article it was stated that Lord Randolph Churchill's undisguised personal ambition had brought an element of discord into the Fourth Party. There were two alternatives open to the rest of its members—either to remain loyal to their compact, or to sever their connection with it altogether. Sir Henry Wolff and Mr. Gorst unhesitatingly chose the former course. It was clear that the continued support of Lord Randolph involved working directly for his personal advancement, and putting, as far as they themselves were concerned, all the eggs into one basket. But perfect reliance was placed by them upon the generous assurances of their colleague that what was achieved through their help should also be shared in common. Mr. Balfour, on the other hand, had to think of his own career. His association with the Fourth Party had been of enormous political value to him. It had brought him into the foreground in the House of Commons, and had mainly assisted him to achieve a Parliamentary reputation. But at this point the utility of his colleagues ceased to exist. In the campaign against Sir Stafford Northcote's leadership of the Party in the Commons Mr. Balfour had assisted with heart and soul. It was naturally of vital importance to him that the path of Lord Salisbury to the paramount position should be cleared. Accordingly he encouraged Lord Randolph Churchill to destroy the authority of Sir Stafford Northcote as leader of the Opposition. But the moment his colleague appeared to be ambitious, either of supplanting Lord Salisbury or of acting as his second in command in the House of Commons, his attitude changed. From the date of the publication of Lord Randolph's letters to the *Times*, a couple of weeks before the unveiling of Lord Beaconsfield's statue, Mr. Balfour's allegiance to the Fourth Party began to cool. There was no definite rupture, but a falling off of support; accompanied, at a later stage of the estrangement, by efforts to counteract the growing influence of Lord Randolph in the councils of the Party.

In the autumn of 1883 Lord Randolph Churchill took the initial

step in one of the most daring Party intrigues recorded in political history. He had attained to a triumphant position in the country. His audacity, and the unguarded fashion in which he spoke out his ideas just as they occurred to him, regardless of the consequences, captivated the imagination of the working classes. It was an open secret that at political meetings his name was more loudly cheered than that of Lord Salisbury or Sir Stafford Northcote. In fact, even the Tory press was compelled to acknowledge that in a space of five years Lord Randolph Churchill had achieved a popularity only second to that enjoyed by Gladstone himself. In sober Lancashire his name was a household word, and his influence in the country was so great that he determined to go to Birmingham and beard the Caucus in its own stronghold as a Conservative candidate at the next election. This was, however, only an incidental project in his career. The intrigue referred to above aimed at a much higher flight than the representation in Parliament of the most Radical constituency in England.

Lord Randolph cherished, in truth, no smaller design than the wholesale capture of the Conservative Party organisation. It was a bold scheme that would probably never have entered any head but his; but circumstances were not unfavourable to the success of the attempt. Lord Randolph was already a power in the National Union of Conservative Associations, and both he and his friends were fully aware of the disabilities under which that body laboured. At that time the National Union had no real voice in the management of the Party, owing to its absolute financial dependence upon the Central Conservative Committee. The latter had come into existence after the general election of 1880. It consisted of a number of members of the Carlton Club who had been appointed by Lord Beaconsfield to inquire into the organisation of the Conservative Party. The Committee was never dissolved. It continued to exist, assumed the direction and management of all Party affairs, and controlled the very considerable funds subscribed for Party purposes. The National Union could do little or nothing without the sanction of the Central Committee, because the money to carry out its schemes was only obtained by favour of the latter body.

This being the state of affairs, Lord Randolph Churchill had two difficult tasks to perform in order to carry his project to a successful issue. In the first place, he had to obtain a controlling voice on the Council of the National Union. Secondly, to make any effective use of this position when gained, it was necessary to secure for that branch of the Conservative organisation its proper share of influence by getting it placed on a footing of financial independence. The friends of Lord Randolph were far from suspecting, at this initial stage of the latter's ambitious scheme, the lengths to which it would lead them. It was recognised by a considerable number of members

of the National Union Council that their existence as a body placed absolutely under the thumb of the Central Committee was more ornamental than useful. Accordingly, hearty support was given by them to the proposal that a definite sum of money should be allocated to the National Union out of the Party funds; whilst the opposition to the scheme came from the partisans of the official leaders, who viewed with suspicion and misgiving the growing influence of Lord Randolph Churchill.

At the annual conference of delegates of the National Union, which was held at Birmingham on the 1st and 2nd of October, 1883, the member for Woodstock and his friends succeeded in passing a resolution directing the Council to take steps for securing to the Union 'its legitimate influence in the Party organisation.' This prosperous issue was followed up by the election of Lord Randolph as Chairman of the National Union in February of the following year. Strong opposition was made to this move on the part of the young Tories by the adherents of Lord Salisbury, and the latter statesman even went so far as to ignore the new chairman by persisting in corresponding with the Council through the medium of Lord Percy. Meanwhile no time was lost by Lord Randolph in demanding from the chiefs of the Party the powers hinted at in the Birmingham resolution. He entered into confidential negotiations on the subject with Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote, both personally and by letter. The result of these communications was that on the 29th of February Lord Salisbury wrote a letter encouraging the Union in its aspirations, and pointing out the special directions in which its activity should be employed. This was a complete victory for Lord Randolph, of which he was not slow to avail himself. A report was drawn up recommending, amongst other important matters, that the Union should claim 'a certain definite allocation' from the funds hitherto controlled exclusively by the Central Conservative Committee.

The adoption of the report by a majority of the Council was immediately followed by the most unexpected consequences. On the next day a letter was received from Mr. Bartley, the Agent of the Party and a member of the Central Committee, giving the National Union notice to quit the premises it had hitherto shared with the latter body, and informing the Council that Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote repudiated any further responsibility for the doings of the National Union. Upon receiving this open declaration of war, Lord Randolph wrote a strong letter to Lord Salisbury, which, after full discussion, received the assent of a majority of the Council. Some members of the Council who were opposed to the Chairman carried a motion directing that the letter should be entered on the minutes, as they thought that it would, if unalterably fixed in its existing form, prove damaging to Lord Randolph Churchill. There is no

doubt that the wording of this remarkable political document was the reverse of conciliatory. The writer thought, in fact, that the time for amiable negotiation had passed, and that nothing would be gained unless it were forced at the point of the bayonet. The letter began by stating that it was quite clear to the Council that they had hopelessly failed, in their letters and private conversations, to convey to Lord Salisbury's mind anything like an appreciation of the significance of the movement which the National Union had commenced in the previous autumn at Birmingham, or of the unfortunate effect which a neglect or a repression of that movement by the Leaders of the Party would have upon the Conservative cause. Reference was then made to the mandate given by the combined Associations to the Council, to secure for the National Union its legitimate share in the management of the Party organisation. This Resolution of the Conference was interpreted as an expression of dissatisfaction with the condition of the organisation of the Party, and as showing a determination on the part of the National Union that it should no longer continue to be a sham, useless, and even hardly ornamental portion of that organisation. Lord Salisbury was reminded that these views had then been communicated to him and to Sir Stafford Northcote, and that he had written a letter in reply from which it appeared that the two Conservative Leaders entered fully and sympathetically into the wishes of the Council, and in which was set forth a clear and definite scheme of labour for the National Union to undertake. The Council, Lord Randolph continued, committed the serious error of imagining that Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote were in earnest in wishing them to become a real source of usefulness to the Party, and proceeded to adopt a report in which practical effect was given to this advice. They did this under the impression that to carry out the objects embodied in it they would be placed in possession of pecuniary resources from the Party funds. The letter went on to say that they had been rudely deceived, and recapitulated the statements made in Mr. Bartley's communication. Then Lord Randolph referred to a letter which he had received from Lord Salisbury on the previous day, expressing disapproval of the action of the Council, declining to take notice of the report, and intimating that the objects at which the Council of the National Union should aim would be indicated subsequently. He accused Lord Salisbury of having totally abandoned the precise language of his former letter, and of having taken refuge in vague, foggy, and utterly intangible suggestions. Finally, he said, in order that the Council of the National Union might be completely and for ever reduced to its ancient condition of dependence upon and servility to certain irresponsible persons who found favour in the eyes of the leaders, the latter demanded that the Whips of the Party should sit *ex officio* on

the Council, with a right of being present at the meetings of all committees. The Council were further informed, Lord Randolph proceeded, that, in the event of their acquiescing in the view of their functions laid down in Lord Salisbury's letter, they might be graciously permitted to remain the humble inmates of the premises which they then occupied. In conclusion, it was declared that Lord Salisbury's letter and a copy of the writer's reply would be laid before the Council at its meeting on the morrow, and a motion submitted that the Council should adhere substantially to the report already adopted in obedience to the direction of the conference at Birmingham..

As may be supposed, this answer from the Chairman of the National Union provoked a complete rupture. But Lord Randolph Churchill's position both in the country and at the Conservative headquarters was too strong to be ignored. Efforts were made by partisans on both sides to effect a healing of the breach. Mr. Rowland Winn, representing the Central Committee, entered into amicable communication with Sir Henry Wolff, with the result that by the end of April things were in course of arriving at a satisfactory settlement. The main point about the financial independence of the National Union was virtually arranged between them, it being agreed that a certain annual sum should be allocated to the Union out of the subscriptions obtained by the Central Committee. At this juncture, when the quarrels about the Party organisation were on the point of being made up, an unfortunate occurrence upset the whole affair, and made confusion worse confounded. It happened that at the ordinary monthly meeting of the Council, held on the 2nd of May, the majority of Lord Randolph's friends and supporters were absent. The older Tories could not resist the opportunity. They proposed a motion practically reversing the policy inaugurated by the Chairman, and carried it by a majority. The circumstances were entirely accidental; but Lord Randolph Churchill chose to regard the resolution as a vote of want of confidence in himself, and at once tendered his resignation. A couple of weeks later he was re-elected. The quarrel had gone too far, however, to be genuinely patched up. From that moment there commenced a tacit, but none the less bitter, contest for supremacy in the National Union. The time was approaching when the annual election of the Council would take place. The selection of the future Chairman depended upon which party succeeded in securing the largest representation on the Council, and therefore the most strenuous efforts were made to obtain a majority by active canvass. The struggle lay between Lord Randolph Churchill and Lord Percy, who was put forward by the Conservative Leaders. Mr. Balfour, although ostensibly a member of the Fourth Party, and appearing to continue to act with his colleagues, favoured the candidature of Lord Percy, and took an active but unostentatious part in canvassing for the

election of the latter's nominees. Mr. Gorst and Sir Henry Wolff, on the other hand, gave the most unflinching support to their political friend; though it may be mentioned that the former, having spent the winter in India, returned in the Spring of 1884 to find the National Union affair at an advanced stage of its development.

It was now a case of neck or nothing. Lord Randolph Churchill's supporters staked their whole political future upon securing his personal success. An open struggle for supremacy between the Conservative leaders and the member for Woodstock had been entered upon, and the failure of the latter to secure a victory would mean probable annihilation for him and for his supporters. With the exception of Mr. Balfour, therefore, the Fourth Party worked unremittingly for the common cause during the interval before the National Union Conference at Sheffield. Nor was it entirely by their labours that success was achieved in the end. There were many influential members of the Council of the National Union who cordially supported and assisted to initiate the policy of emancipating the National Union from the control of the Central Committee. Without the co-operation of this group, Lord Randolph Churchill could never have carried his scheme into effect, and he received their support because they saw in his dash and energy the chief hope of regenerating the Party organisation. It must not be supposed, therefore, that this insurrection in the Conservative Party was solely due to an intrigue on the part either of Lord Randolph Churchill or of the Fourth Party. The circumstances were practically ripe for some revolutionary movement, and Lord Randolph proved to be the man of the moment to whom the reforming element naturally turned for leadership and guidance.

The Sheffield Conference was held on the 23rd of July, 1884. By a coincidence it happened that Lord Salisbury addressed a political meeting in that town about the same date; and it is a significant fact that, in issuing invitations to Conservative members and others to be present, he ignored the Fourth Party—with the exception, of course, of Mr Balfour—and left its members out in the cold. The contest between the supporters of Lord Percy and the supporters of Lord Randolph Churchill for a majority on the Council of the National Union was now decided. It was virtually, as has been shown, a struggle between Lord Randolph and the two Conservative leaders, who were anxious to keep down their popular and ambitious rival, and to prevent his gaining additional ground by obtaining a predominant share in the control of the Party machinery. The complete triumph of the central figure of the Fourth Party extinguished this hope once and for all. A large majority of Lord Randolph's nominees were returned as members of the Council, and his re-election as Chairman of that body became consequently assured.

At this juncture, therefore, Lord Randolph Churchill was placed, with the loyal assistance of his colleagues, in a position of supreme influence and power. The Fourth Party had climbed to the top of the tree. It had asserted its claim to be regarded as the pioneer of a serious and progressive movement in the Tory Party, and had achieved by its united efforts such political weight through the rapid advancement of one of its members, that the Conservative chiefs would now be compelled to recognise it as a force which could not only be ignored no longer, but which would have to be accorded a share in the councils of the Party. This was apparently the situation at the close of the Sheffield Conference. Within a few days a totally unforeseen contingency occurred which wrecked the Fourth Party altogether, and virtually put an end to its existence. Lord Randolph Churchill, apparently on his own initiative and without consulting his colleagues, made terms for himself with Lord Salisbury. The first intimation, indeed, that one of the political allies, who had gone out of town for a few days, received of this compromise, was to the effect that it had already taken place. From that moment, although it continued to exist in the eyes of the uninformed public, the Fourth Party was at an end. A few days later Lord Salisbury celebrated the concordat by giving a banquet to the principal officials of the National Union, at which Lord Randolph Churchill proposed his health, and a complete public reconciliation was effected. To this banquet the members of the Fourth Party were all invited; but one, at least, of them refused—perhaps injudiciously from the standpoint of political ~~advises~~—to be present after what had taken place.

Probably no better illustration could be given of the new position of affairs than an incident which took place in the House of Commons at the beginning of the autumn session of the same year. Parliament had been summoned after the summer holidays to pass Gladstone's Reform Bill, extending household suffrage to the counties and enfranchising the agricultural labourer. The Fourth Party continued to sit together, but evidence was soon forthcoming that its members were no longer acting in concord. On the Second Reading of the Franchise Bill, Mr. Gorst made a speech in accordance with the principles of Tory Democracy that had been consistently adopted by the Fourth Party throughout its career of political activity. At the time of this debate the political situation was as follows. The Government had expressed its willingness to deal comprehensively with the question of Parliamentary reform, and to bring in a scheme for Redistribution as well as a Franchise Bill. Gladstone had announced it to be his intention to give priority to his plan for the extension of household suffrage, but had solemnly pledged himself to introduce a Redistribution Bill in the session following. The Conservative Opposition had at first taken up the attitude of agreeing to the extended franchise, provided that a readjust-

ment of the electoral areas were also undertaken. But although the Government had pledged itself up to the hilt to dispose of both questions in the immediate future, it had subsequently been decided to oppose the Second Reading of the Franchise Bill with an amendment to the effect that provisions for a proper arrangement of electoral areas must accompany any measure purporting to provide for the better representation of the people in Parliament. Prior to his surrender to the Conservative leaders, Lord Randolph Churchill had taken the foremost part in enunciating the Tory Democratic view of the Government scheme. He now appeared in the House of Commons as the virtual author of the amendment which Mr. Edward Stanhope had moved, practically for him, on a day when he was compelled to be absent from Parliament on account of a domestic bereavement. What brought him to the House on the day following the moving of the amendment was, as he himself acknowledged, the express purpose of answering the speech of Mr. Gorst and of making an attack of the most violent nature upon his former friend and colleague.

The latter had urged what Lord Randolph himself had been consistently advocating on past occasions, namely, that the Tory Party should do nothing to dissimulate their approval of the extension of household suffrage to the counties, but should cordially co-operate with the Government in passing such a measure, provided that satisfactory assurances were given that a fair scheme for the redistribution of seats would follow in due course. He deprecated very strongly, although in favour of the amendment as an abstract motion, that the Conservative leaders should be using the two millions of capable citizens, whose right to enfranchisement they had admitted, as a sort of lever to force from the Government a Redistribution Bill, when no compulsion was necessary to attain that object. It was not impossible that the two millions of capable citizens might resent their rights being made use of in this way, and all the Conservative Party would accomplish would be to make enemies of the new voters. That was the essence of his contention. It was merely giving expression to the principles of Tory Democracy by which the Fourth Party had always been inspired, and it may therefore be supposed that when Lord Randolph Churchill attacked his colleague for giving utterance to views which had only lately issued from his own lips, the House of Commons began to grasp something of the real state of affairs. Lord Randolph repudiated any responsibility for the line taken by his friend, and declared that the speech was a very painful surprise to him. He called Mr. Gorst's attitude one of ignominious surrender, and said that 'if there was one thing that could destroy and shatter the hope of a peaceful settlement it was that speech, because, if the Government thought it represented the views of any large portion of the



Tory Party, they would think they had nothing before them but a cowardly, vacillating, and disorganised Party.' Speaking of his late colleague's remark that the latter stood aloof from the agitation in the Autumn, Lord Randolph remarked: 'I have yet to learn that either the traditions of Party warfare or Party etiquette teach one to desert one's party and stand aloof from and refrain from giving assistance to it at a moment of crisis and danger, simply because of the very inadequate and miserable reason that in one's own poor and very fallible judgment one does not altogether approve of the course which may have led them into that difficulty.' The completeness of Lord Randolph Churchill's recantation may be gathered from the fact that, early in the year, on the amendment of Mr. A. Grey fixing a date for the commencement of the Franchise Bill, he said that the object of Conservatives who were in favour of reform would be attained by the insertion of the date January, 1886, as the commencement of the Bill. If that were put into a Reform Bill, he saw no reason why the Bill should not pass into law, taking into account the declaration of the Government that they intended to introduce promptly and to pass a Redistribution measure. It is noteworthy that for this expression of opinion Lord Randolph was at that time taken to task by Mr. Balfour, if with less vehemence, still very much after the fashion of his own subsequent attack upon his discarded political ally.

In November 1884, therefore, Lord Randolph Churchill appeared in the House of Commons in a totally new rôle. From the beginning of the autumn session he acted completely under the thumb of the Conservative leaders, until Lord Salisbury's Government of 1885 was formed and he was rewarded with the Secretaryship of State for India. There was, on that occasion, a week's delay before the task of forming a Conservative administration was accepted; and during the interval Lord Randolph—in a spirit analogous to that of Disraeli in 1855, when Lord Derby threw away a great chance of taking office—went about inveighing against Lord Salisbury in no measured terms. However, he had largely his own way in forming the government. Sir Stafford Northcote was removed from his path by being sent up to the House of Lords with an earldom; whilst, recognising that he could not yet hope to lead the Conservative Party in the House of Commons, Lord Randolph strongly supported the nomination to that office of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who practically acted throughout his term of leadership upon the advice and at the instigation of the Secretary for India. But no member of the Fourth Party except himself was admitted to the Cabinet. Mr. Balfour, though made President of the Local Government Board, was excluded from the latter distinction; Sir Henry Drummond Wolff was sent out to Egypt on an important mission; and upon Mr. Gorst was conferred the silence of the Solicitor-

Generalship. It is true that Lord Randolph Churchill offered one high post in India after the other, both legal and administrative, to the latter member of the *quondam* Fourth Party; but Mr. Gorst did not wish to throw up his position in English politics or to remove himself to another sphere of activity, and the appointments were consequently declined. The sequel to Lord Randolph Churchill's ministerial career is well enough known. In 1886, when the second Salisbury administration was formed, he became Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons. But in the following year, having quarrelled with the Government on the question of the estimates, he resigned office and lost a position which was never afterwards recovered by him. Mr. Goschen succeeded to the Chancellorship; many people holding the belief that the selection had been made some time beforehand, and that the differences with Lord Randolph were carefully fomented for the purpose of engineering a quarrel and so getting rid of him altogether.

The history of the Fourth Party has now been written in its main outline. It would be affectation to pretend that it came to anything but an ignoble end. But the reader, in judging the matter, will do well to bear in mind the fact that the same code of honour which is applied to private life cannot be made applicable to the exigencies of politics. The struggle for existence is so severe in the arena of Parliament that a rigid standard of political morality can scarcely be observed by those whose first aim is to be successful. Of course, here and there a man goes into public life for the sake, not of himself or his own advancement, but of certain principles which he intends to advocate quite irrespective of personal loss or gain. But these are exceptional cases that must not be taken into too serious account. The man who sets the standard of political right and wrong is he who has his career to make first and his country to serve afterwards. This is inevitable, and is in all probability merely an excellent provision in the universal scheme of evolution to secure the survival of the fittest in the conduct of national affairs. It would be grossly unfair to measure Mr. Balfour's covert alienation from his associates, or Lord Randolph Churchill's final act of private capitulation, by ordinary standards. The former, it must be remembered, was placed in a position of much delicacy; and being of a conciliatory rather than of a polemical disposition in regard to politics, he preferred to remain at least on outwardly cordial terms with those whose interests appeared ultimately to clash with his own. The enforced canvass in aid of Lord Percy's candidature for the chairmanship of the National Union, whose cause could not be openly espoused without a rupture with the Fourth Party, illustrates how disagreeable and complicated the situation must often have been.

It is rather more difficult, perhaps, to do justice to the motives

that prompted the final act by which Lord Randolph Churchill wrecked the surviving remnants of the Fourth Party. Clearly he thought it the most politic course to take at the moment; and if only he had been strong enough to stand alone, his judgment would not have ultimately proved misleading. The principal aim of Lord Randolph was the leadership in the House of Commons. All other considerations were in the nature of things of but secondary importance to him. It must be assumed that the brilliant Conservative free-lance made up his mind, after the National Union episode, that it would be impossible for him to supplant Lord Salisbury. Accordingly the only policy open to him was to come to an immediate understanding in regard to the political future, and to make a bargain in regard to the chief object of his ambition. That the interests of others were sacrificed in putting this resolution into effect was not a circumstance that could be taken into account at such a critical juncture. In political life the principle of *sauve qui peut* is compelled to be subjected to a very extended application. Some crude individual, who has not digested the A B C of politics, or who has failed to profit by its elementary axioms, may occasionally commit the blunder of neglecting or even of despising an opportunity. But these slips are, as has been already remarked, few and far between, and neither can nor ought to be expected to serve as rules of conduct by which the actions of other, and perhaps wiser, aspirants to political fame should be governed.

HAROLD E. GORST.

## *LAST MONTH*

CHRISTMAS 1902 has found the country occupied, just as it was at Christmas 1895, with the affairs of Venezuela. It is true that there is all the difference in the world between the circumstances of to-day and those of seven years ago. In 1895 no one could bring any reproach against this country, no one but the American politician who, to gain a paltry advantage for himself and his party, almost plunged his country into war, and destroyed his own reputation as a responsible and honourable man. On this occasion at least we have had no Mr. Cleveland trying to buy votes at the price of his own honour and the peace of the world. But all the same we have suddenly found ourselves confronted once more by the spectre of Venezuela, and now as in 1895 there looms behind it the much larger and more formidable spectre of our relations with the United States. The people of Great Britain have hardly as yet recovered from the surprise with which they found themselves, a week or two since, involved in this fresh difficulty. They no more expected it than they expected Cleveland's message seven years ago. Early in the month there were rumours about some financial transactions that were to furnish money for the depleted coffers of President Castro, the gentleman who, for the moment, 'runs' the legitimate government of Venezuela, not greatly, it is to be feared, to the advantage of the country. There was nothing, however, in these rumours to suggest what followed, and it was not until some days later that the world was informed that certain British warships had been sent to Venezuelan waters on a definite mission. A little later came portentous despatches to the *Times* from its Washington correspondent. These despatches gave us the comforting assurance that America did not object to anything that we were about to do with regard to Venezuela; so that if anybody had been simple enough to take the *Times* correspondent at his own valuation he must naturally have felt that all was well. Bit by bit the mystery deepened, and we learned, from sources on which it was possible to rely, that not only Great Britain but Germany was on the point of making a naval demonstration against the little republic. It was not until the 8th of the month that Mr. Balfour stated, in answer to a question in

the House of Commons, that an ultimatum had been addressed to President Castro, not only by this country but by Germany. People rubbed their eyes and, like Peterkin in Southey's ballad, asked what it was all about; for up to this moment no information on this essential point had been afforded them by the Government. Before any reply was given some rather ominous events happened. The English and German representatives at Caracas delivered their ultimatum, and then departed in hot haste for La Guayra, leaving their fellow-countrymen under the protection of the United States Minister, Mr. Bowen. President Castro's first reply to the ultimatum was distinctly characteristic of the ways of South American Presidents in moments of difficulty. He seized all the Englishmen and Germans upon whom he could lay his hands, and clapped them into prison. Simultaneously the English and German warships seized the Venezuelan navy, a flotilla for which a single torpedo-boat would have been more than a match. Two of these ships were sunk, under circumstances which have still to be cleared up. English and German troops were landed at La Guayra, though it does not appear that they remained on shore more than an hour or two. Then Mr. Bowen, by judicious diplomacy, secured the release of the imprisoned citizens of this country and Germany. The next incident in the strange sequence of events was a flaming manifesto from President Castro, which read like an extract from one of the numerous novels which have had for their theme the mixed politics of some South American State. A day or two later came news of the interference by Venezuelan forces with an English merchant vessel, and this was quickly followed by the bombardment of the fort at Puerto Cabello. Clearly, without knowing it, we had become involved in a little war in South America, and were acting in alliance with Germany.

There was more than enough in this to alarm well-informed and reasonable politicians. Whatever our grievances against Venezuela might be, everybody knew that it was not a light thing to resort to warlike measures against it. The Washington correspondent of the *Times* kept up his soothing assurances as to the state of feeling in the United States, and told us how public opinion in New York and Washington was entirely on our side in everything that had been done. But those who decline to take this gentleman as a witness of authority were naturally filled with apprehension. The people of the States have, of late years, insisted that the South American continent comes within the provisions of the Monroe doctrine, and there is no need to say that, under the influence of the New York press, public opinion in the States in matters of foreign affairs has become so fickle that it is impossible to trust it, or to forecast the course which it may take. Englishmen with good reason repose absolute confidence in the honesty and good sense of President

Roosevelt and Mr. Hay, but nobody can tell how soon a campaign in the American Jingo journals might cause a dangerous storm to rage from one end of the great Republic to the other.

Another unpleasant symptom became apparent. This was the uneasiness, and even indignation, with which a large portion of the public in this country regarded our joint action with Germany. Last month I had to write of the unfortunate suspicion with which many of our politicians regard every political movement on the part of the German Government. This suspicion was revived and intensified by the events in Venezuela, and many of those who knew the dangers which must attend any forcible interference with the South American republics did not hesitate to express their belief that Germany, by forcing us into a course of violent action against Venezuela, was trying to serve its own ends by embroiling us with the Cabinet at Washington and the people of the United States. This, too, was the view of the matter which was taken by a considerable section of the European press. Yet our Government kept silence, and told us nothing of the causes which had led to the creation of a situation of grave difficulty and delicacy.

It was not until the 16th of December that any real light was thrown upon the situation. Then a meagre handful of papers was laid before Parliament by the Foreign Office. From these we learned that certain wrongs had unquestionably been done to British subjects by the Venezuelan Government, and that the demands of our representative at Caracas for redress had been refused in a high-handed and almost offensive fashion. Everybody, of course, knows that President Castro and his ministry have been engaged for months past in defending themselves against a serious revolutionary movement. Venezuela has, during those months, been little better than a cock-pit in which sanguinary battles have been fought from time to time, and all the worst incidents of South American warfare have been witnessed. Even this fact, however, did not justify the President's curt rejection of our demands. But when the papers were published, it was made apparent that the wrongs we had suffered at the hands of the Venezuelan Government bore no sort of proportion to the dangers which were necessarily involved in the measures we had taken to secure redress. Nor can it be said that public opinion here was reassured when the true character of those measures was at last revealed to us. It seems that so far back as the 23rd of July, Lord Lansdowne had addressed a despatch to our Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin, in which he informed him that he had told the German Ambassador that we were ready to confer with the German Government with a view to joint action by the two Powers against Venezuela. What the German claims upon the Republic may be we have not yet been told. It is, however, generally understood that they are of a different nature from our own,

and the belief is that they are exclusively financial. In the middle of August the English and German Governments had practically arrived at a determination to make a joint naval demonstration on the Venezuelan coast, and to blockade the ports until satisfaction was obtained. On the 11th of November Lord Lansdowne addressed to our Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin a despatch in which he informed him that the two Governments were prepared to join in a final warning to Venezuela. This despatch contained the following passage, the importance of which it would be difficult to over-estimate :

As to the joint execution of the measures of coercion, the German Government recognised that there was a sharp distinction between the character of the British and German 'first-line' claims; nevertheless, the two claims ought to stand or to fall together, and we ought to exclude the possibility of a settlement between Venezuela and one of the two Powers without an equally satisfactory settlement in the case of the other. Each Government ought, therefore, to come to an understanding before it embarked upon a project of coercion, that neither Government should be at liberty to recede except by mutual agreement; and before common action was initiated we ought to come to a distinct agreement to this effect.

The above quotation, though it is not clearly stated in the despatch, seems to embody the language used by Count Metternich, the German Ambassador, in a conversation with Lord Lansdowne. The despatch then proceeds :

I told Count Metternich that it seemed to me only reasonable that if we agreed to act together in applying coercion, we should also agree that each should support the other's demands, and should not desist from doing so except by agreement.

I venture to doubt if the annals of the Foreign Office contain any other document which is precisely on all fours with the above. We have certain grievances, none of a very serious character, against Venezuela. Germany also has claims against the same State, of the nature of which we are kept in ignorance, but which, admittedly, do not rank with ours. Germany is not our ally, and repeatedly we have had occasion to feel aggrieved by the action of her diplomatists. Even those of us who are most anxious that we should act cordially together, and that all causes of friction between the two countries should be removed, are conscious of the fact that in our diplomatic relations this country has given Germany a good deal more than it has gained in return. We were not, therefore, under any kind of obligation to study the interests or consult the wishes of Germany in this Venezuelan matter in which the claims of this country clearly stand on a different footing from those of Germany. Yet we have been bound by our Government in an alliance which deprives us of our freedom of action, and practically makes the British fleet a debt-collector for the German people. Even if Venezuela were not

in South America, and if no complications were possible in our dealings with her, it would strike most people, I think, that Lord Lansdowne, in his negotiations with Count Metternich, had made a monstrously bad bargain.

But of course there is the possibility of complications, of complications so serious that what in other circumstances would merely have been a bad diplomatic bargain, may become an instrument of portentous danger and mischief. Our position with regard to the American continent is absolutely different from that of Germany. We hold vast territories there, territories not exclusively confined to North America. We are the nearest neighbours of the United States, and the cardinal point of our policy, so far as foreign affairs are concerned, is the maintenance of a cordial and unbroken friendship with the great Republic. We have made sacrifices of no mean kind in order to maintain that friendship, for we believe its maintenance to be necessary not only in the interests of both countries, but in those of freedom and civilisation throughout the world. Our reward for what we have done and borne to attain this end lies in the fact that we seem at last to have convinced the American people that we are sincerely their friends, and that, whilst steadfastly maintaining our own rights, we desire from them absolutely nothing but their goodwill. Yet, by his agreement with Count Metternich, Lord Lansdowne has condemned this country to a line of action in which at any moment she may find herself at variance with American policy and opinion, and, to make matters worse, he has bound us hand and foot to Germany, so that before we can abandon a policy of war, with all its attendant dangers, the ends of Germany must be secured, and her claims satisfied. To the ordinary man this action of the Foreign Secretary must seem inexplicable. What possible benefit can Great Britain derive from it? And why should we have chosen Germany, of all the Powers of Europe, as our ally? The only suggestion that can be thrown out is that we have not yet learned the full truth. It is incredible that Lord Lansdowne could have acted as he did without having previously consulted the United States Government on a matter which touches so nearly the *amour propre* of the American people. The Republic has given Europe fair warning of the relation in which it considers that it stands towards the South American States. Great Britain, which has possessions in that part of the world, possessions which she means to hold, and which give her a *locus standi* altogether different from that of Germany or of any of the other great European Powers, has never protested against the American claim. She has, of course, a right, like any other Power, to protest against any doctrine which converted South America into a kind of Alsatia, dwelling securely under the protection of the Government at Washington. But the United States Government has never promulgated such a doctrine, and, in his



recent message to Congress, President Roosevelt expressly denounced it. If Lord Lansdowne felt that our grievances against Venezuela were of such a nature as to demand instant redress, by force of arms if necessary, it was not with Count Metternich, but with Mr. Hay, that he should have negotiated, and no step ought to have been taken until we had ascertained how it would be regarded by the Washington Government. Considering the peculiar relations of the United States with Germany, it seems almost madness to have entered into an agreement with that particular Power for the coercion of a South American Republic.

As I write, the question is still unsettled and some ominous symptoms are apparent. Happily, however, public opinion in this country has not been slow in awaking to a knowledge of the situation, and it may be hoped that the Government will find some means of withdrawal from the perilous ground on which it now stands. Certainly, despite the personal idiosyncrasies of President Castro, there ought to be no difficulty in arranging a treaty of arbitration. Yet, even if the question ends as suddenly as it arose, the problem will remain, how did this strange agreement with Germany come into existence? It was so far back as last July that the first discussion of joint action by the two countries was raised. But apparently it was not until the beginning of November, when the German Emperor was on a visit to this country, that the proposal was made that the joint action ~~having once~~ begun should be continued until Germany was satisfied. If Germany had shown her hand, and told us precisely what her claims against Venezuela were, and with what she would be satisfied, the bargain might have been fair enough in itself, though still a dangerous one for us. But it is simply intolerable that we should have been bound to the chariot-wheels of Germany in pursuit of a policy that might at any moment raise differences between ourselves and the United States, whilst we were kept in ignorance of those German claims for which we had undertaken to obtain satisfaction. The mystery is so great that there are some who profess to find the explanation in the Emperor's visit to Sandringham, and in the personal influence he exercised there over the Ministers of the Crown and possibly over the King himself. Such an explanation cannot be credited, but the very fact that it should be offered shows the depth of bewilderment into which the country has been plunged by the extraordinary and ill-starred action of the Government. Upon one point we are entitled to an explanation from the Prime Minister. Speaking at the Guildhall banquet, he told his audience not only that no disturbance of the peace was in his opinion possible, but that all the statements which had been circulated in the press as to some bargain concluded between our Government and the German Emperor during the stay of the latter at Sandringham were sheer inventions. Yet at that very moment

we were on the point of taking warlike measures against Venezuela, and an agreement had been arrived at between Lord Lansdowne and the German Ambassador, under which we had placed the British fleet under certain conditions at the disposal of the Emperor. This agreement was made at the very time when the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, and the German Ambassador were members of one or other of the house-parties at Sandringham. It would be interesting to know how Mr. Balfour reconciles the actual facts as they have now come to light with his speech at the Guildhall. It is not surprising that men of all parties should have received a shock, and that their confidence in the Prime Minister's accuracy should have been disturbed. There has been no incident to compare with this since Lord Salisbury's denial of the accuracy of the *Globe* rendering of his secret treaty with Russia.

Again, one of Mr. Balfour's statements in the House of Commons when the Venezuelan question was under discussion has startled everybody. The nature of the German claims has, as I have said, been concealed from us. Our own grievances against President Castro have been made known to the whole world in a parliamentary paper. No similar document has been issued from the Foreign Office at Berlin. But though the British public have thus been kept in the dark as to the nature of the claims for which we have bound ourselves to obtain satisfaction, nobody in this country imagined that Ministers, the men who actually entered into this dangerous and one-sided agreement, were in a ~~similar~~ state of ignorance. Yet this appears to have been the case. The Prime Minister, even when the most explicit questions were put to him with regard to the nature of the German claims, could only answer in vague terms, and absolutely declined to commit himself to any definite statement. Never before has an English Premier been seen in such a plight. It was fortunate for the Government that the parliamentary session was within a few hours of its end when the country learned the position in which it stood. It was fortunate, too, that the Opposition when the question was raised dealt with it in a singularly feeble and tactless manner. If there had been time for a full discussion of the whole affair, and if the case against the Government had been properly presented to the House, Ministers would have received a blow that, under ordinary conditions, must have been a mortal one. As it is, their *prestige* has once more been seriously hurt, and the criticism passed upon their lack of statesmanlike foresight has been even more severe on the part of their supporters than on that of their opponents.

The parliamentary proceedings of the month have been more varied and interesting than for some time past. The chief subject under discussion has been the Education Bill; but other matters of importance, such as the London Water Bill and the Uganda railway,

have been dealt with; whilst the fact that both Houses have been sitting, and that the peers have exercised their rights of discussion in their usual unconventional fashion, has added not a little to the liveliness of the debates. The session, which began on the 16th of January, did not come to a close until the 18th of December. Ministers have unquestionably imposed a heavy strain upon the loyalty of their followers; but it has stood the test, and the Government can fairly congratulate itself upon the result of the severe labours of the year. It has not only carried its Education Bill, but its London Water Bill and the Licensing Bill, and on the very eve of the prorogation it succeeded in converting the Sessional Orders for the control of the business of the House into Standing Orders. From the mere party point of view, therefore, Ministers are entitled to feel that they have got through the work of the session in an entirely successful manner. They have certainly at all times been able to count upon the unwavering docility of their followers, who, with a few notable exceptions, have made it their rule to vote absolutely in obedience to the directions of the party whip. But if one looks below the surface the reasons for exultation on the part of Ministers at the close of the Session will be found to be less solid than they appear to be. The Education Bill, to begin with, has not only alienated from them the whole body of Nonconformists, but has estranged and alarmed many of their own friends. Never has a Bill, supported in both Houses of Parliament by such large majorities, been so cordially detested on both sides. Supporters of Ministers in the House of Commons are only too well aware that the Bill is a weapon which their opponents will use against them with terrible effect in most of the urban constituencies, and while they have loyally voted for the measure, they make no pretence of liking it. The clerical party, though it has gained so much from the measure, has clamoured for more, and its extreme members, such as Lord Hugh Cecil, are so bitterly incensed by the rejection of their most audacious claims for freedom from State control, that they have even threatened to wreck the measure if they can. As for the Nonconformists, they make no secret of the fact that in their eyes the measure is one of flagrant injustice, and they at least seem determined to fight against it to the bitter end. One has only to read the ministerial newspapers in order to see how difficult it is for anybody outside the pale of Nonconformity to realise the feelings of this section of the community. Yet when one knows, upon the admission of no less an authority than Cardinal Vaughan, that the Bill will crush the Dissenters, it ought not to be so difficult as it appears to be to understand the intensity of their opposition to it. From the clerical point of view the whole purpose of the Bill is to entrench the parish priest in perpetuity in the village schools. He is no longer to be required to provide anything towards the cost

of tuition. So long as he keeps the school building in repair he and his majority on the committee of management will exercise control without having to put their hands into their own pockets. The one point on which the clerical party has failed to get everything that it wanted is the personal supremacy of the priest in the religious teaching that is to be given. By the Kenyon-Slaney amendment, which has passed through the ordeal of the House of Lords' debates practically unharmed, the 'one-man' power of the clergyman in matters of religious teaching is to a certain extent limited. His committee of management will have the right to make themselves felt in the direction of religious as well as secular instruction. It is this provision which the ultra-clericals regard as the great blot on the measure. In every other respect the bargain they have made with the Government is not only a very good one, but immensely better than any that they could have hoped to make at any previous moment during the last thirty years.

To the Nonconformist, on the other hand, this Bill is virtually a measure for endowing afresh the Established Church. He believes that in the villages of England, where Dissent already labours under so many unfair disadvantages, it will suffer more severely than it has ever yet done from the establishment of the permanent supremacy of the Church. Not only as a Nonconformist but as a citizen he resents the provisions of the measure under which money contributed by himself will be spent without any adequate public control, for purposes with which he is not in sympathy. How he will take the working of the Act remains to be seen. He has not minced his words on the subject. Lord Rosebery has fallen under the ban of the more stupid of the ministerial newspapers for having warned the whole Nonconformist body that if they do not make their influence felt now they will cease to be a factor in the public life of the country. It is difficult to know how anybody can contest an axiom which is really self-evident. Everybody knows that for more than one generation the Nonconformist element has been one of the greatest powers in the land. Nobody could afford to trample upon it. No Minister dared to defy it—until to-day. It has now been flouted and cast aside chiefly because it has become divided, and divisions have bred among its members an indifference to public affairs which was unknown in the strenuous days from 1830 to 1870. Whether it will gird up its loins and again come forward to play its old part in the political arena cannot as yet be said. Its leaders seem to have declared in favour of a policy of passive resistance to the measure which they regard as unjust and iniquitous. They will refuse to pay the rates by which the schools are fed, as their fathers before them refused to pay the Church rate. They are being hotly denounced in many different quarters because of this threat. If, instead of merely declaring that

the rate-collector must get his money as best he can from their household goods, they had declared their intention of rearing barricades in the streets and taking their stand in a life-and-death struggle, they could hardly have been lectured more severely by their smug critics in the press. One need not share the views or intentions of the militant Nonconformists in order to realise the absurdity of these attacks upon them. The old Dissenters who allowed the tax-gatherer to enter their houses and seize their furniture in order to satisfy the demand for the Church rate were no violent disturbers of the peace. As a rule they were the meekest of men. They fulfilled every duty of citizenship which they recognised; but they declined at the bidding of Parliament to pay voluntarily for the support of an institution which they regarded as an abomination in the sight of the Lord. They made no attempt to prevent the agent of the State from entering their doors, they struck no blow in defence of their own property. They simply stood aside, and took cheerfully the spoiling of their goods in vindication of a principle which was precious to them. No struggle could have seemed more unequal than that which was thus waged between a handful of inconspicuous Dissenters on the one side and all the forces of the Church and the State on the other. Yet the conflict ended in the victory of the weak and the overthrow of the strong. One cannot wonder that, remembering this fact, the Nonconformists of to-day are attracted by the idea of a similar policy of passive resistance. For my own part I trust that they will resist the temptation, and fight their battles on the ordinary lines of political warfare. But no one can deny that they will be strictly within their rights if they choose to adopt a different course.

The rest of the world, the great middle body of men who as a rule look with indifferent eyes upon the squabbles of rival Churches, now that the parliamentary battle on the Education Bill is at an end, desire nothing better than that the Act should be tried from an educational point of view. It is in the view of most of these people a bad Bill for many different reasons, but at least we cannot afford to let our educational system fall to pieces, and this measure is all that now stands between our school system and destruction. For this reason the Bishop of Hereford—whose courage in opposing the measure in the House of Lords recalls the action of the Bishop of St. Davids when the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill was under consideration in the same assembly—has won general approval by his declaration of his intention to accept the Bill and make the best of it. The most moving incident in the debate on the measure in the House of Lords was the appeal which the Archbishop of Canterbury made to the same effect. It was the illustrious Prelate's swan-song, his last utterance from the bishops' bench; and even those of us who differ widely from him with regard to the merits of the Education

Bill will readily acknowledge the value and dignity of his final speech. For his sake, for the country's sake, and, above all, for the sake of the children, it is to be hoped that in practice this Act will not be found to be so mischievous from the educational point of view as its critics have feared. That it must long continue to stir up strife all over England, and that Ministers will have to pay a heavy price for the victory they have won, can hardly be doubted.

The London Water Bill was hurriedly carried in the closing weeks of the session by the same methods as those which were applied to the Education Bill. One must suppose that it is impossible to carry an ideal scheme for the supply of water to London. The vested interests at stake are so powerful that even the strongest Ministry is unable to override them. But at least some good reason ought to be shown why the greatest city in the world should not enjoy the right which every other great town in England possesses of having its water supply under its own control. Even the most fanatical opponents of 'Municipal Socialism,' so-called, have always admitted that water is one of the articles in which a community has a right to trade. Ministers in the Bill which has just become law have done their best to hamper and restrict this right. Their fear of the County Council has followed them at every step, and they have done their best to make their own scheme unworkable by dividing the authority over the water-supply of a great community among all manner of weak and conflicting bodies instead of concentrating it in the hands of one strong representative chamber. It is hardly in this fashion that we are likely to attain a satisfactory solution of one of the greatest problems of our social life.

The discussions on the construction of the Uganda railway, which occupied a part of the time of Parliament during the month, raised once more the old question of 'efficiency' in the public service. The Uganda railway is a political rather than a commercial speculation, and is therefore not to be judged by a strictly business standard. But certainly nothing could have been less efficient than the financial check upon its construction. It was estimated that the work would cost two millions and a half. The actual outlay exceeded that amount by no less than three millions. To say that such a discrepancy is discreditable to the department responsible for it is to put the matter very mildly. For some occult reason the Foreign Office undertook this engineering job, and the work was done under the superintendence and management of a Foreign Office Committee. It might have been entrusted to contractors who would at least have been compelled to bring their contract into a reasonable relationship to their original estimate. But the Foreign Office chose to keep the whole business in its own hands, with the result that I have stated. There does not seem to be any intention of finding out who is responsible for the shameful excess of expendi-

ture over the estimate. The money has been spent, and there apparently is to be an end of the matter. The British taxpayer must pay three millions sterling for the utter lack of business methods on the part of the Foreign Office. Truly the taxpayer, like Issachar, is a strong ass whose back is supposed to be equal to any burden.

One notable feature of last month in the proceedings in Parliament has been the part played by the Irish members in connection with the Education Bill. At the beginning of the autumn session, Mr. John Redmond, the parliamentary leader of the party, was in the United States, and, as is well known, most of the members stayed away from the division lobbies, with the result that on several occasions the Government majority was very seriously reduced. The Irish Catholic bishops were made very angry by this withdrawal of the Nationalist members from a struggle in which the question of priestly supremacy in education was involved, and Mr. Redmond's policy was hotly assailed. He is an able and in ordinary circumstances a courageous man; but that he is not strong enough to stand against the priests was proved by the fact that almost immediately after his return from the States he found himself compelled to submit to the bishops. In the last stages of the Bill his party was recalled to Westminster to support the Government, and they voted to a man for the most reactionary clauses and amendments that were proposed. On one occasion it was only by their votes that an amendment intensely obnoxious to the Nonconformists and to a considerable section of the Unionists was carried. Yet we are told that the old alliance between Liberals and Irishmen must, as a matter of necessity, be renewed! I do not suppose that Mr. Redmond himself agrees with this view of the situation. His own sympathies are unmistakably with the Conservatives, and it is well known that he and his associates are at this moment happy in the belief that a large measure in the direction of 'step by step' Home Rule is now contemplated by the Government. This and a great scheme of Land Reform, such as Mr. Wyndham has foreshadowed, and which is promised for next year, will do much to put an end to the dreams of those Radicals who still cling to the belief that they may, with the assistance of Irish votes, succeed in ousting the present Government and establishing themselves in their place. In this connection it is pleasant, for all who desire to see the Irish question permanently settled, to note the success with which the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Dudley, seems to be cultivating the favour of all classes in Ireland. His active campaign has been stayed during the month by the serious illness of Lady Dudley; but now that her Excellency is happily recovering we may rest assured that he will resume his gallant attempt to make Castle government popular among Irishmen.

An ominous incident has marked our relations with Russia during the month. It will be remembered that some time ago, when our hands were still tied by the South African war, questions were asked in the House of Commons concerning a report that Russia, in direct opposition to the understanding between the Governments of the two countries with regard to Afghanistan, had expressed her desire to enter into direct relations with the Ameer. The reply of the Ministry to these questions was that Russia had communicated her wishes to His Majesty's Government, but that, as yet, no reply had been made on our part to the communication. On Saturday, the 20th of December, our newspapers contained a telegram from St. Petersburg which gave the purport of an official communication on Central African affairs, emanating from the Russian Foreign Office, that had been published on the previous day. The communication dealt with various questions, those of Manchuria, Persia, and Korea included. Not the least significant part of this official statement had reference to Afghanistan. 'The frontier settlement with Afghanistan,' it declared, 'was effected before the Boer war. When Russia in 1895 consented to the cession of a portion of the territory between the upper reaches of the Amur Daria and India, she at the same time obtained from England an undertaking not to incorporate this territory with her possessions. As regards Russia's relations with Afghanistan, it is necessary to declare that Russia addressed no request of any sort to the British Cabinet, but simply notified it of her desire and purpose to enter into direct relations with Afghanistan in the future. No further declarations were made on this subject.' It thus appears that Russia, without regard to understandings and agreements, and in her usual high-handed fashion, has taken another step forward, and confronted us in a fashion that can hardly be described as friendly, at what Anglo-Indian statesmen regard as our most vulnerable point. Nor is the gravity of this declaration, in which the claims of England are put aside in a manner that is almost insulting, lessened by the rest of this official communication. The Russian Foreign Office denies that the Czar's Government cancelled its first treaty with China regarding Manchuria, and states that the evacuation of Manchuria must depend 'upon the re-establishment of tranquillity in the country, and upon the conduct of other Powers.' With regard to Persia it is declared that Russia's relations with that country are continually improving, and whilst a denial is given to the fable that England has occupied the south-eastern portion of Persia, it is significantly added that 'if she has made some attempts to cross the Persian frontier, these attempts have latterly been frustrated in time by the intervention of Russia.' Finally, the Russian public are assured by the Foreign Office that 'after England and Japan had concluded an alliance, Russia and France showed signs of close co-operation in



Eastern Asia. This,' the official statement adds, 'is the best denial to the assertion that in Chinese affairs England and Japan occupy a leading position.'

There is no need to comment upon the gravity of this declaration, so unfriendly in all its references to this country, and so insolent in its flaunting of the Franco-Russian alliance as a menace to England and Japan. Parliament had been prorogued before it appeared in print. No doubt the Russian Foreign Office was careful to see to this. We have not consequently had any light thrown upon this document by means of questions and replies in the House of Commons. But our Government has had a heavy task imposed upon it by the delivery of the Russian defiance which challenges our whole policy in the Far East. And the statesman who has to deal with this tangled problem, and to represent the claims of England at a critical moment, is Lord Lansdowne, to whom we owe the agreement with Germany on the question of Venezuela!

The opening of the great dam at Assouan marks the successful termination of the most important of all the material enterprises undertaken by English skill and energy for the improvement of Egypt. It is a comfort, when the sky is dark in so many other directions, to recall all that the English occupation of the Nile Valley has meant for the Egyptian people. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught represented His Majesty at the opening of the dam, and England, as a matter of right, held the chief place in the ceremonial. Mr. Chamberlain's journey to South Africa has not yet entered upon its political phase. He has been in Egypt, and has seen the Pyramids, and since then he has visited Uganda and made a trip on the railway to within sixty miles of Lake Victoria. He has made some speeches, but they have been confined to expressions of the wonder and pleasure with which he has witnessed the work that has been accomplished by his fellow-countrymen in regions which, but a few years ago, were given over to barbarism.

The capture of the Humbert family, whose gigantic swindling operations have engaged the attention of the world for some months past, is a triumph for justice. How they evaded pursuit so long, when everybody in France professed to be desirous of securing their arrest, it is difficult to understand. They themselves threaten all manner of startling revelations involving the reputations of many distinguished persons, and it is not impossible that the Humbert case may grow to proportions as alarming as those which the *affaire Dreyfus* at one time assumed. A much more pleasing incident of the month has been the success of Signor Marconi in transmitting a message by wireless telegraphy from Cape Breton on the west side of the Atlantic to his station in Cornwall on its east side. It seems as though we were on the eve of another astounding development of

the forces which science is gradually bringing under the control of mankind. In the course of a few months Signor Marconi hopes to be able to place his great invention at the service of the commercial world.

Among minor incidents of the month must be mentioned the action brought by the Taff Vale Railway Company against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, for damages sustained by the Company during the strike on its line in August 1900. The verdict was in favour of the Company, and another heavy blow has in consequence been struck at the Trades Unions. That further legislation is needed to make the position of these Unions clear, and to settle the respective rights of employers and employed upon an equitable basis, may be regarded as reasonably certain. Without entering into any discussion of the merits of the Taff Vale case, one may say that it would be a bad day for England when working-men found that the right to combine in defence of their own interests had been withdrawn from them. With wrong-doing on the part of the men, such as the verdict of the jury indicates that there was in the Taff Vale case, no one can have any sympathy; but the time seems to have come when the law must at least be more clearly defined than it has been hitherto. Of another case which has greatly occupied public attention during the past month little need be said. The futile attempt of Sir Charles Hartopp to obtain a divorce from his wife, and the equally futile attempt of that lady to divorce her husband, has thrown a most unpleasant light upon the life of the idle rich in our midst. Existence without any serious occupation, with no nobler motive than that of boundless self-indulgence and constant excitement, must at all times be an unhealthy mode of life. How unhealthy and even repulsive it may be made was shown only too clearly in the thirteen days spent over this case in the Divorce Court.

I have already mentioned the illness of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of which the first symptoms appeared when he was speaking in the House of Lords on the Education Bill. Like Chatham, he lingered for a week or two after his collapse in the Upper Chamber, but on the 23rd of December he passed peacefully away. When it became known that he was suffering from no passing indisposition, but that his recovery was beyond hope, there was a great outburst of sympathy with the distinguished Prelate, coming from all classes in the community. His life of strenuous labour and self-denial, sustained by a rugged and unflinching devotion to duty, is in happy contrast to such lives as those of which I have just spoken. Curiously enough, the most notable death beside that of the Archbishop that has occurred since I last wrote was that of another great religious leader, Dr. Parker, of the City Temple. Dr. Parker

was a man of many peculiarities, but of great gifts and blameless personal character. He was one of the most eloquent preachers of the day, and for many years attracted vast congregations, representing all classes and creeds, to the services in the great building on the Holborn Viaduct, which had been raised chiefly by his own efforts.

WEMYSS REID.

# THE SEARCH-LIGHT<sup>1</sup>

A PLAY IN ONE ACT

## •DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

MAJOR TRAVERS, *Indian Staff Corps.*

JOHN RIGBY, *a S.A. millionaire.*

MISS WILLIAMSON.

LADY ILFIELD.

VIOLET, *her daughter.*

MRS. FENNING, *newly married.*

MRS. LAWSON, *Aunt to Miss Williamson.*

(*All visitors at Zell-am-Zee.*)

TIME.—*Present.*

SCENE.—*The garden of an hotel at Zell-am-Zee (a station on the Austrian main line). Trees in foreground and a few seats. On L. side of Hotel seen—i.e. windows with balconies and a wide door with steps leading down to stage. Flowers in profusion. Background—a narrow lake with mountains beyond. Trees at edge of lake on near side (a cloth). The garden stretches along beside the lake with exits R. and L.: it must be shady and adapted for quiet talks. To the R. there is evidently a path leading down to lake. In foreground, extreme corner L., a little signpost with ‘Station’ on it.*

*A July evening. Twilight beginning. Lights gradually appear in hotel windows, &c.*

RIGBY (*rather a stout man of thirty-eight*) *discovered, half-dozing. He is good-natured and rather second-rate.*

*Enter MAJOR TRAVERS, tall, reserved, good-looking (thirty-four), gets along with a stick. RIGBY rouses himself, jumps up, pulls out matchbox and cigarette-case. TRAVERS sits down as if tired, a little way off, nods rather distantly to RIGBY; evidently does not want to talk.*

RIGBY (*looks at watch*). Only 8.30 now. (*Sits down.*) They are too previous in these foreign places; 6.30 would be a little late for breakfast, but for dinner—why, one doesn’t know what to do with the rest of the day. Don’t you think so, Major?

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TRAVERS (*distantly*). It is too early. (*Pause*.)

RIGBY. Been for a walk?

TRAVERS. A hobble. (*Pause*.)

RIGBY. I think you are on the Indian Staff Corps.

TRAVERS. Yes.

RIGBY. Home on leave, I suppose?

TRAVERS. Yes.

RIGBY. Well, I have been in South Africa for three years; got back in May—come out here to shake off the effects of hard work.

TRAVERS (*without being interested*). Made a fortune?

RIGBY. Nothing to complain of—can afford to take it easy.

TRAVERS. That's satisfactory. (*Pause*.)

RIGBY. When do you go back, Major?

TRAVERS. In October.

RIGBY. Oh—going to England again first?

TRAVERS. No, I think not.

RIGBY. You've been here a fortnight, haven't you?

TRAVERS. Yes—a fortnight.

RIGBY. Well, they told me to go to a cure up at Gastein near here—but I've been at this place three days, and about had enough of it.

TRAVERS. I meant to stay one, but I sprained my foot and couldn't move.

RIGBY. You get about a good deal for a cripple.

TRAVERS. It's better.

RIGBY. Found it rather pleasant here, perhaps?

TRAVERS. It's quiet.

RIGBY. I don't think much of the people—in the hotel, I mean.

TRAVERS. I don't think about them.

RIGBY. That Lady Ilfield—she's an old campaigner, you bet; anxious to get her girl married—perhaps slangs her because she doesn't. I saw her trying to make up to that good-looking Austrian chap who left yesterday—the old woman, I mean. She is rather civil to me, too; probably knows I'm Rigby the millionaire—I'm bound to say the girl is pretty distant.

TRAVERS (*obviously a little disgusted*). She's rather a nice girl.

RIGBY. Not at all bad. Then the Fennings—they're too newly married to suit my taste. (*Pause*.) The best-looking woman in the place is Miss Williamson. I believe that's your opinion?

TRAVERS. I don't express opinions.

RIGBY. Quite right—nothing like a little caution. She and you are great friends. Came the same day, I hear?

TRAVERS. Yes, the same day.

RIGBY. Not together, I presume?

TRAVERS (*quickly*). No, sir; not together. If it is of any interest to you, I was getting out of the train—I meant to break the journey

here for a night on my way to Salzburg—when I slipped and sprained my ankle. Miss Williamson saw it, and was the only person kind enough to help me.

RIGBY. Very good business. (*Pause.*) Anything coming of it?

TRAVERS. You must allow me to say that I think you are impertinent.

RIGBY (*with frank good-humour*). Beg your pardon. When you see two people, each of 'em travelling alone, who have been in the same hotel for some time, and hear that they are great friends, you are apt to put two and two—or, rather, one and one—together. And of course you can't help people talking rot.

TRAVERS. If you don't mind we'll change the subject.

RIGBY. Certainly. (*Pause.*) The Austrian women are not bad-looking?

TRAVERS. I don't want to talk about women.

RIGBY. All right—I seem to be rather unlucky; but when there are only two or three Englishmen about, and you find yourself one of them, you generally try to be a little chummy, don't you know.

TRAVERS. I'm afraid I am not a very chummy person, so you must excuse me.

RIGBY (*rather amused, and not at all offended*). Certainly. (*Pause.*) This place isn't bad—in spite of its dulness.

TRAVERS. No.

RIGBY. It's got some sky over it?

TRAVERS. Yes.

RIGBY. Hotel's rather too near the station? (*Gets up.*)

TRAVERS. There are not many trains.

RIGBY. Still, now and then one stops at it. You mayn't know it, but as a matter of fact there are a good many—seven or eight a day.

TRAVERS. They never bother me—I don't even notice them now.

RIGBY. Well, you see, the best rooms are on the lake side—shouldn't like to sleep on the station side. (*Saunters towards back of stage*) Not a bad sort of view. (*Pause.*) [*Exit R.*

TRAVERS (*alone*). What an ass I am! I've come a cropper for a woman I'd not set eyes on a fortnight ago. She is never out of my thoughts. (*Smokes.*) If I only knew something about her. I am certain she has had a bad time of it somewhere—I should like to give her a good one.

*Enter at back, on R., MISS WILLIAMSON. She comes forward half hesitating, appears to be nervous. She looks about eight-and-twenty; thin and pale, rather strange in her manner, but not gloomy—now and then cynically cheerful.*

TRAVERS (*eagerly*). Miss Williamson?—You were not at dinner? I was afraid you were ill?

MISS W. No, I am quite well; but dinner is such a long business here—the service is bad. Besides, I was too busy.

TRAVERS. Too busy? (*She nods.*) I have been hoping you would come out.

MISS W. I came out half an hour ago—and walked nearly a mile, I think. (*Looks R.*) The little waitress, Marie, told me you had gone down to that end of the lake. Ought you to walk so far?

TRAVERS (*eagerly*). Did you go to look for me?

MISS W. Yes—but do sit down. Your foot can't be strong yet.

TRAVERS. It is getting on. (*They sit half-concealed from view of hotel windows by trees, &c.*)

MISS W. I thought perhaps I shouldn't see you in the morning—I'm going away.

TRAVERS (*startled*). Going away—not to-morrow?

MISS W. Yes.

TRAVERS. In the morning?

MISS W. By the early train—I have been packing. I should have gone to-night, but I thought I should like to see you again.

TRAVERS. Why didn't you tell me before?

MISS W. I didn't want to tell people in the hotel—besides, I only made up my mind this afternoon.

TRAVERS. I hoped I wasn't 'people.'

MISS W. Oh no, I didn't mean you. But I dislike making statements or being asked questions—by Lady Ilfield, for instance. She delights in asking questions. I never answer them.

TRAVERS. Then it doesn't matter.

MISS W. No, it doesn't matter.

TRAVERS. I can't stand the lady myself, I must confess—though, after all, she isn't a bad sort. I think she is on the money quest for her girl—she is trying to get hold of that man Rigby; he is a millionaire, you know.

MISS W. (*with a little shudder*). I'm so sorry for that girl.

TRAVERS. She'll marry——

MISS W. The first man who asks her, perhaps, and be miserable—though Mr. Rigby doesn't look cruel (*as if she were thinking of something else*), or drunken, or any of the awful things a man can be. (*Looks over her shoulder nervously.*)

TRAVERS. No, he doesn't.

MISS W. And if no one asks her she'll have to live with that mother all the days of that mother's life. The world is horribly hard on women.

TRAVERS. Have you found it hard?

MISS W. Yes, I have found it hard, I suppose. Tell me about your foot. It's nearly well? I saw you walk a little way without a stick.

TRAVERS. Never mind my foot—I'm all right.

MISS W. You'll be able to go on soon. Shall you go to Salzburg? Are your friends still there?

TRAVERS. They went on to Bayreuth ten days ago. I was going with them——

MISS W. Only ten days ago. You might have gone with a stick even then. If you had tickets for Bayreuth you must have lost them?

TRAVERS. It doesn't matter.

MISS W. The station is so near; the journey is almost direct— you could have gone.

TRAVERS. I didn't want to go. I wanted to stay here. (*Pause.*) Why did you come to this place?—I have always been going to ask you that.

MISS W. I don't know—it didn't matter where I went.

TRAVERS. You were on your way to Vienna?

MISS W. Yes—but it didn't matter when I got there. (*Pause.*) I was going to an old friend of my mother's—she is badly off, and keeps a pension.

TRAVERS. Shall you stay there long?

MISS W. I don't know. All my life perhaps. (*Quickly.*) I want to travel—I have been nowhere, and I want to see everything. I love everything in the world except the people and the misery they cause. It is my own world, and I have been cheated of it—held back till now. I want to see it all.

TRAVERS. I couldn't be content with a small slice of it myself. . . But it seems odd that you should be going about alone in this way—perhaps it's impertinent of me to say it—but—but we have said a good many things to each other.

MISS W. I'm so glad to be alone—so thankful.

[*Looks over her shoulder again.*]

TRAVERS (*puzzled*). You seem to be afraid of something.

MISS W. I'm afraid of all manner of things—of shadows. I think dead people lurk in them.

TRAVERS (*mystified*). Ghosts? (*She draws back.*) You're awfully strange, you know. I don't understand you a bit.

MISS W. How should you? We are strangers.

TRAVERS. And, yet a week at sea, or in a country house in bad weather, is enough to make people intimate friends for life. We have been a fortnight in this hotel—in good weather, it's true; but a garden. That was all that Adam and Eve had.

MISS W. (*half ruefully, half tenderly*). And I have come to know you pretty well.

TRAVERS. We've talked about everything on earth except each other——

MISS W. And human life. That is, we have talked about scenery



and poetry and books and music, and all the things that people can talk about without knowing each other.

TRAVERS. It's been awfully pleasant—for me, I mean.

MISS W. Yes, and peaceful—in spite of the people. I hate people.

TRAVERS. I don't love them. You didn't tell me why you came here, you know.

MISS W. The train passes a long bit of the lake before it stops—(*looking towards it*)—the long narrow lake with the line of trees on this side and the range of mountains on that (*nodding towards them*). I felt as if it were calling me. I stood up in the railway carriage and said: 'I am coming.' It seemed to make me promises. I got out, and then— (*Looks up with a little smile.*)

TRAVERS. An unlucky beggar fell sprawling at your feet.

MISS W. I was sorry for him.

TRAVERS (*eagerly*). Why have you stayed so long?

MISS W. I wanted to stay. It's very beautiful. I never saw beautiful places till lately. It makes me thankful to be alive, now and then—in the odd moments when I forget that there are other places, other ways of life.

TRAVERS. I wish you would tell me something about yourself.

MISS W. I don't want to talk about myself.

TRAVERS. But why did you never go away before? You told me that this was the, first time.

MISS W. Oh, I don't know. We were poor. I had no time to go about, and no money. I used to teach my little sisters. They had no one else to care for them—they needed me.

*Enter RIGBY, R.*

RIGBY. Oh! beg pardon, Miss Williamson; I didn't see you. I was wondering if Major Travers could get as far as that summer-house—(*looking towards R.*)—there's a bit of sky left by the sunset that beats anything he's seen in India, I believe. Won't you come too?

*Enter, from L., MRS. LAWSON (45), thin, unpleasant-looking. She hesitates on seeing MISS W., who goes towards her hastily.*

MISS W. (*to RIGBY*). No, thank you. (*Very formally to MRS. LAWSON*) Are you tired with your journey, Mrs. Lawson?

MRS. L. (*stiffly*). Yes—very tired.

MISS W. (*to RIGBY*). Major Travers likes sunsets; I don't.

TRAVERS. Oh, all right. [*Exit, evidently bored, with RIGBY.*]

MISS W. (*when they have gone*). Now, Aunt Caroline, I am ready. I see you want to speak to me. I hope I was discreet (*in a cold, cutting voice*).

MRS. L. I wished never to speak to you again. What do you mean by being here? How dare you cross our path—your uncle's and mine? I nearly staggered when I saw you in the hall.

MISS W. How was I to know that you would come here, of all places? I had to go somewhere.

MRS. L. You should have gone somewhere else, where you were not likely to be discovered; it is infamous of you to throw yourself in our way.

MISS W. How could I imagine that you would turn up here, I ask—a little place in Austria?

MRS. L. On the border of a lake. People always go to places on the border of a lake, or to mountains, or the sea. You might have known that.

MISS W. In fact I ought to have kept on a dead level, inland?

MRS. L. You are impertinent, as usual.

MISS W. (*unmoved*). I had no idea you were even abroad. I know nothing of any of my relations.

MRS. L. Of course not—they shudder even at your name. To come to this hotel, too!

MISS W. I did it on purpose. I thought being so near the station I could escape unseen if it were necessary. I have watched every train in since I arrived—except the one that brought you this afternoon. If I had seen you I should have hidden, and fled before you discovered me. To-morrow I am going—I went and packed directly. I would have gone to-night—but I wanted to stay till the morning. I would not even afflict you by appearing at dinner.

MRS. L. The least you could do was to stay away. I should have thought you would have had the sense to hide yourself in some big city.

MISS W. I was going to Vienna. I thought I should be safe there. Then at Innsbruck, where I stayed a night on the way, I saw some letters waiting for Dr. Salford. On one of them was written a direction that, if he had been and gone, it was to be sent on to Vienna; so I knew that he was coming to Innsbruck, and where he was going from there. I was just leaving for Vienna when I saw it. I was afraid to stay at Innsbruck, lest he should come—or to go on, lest he should be at Vienna. I had my ticket, and could not afford to throw it away. I knew it allowed me to break my journey. I started, but in the carriage I racked my brain, wondering what I could do—where I could go. After a time I saw this lake—suddenly—the other end of it, beside the line. It is such a little place it seemed unlikely that anyone who had ever known me would come here. I thought no English did, and that for a time I might be safe. I tried to hide myself, you see—let that appease you.

MRS. L. You owe it to us never to cross our paths again. Think of the publicity—the disgrace—into which you dragged us.

You have even obliged us to call ourselves 'Lawson,' because we were mentioned in the reports as being related to you. We shall have to drop the Emerson Lawson for ever.

MISS W. (*ironically*). How terrible for you.

MRS. L. We thought the only thing we could do was to come abroad; that then we should be safe. The first place we venture to stop at we find you—Oh! it is simply infamous.

MISS W. I have tried to show you that it is not my fault. A search-light seems to be thrown on every place in which I try to hide.

MRS. L. It is part of your punishment.

MISS W. You seem to take it for granted that I did it.

MRS. L. I firmly believe you did.

MISS W. (*losing control for a minute*). Then you did it too—you too——

MRS. L. I? You are mad!

MISS W. No, not mad. The receiver is as bad as the thief. The tempter is worse than the tempted. Think—think of the life you led us after our mother died, when by an infamous will—a trick on your part—our grandfather's money had gone to you. You fed us and clothed us after a fashion, because people would have cried out if you hadn't; but you taunted us with being poor, with being dependent upon you. You made our lives a misery and a crime to us. We only breathed freely when you were out of the house, or we had hidden ourselves out of it and away from you. We used to shudder when we saw you coming back round the curve of the drive. . . . And when that man—a man whose character you knew well enough—offered me a way of escape I took it—for their sakes more than my own. . . . Minnie died—poor Minnie, for whose sake it was chiefly done—and Emily had the luck to marry a man she loved——

MRS. L. Who thinks of you as I do, let me tell you.

MISS W. What does it matter? She is happy. But think of the life I led—the life to which you had driven me with that lash, your tongue. Think of the five long years I spent—the best years of my life—with that man, shuddering at his touch, dreading the sound of his step and voice—a man who insulted me when he was sober and ill-treated me when he was drunk. I went to him because I was driven, frightened, forced, and ignorant of what he was. You knew. He had broken one woman's heart; but it didn't matter, so that you got rid of me and, as you hoped, of the other two as well. That deed—if I *did* do it in a moment of madness—is one of which you as well as I should pay the penalty, for through long sane years of cruelty you drove me to the fate that became mine on the awful day of my marriage, and is mine now. So many crimes are committed by proxy, and the proxy alone pays the penalty.

MRS. L. This is a very fine tirade. Perhaps you will say next that you were not even present when it was done, and that I was.

MISS W. I was not present—in a sense. The woman you had made me into by the life you deliberately sent me to live—a life that made the state of mind possible in which I could do it—was not the girl you took from the little home in which my mother died, the home where three scared, penniless children waited, dry-eyed, wondering what would happen—and you came. You put me into conditions in which I was tortured, maddened, till anything became possible. And if in one awful moment I could not hold the rein over the ghastly impulse that meant, after all, no suffering for him and freedom for me, it was you who had taken my strength from me, by the life you had made me accept—the unbearable, impossible life you had forced upon me—and it is you, no less than I, who should have been found guilty——

MRS. L. If you dare to say another word I will expose you to these people who have tolerated you——

MISS W. (*cynically*). It would give them a sensation, and be quite pleasant for you and—Mr. Lawson. . . . To think that, in this God's world, such women as you and I should live! Neither of us ever did any good thing in our lives. I thought I was doing one for those I loved when I gave in to you and went to him, but I only did my worst——

[*Sounds of laughter.* Down the hotel steps come LADY ILFIELD (50 and fashionable), her daughter VIOLET (20 and pretty), and MRS. FENNING (a young married woman).]

MRS. L. I shall repeat every word of this to your uncle.

MISS W. Repeat it—oh! repeat it. Let it burn itself on to your heart—call it the script of the woman whose soul you threw to the flames.

MRS. FENNING (*gaily to Violet*). George has gone on the lake with the Herr Doctor; I suppose he will be back soon.

(MRS. LAWSON goes past them up the steps and indoors.)

MISS W. (*strolls off L.*)

VIOLET. It is getting quite dark.

(*Someone strums for a moment on the piano in the hotel; then it stops.*)

LADY I. (*looking after MRS. LAWSON*). I wonder who that woman is.

VIOLET. She looks horrid. (*They sit down.*)

LADY I. Miss Williamson was talking to her.

• Enter RIGBY, L. Exit MISS WILLIAMSON, R.

RIGBY. I didn't frighten the lady away, I hope?

LADY I. Oh no—(*following the direction of his eyes*)—I hear she is going in the morning.

*Enter TRAVERS, who has evidently lagged behind RIGBY. He stands a little aloof from the group, but joins it after a minute.*

RIGBY. Going away? I hadn't heard that—did she tell you?

LADY I. I saw her luggage—her room is next ours—ready to be carried down.

MRS. F. I wonder who she is. I often think I have seen her face somewhere.

RIGBY. It's odd you should say that, for I felt it the moment I saw her. I asked her if she was at Brighton last month; thought I'd seen her there.

MRS. F. And was she?

RIGBY. Never went to Brighton in her life.

LADY I. I should like to know who her people are? She is very distant in her manner, as if she thought herself too good for ordinary mortals. And why is she travelling alone? She can't be more than eight- or nine-and-twenty.

MRS. F. Oh, she's not that. She's quite young when you look into her. She is almost a girl.

LADY I. (*significantly*). That makes it very strange, then.

VIOLET. But she's so nice—I like her.

TRAVERS (*leaning on his stick*). So do I, Miss Ilfield. (*To LADY I.*) Miss Williamson is on her way to a friend of her mother's at Vienna. It is quite an easy journey to take alone—for anyone.

LADY I. (*to RIGBY*). She and Major Travers are great friends.

RIGBY. Unbends a little for him, eh?

VIOLET. I think she is very pretty—don't you, Major Travers?

TRAVERS (*slowly*). I don't think 'pretty' is the right word somehow. (*As if going.*)

RIGBY. Not descriptive enough, eh? Well, I quite agree.

VIOLET (*to TRAVERS*). Oh, don't go in. It is so lovely out here.

TRAVERS. Yes, it is. (*Lingers near her.*)

LADY I. (*to MRS. FENNING*). There can't have been any reason why she should stay here a fortnight on her way to a friend.

RIGBY (*to VIOLET*). I wish you would come and look at a bit of red sky the sunset has left, Miss Ilfield. I took the Major to see it just now—it's like a bit of an African sky strayed away on a trip to Europe. Makes me think of the veldt.

*Re-enter MISS WILLIAMSON at back. She looks at the group and hesitates, then stands looking at the lake.*

LADY I. She would like to go and see it—wouldn't you, Violet?

VIOLET. No, thank you. (*To RIGBY*) I want to sit here till the last train comes in.

TRAVERS. Expecting anyone ?

(*Through the open window the sound of a piano is heard again.*)

VIOLET. Oh no—but it's always exciting to see who comes by it, or if anyone goes away. It's awfully nice being able just to walk into the station. Is anything the matter, Major Travers ?

TRAVERS (*looking up*). It gave me a start to hear that tune.

VIOLET. Do you know what it is ?

TRAVERS. We used to call it 'The Long Indian Day' at Simla.

RIGBY. Takes you back a bit, eh ?

VIOLET. It's 'Den Langen Ganzen Tag.'

TRAVERS. It makes me think of the Waylett case last year.

[MISS WILLIAMSON *turns and comes slowly nearer.*

MRS. F. The Waylett case ?

TRAVERS. My uncle was the Judge who tried it.

LADY I. Oh, do tell us what he said. We used to think of nothing else while it was going on.

RIGBY. I believe that case was talked of all over the world.

MRS. F. I wonder if she did it. Dr. Talford thought she did. Do you remember his evidence ?

LADY I. Of course she did it. 'She was a dreadful woman, in my opinion. (*To TRAVERS*) What did the Judge say about her ?

TRAVERS. He said she looked so young and pathetic—as if she couldn't have done it.

MISS W. (*coming a step forward*). What had 'Den Langen Ganzen Tag' to do with it ?

TRAVERS. A brass band was playing it in the square when the telegram came—he always telegraphs his big verdicts home—I happened to be there.

LADY I. Those brass bands ought to be suppressed.

MRS. F. (*to TRAVERS*). Oh, do go on.

TRAVERS. Ten minutes later he returned——

MRS. F. What did he say ?

TRAVERS. He had summed up in her favour——

LADY I. It was always a puzzle to me why he did. I am certain she was guilty.

TRAVERS. Well, but he said that even if she had done it the man was such a brute he deserved it.

MISS W. Besides, as a rule we might spare ourselves the trouble of setting out pains and penalties for criminals. Greater punishment is generally attached to the crime than any that can be invented beyond it.

TRAVERS (*rather shocked*). Oh ! well, but we must have laws and things, you know.

MISS W. (*wearily*). Oh yes, we must have laws and things.

RIGBY. I thought he was a mean cuss myself. You can bet she had a time of it.

TRAVERS. I expect the world is better without such men.

MISS W. (*quietly, but with a note of passion in her voice*). And if she killed him she lost her soul in doing a righteous deed.

LADY I. I don't think murder can be a righteous deed.

TRAVERS. He treated her shamefully, you know—that was proved.

MRS. F. Oh yes—and grudged every penny she spent or cost, and any moment's peace that was possible.

LADY I. That was no excuse.

MISS W. No—no excuse at all, and no reason why she should not be hanged by the neck till she was dead—(*bitterly*)—or why the Lord should not have mercy on her soul.

RIGBY. Well said, Miss Williamson.

LADY I. Quite dramatic. (*Turns away.*) But it doesn't alter my opinion—she was a horrid woman.

MRS. F. Did you hear where she went afterwards, Major Travers?

TRAVERS. No.

MRS. F. She must be very unhappy.

LADY I. Oh, she may find somebody else to marry her—you never can tell.

RIGBY. Well, I'm very sorry for her. But I shouldn't like to be the gentleman. (*To TRAVERS*) Should you?

TRAVERS (*after a moment's hesitation and with a shudder*). No.

VIOLET. I wonder if she was pretty.

RIGBY. I believe she was. There was a portrait of her in the *Illustrated London News*, I remember—

MRS. F. What was she like?

RIGBY. Let me see— (*Gives a little start as he looks at MISS WILLIAMSON, hesitates, but no one else notices it. She makes a little sign to him, half supplicating; he nods.*) I forget what she was like.

LADY I. In the *Illustrated London News*?

MRS. F. We will look it up—there are some bound-up volumes in the reading-room. Don't you remember what sort of woman she was?

RIGBY. I think she was stout, with frizzy hair, rather a long nose—that sort of thing. (*Looks significantly at MISS WILLIAMSON, and then at the hotel door. She goes slowly towards it, up the steps, and exit.*)

LADY I. We will see if it's there when we go in. (*Looking after MISS WILLIAMSON.*) Miss Williamson has very odd notions.

RIGBY. Has evidently thought about things—great mistake in a woman.

TRAVERS. It is one that few women make. (*Turns towards the lake.*)

LADY I. (*drily*). I think she takes drugs or something. I heard the manager complaining that she kept the electric light on all night.

VIOLET. I do like her so. This morning we sat by the lake and she talked about books——

LADY I. Perhaps she writes books.

VIOLET. She told me to read St. Augustine—that it might help me some day.

LADY I. What nonsense! A very unhealthy mind. I would rather you didn't talk to her, Violet dear. Don't you agree with me, Mr. Rigby? Luckily she's going to-morrow.

VIOLET. I am very sorry.

RIGBY (*to VIOLET*). Twenty minutes before the train is due, Miss Ilfield. Shall we go and see if that bit of sky has been drawn back to the veldt?

LADY I. (*aside to VIOLET*). Say 'Yes.'

VIOLET. I think I want to go in—I don't really care about the train.

LADY I. (*to RIGBY*). She is afraid of taking cold.

MRS. F. (*who has been looking at the lake with TRAVERS, and not heard the previous conversation to VIOLET*). I am going to see if there is any sign of George and the Herr Doctor. Will you come a little way, Violet?

VIOLET. Yes. I should like to go. [*Exit with MRS. F.*]

RIGBY (*chagrined*). Humph! That isn't one to me, is it?

LADY I. Girls like chattering together when they are very young. Are you going in, Mr. Rigby?

RIGBY. Yes. (*Aside to TRAVERS*) I shall get there first.

\* [*Exit RIGBY.*]

LADY I. (*going up steps*). You mean to stay out a little longer, Major Travers?

TRAVERS. Yes, I think so.

LADY I. You must take care of that poor foot. [*Exit.*]

TRAVERS (*left alone*). What the deuce did he mean—'there first'? (*After business and a pause*) Wonder if she will come out again—I have half a mind to go and pack too. On to Vienna—over the Semmering and down to Fiume—take the little steamer to Abbazia—by Jove!

(MISS W. comes down the steps in a cloak, a hat in her hand. Sees TRAVERS. Hesitates, puts hat down near steps on seat, goes towards him as if unable to help it.)

MISS W. Major Travers? (*Hesitates.*) Do you want me? (*Doubtfully, almost suspiciously*) Shall I come?



TRAVERS (*starting*). Oh, I was half afraid I shouldn't see you again to-night. Want you! (*With a little smile*) I was thinking of you then. Were you coming to look for me?

MISS W. I was going into the station. I like to see the last train arrive, too. But it's too soon yet.

TRAVERS. Not due for a quarter of an hour. Come and sit down for a bit—it's a wonderful night, and your last one here.

MISS W. A wonderful night! (*Looking round half wondering, half cautious—then, as her eyes rest on the lake*) The lake looks so tender—yet even that could be cruel.

TRAVERS. Don't think of cruelty—there are other things in the world too. (*Pause.*) (*They saunter down stage to a seat on R., where trees screen them from observation.*) Are you really going to-morrow? (*She nods.*) This is perhaps the last talk we may get?

MISS W. The very last. (*Still looking towards lake.*) How, how lovely it all is! (*Pause.*)

TRAVERS. I want to go on with you.

MISS W. To go on?

TRAVERS. To Vienna.

MISS W. It is impossible.

TRAVERS. Why?

MISS W. (*coldly and firmly*). It is quite impossible. (*Pause.*)

TRAVERS. You were telling me about your sisters when that good lady came along and interrupted us. Tell me some more now—have you only just left them?

MISS W. (*coldly and still on her guard*). I left them when I was nineteen—years ago now. I was twenty-seven last week. I went away from them—because I wanted to help them.

TRAVERS. I understand, so many girls go out to fight the world now. (*Puts his hand on hers.*) I always feel that you have done fine things.

MISS W. It wasn't very fine, I am afraid.

TRAVERS. Where are the sisters now?

MISS W. One of them married a man she loved, and the other died. (*Pause. Then, in a hard voice*) Major Travers, three weeks ago you and I were strangers; in a few hours we shall be strangers again. I don't want to confide any more of my family history to your keeping. I prefer to be silent.

TRAVERS (*passionately*). I can't feel that we are strangers; I never shall—even if we never meet again. And you look so unhappy—

MISS W. Why should I look anything else? I have never had any happiness—never in my life—and I have longed for it so much. (*Then, with a queer jerk in her voice*) They were speaking of the

Waylett case just now. I—I knew that woman, and I have longed for happiness just as she did.

TRAVERS (*startled*). You knew her!

MISS W. (*calmly*). Yes, I knew her very well.

TRAVERS. Do you think she did it?

MISS W. I can't tell you that. But—if she did—it was her desperate hunger for happiness that maddened her.

TRAVERS. What has become of her?

MISS W. She disappeared.

TRAVERS. Well, guilty or not guilty, she hasn't gained happiness yet.

MISS W. People never gain it—they only pursue it.

TRAVERS. By Heaven! what an awful thing to be that woman—if she did do it.

MISS W. But there are so many awful things in the world. It's just a chance which variety we draw.

TRAVERS (*looking at her uneasily*). You must have suffered horribly.

MISS W. Most women have.

TRAVERS. Anyhow, you are not as badly off as she is, probably—I mean, you have nothing on your mind.

MISS W. I have done nothing that I would not do over again. But women often do desperate things to gain happiness—only to lose its possibility. They are like slaves who make a desperate struggle for freedom, only to find their captivity worse.

TRAVERS. Why do you harp so much on happiness?

MISS W. Because I have longed for it—dreamt of it—hungered for it, too—starved for it—just as she did.

(*He puts out his hand, but she draws back.*)

TRAVERS. Let me try to give it you—I think I understand. (*She looks nervously over her shoulder towards the shadows; then makes a little sound of dissent.*) Is it that you have cared for someone?

MISS W. (*in a low voice*). No—never for anyone—in the way you mean—in my whole life. No one ever came into it who *could* be cared for. Perhaps that is the real tragedy of it.

TRAVERS. Then won't you trust me? We have only known each other two or three weeks, but we've hurried years into them—I feel towards you as I never yet felt towards mortal woman; but when I reach out to you in my thoughts it is into the unknown—or the darkness.

MISS W. Into the darkness—(*she echoes his words with an odd laugh, and looks furtively over her shoulder.*) Oh, the darkness. (*In a low voice*) I hate it so—it frightens me.

TRAVERS. Let me take you into the light. (*Passionately putting*

his arms round her, and drawing her to him.) Trust me with your whole life. Tell me you will. It is such a little while since we met—but we are not strangers—and never have been or can be. I feel as if we had started out from opposite ends of the world to meet each other.

MISS W. (*as if against her will, drawing closer to him*). I have felt it too.

TRAVERS. There is often more design in things, you know, than appears on the surface. It couldn't be for nothing—to separate and never see each other again—that I fell sprawling before you—that we have spent all these days together. I love you—I swear I love you (*passionately*). And you—and you? Speak to me—speak to me, dearest.

(*A little sound comes from her lips, almost of pain, and as if unconsciously her arms go round his neck.*)

TRAVERS (*tenderly*). What is it? You care? Say you care for me.

MISS W. I think it is killing me.

TRAVERS. No, no—it is life, and happiness—happiness at last. I will go on with you to-morrow—we will be married at Vienna—

MISS W. (*hesitating*). At Vienna—you would marry me?

TRAVERS. At the Embassy; and then we'll go down to the shores of the Adriatic, to Abbazia—the divinest place on earth for a honeymoon—and stay there till it is time to go to India in October.

MISS W. And never go back to England—never go back? You would marry me out of hand and take me away—trust me with your life? You don't know who I am or what I am.

TRAVERS (*looking at her doubtfully for one moment*). I do know; I feel that you are a woman of whom anything is possible.

MISS W. Good or ill—and which, is a fluke.

TRAVERS. My darling, I love you; and it shall be good—as my love is good.

MISS W. (*looking at him in wonder*). I feel as if I stood by Heaven's open door—but I can never enter—

TRAVERS. You shall—we will walk Heaven's whole length together—my beloved woman whom God has given me.

MISS W. (*with a shudder*). God will take me from you.

TRAVERS. Why should He be so cruel?

MISS W. (*as if she had not heard him, almost desperately*). Say you love me—it goes through me—I want to hear it once again.

TRAVERS. I love you—I love you.

(*A footstep is heard. She draws back, almost trembling with fright.*)

MISS W. Someone is there—(*looking behind*)—listening.

TRAVERS (*tenderly*). Nonsense; it is only a man going round

the corner into the station. I suppose the train is coming. How easily you are startled!

MISS W. (*recovering and recollecting*). I must go—(*drawing back*)—I must go this minute. (*Holds out her hands. He takes them, and is about to draw her to him, but she resists.*) No—no (*passionately*). Not now. But I love you—I love you—and I want to tell you again that I have never loved anyone in my whole life before—I mean in this way. It has changed everything. (*As he makes a movement towards her.*) No—no. (*He kisses her hands, and draws back with an air of puzzled, but happy submission. She hurries towards her hat, takes it up, and hesitates. "Den Langen Ganzen Tag" is heard again.*)

*Enter, from back, MRS. FENNING and VIOLET, laughing. They go towards hotel.*

VIOLET. It was exquisite.

MRS. F. Why, there's Major Travers still—and someone is playing 'Den Langen Ganzen Tag' again. (*Looking back at him.*) Are you waiting for another verdict? (*RIGBY appears L., comes down steps.*) We are just going in to look for that portrait, Mr. Rigby.

RIGBY. Ah! I forget what she was like. (*To TRAVERS in a low kindly voice*) I got there first and tore it out. I didn't want to see her given away to those women.

TRAVERS (*as if a horrible suspicion were dawning upon him*). What—what do you mean?

[*MRS. F. and VIOLET go up steps into hotel. Exit RIGBY at back.*]

MISS W. (*as TRAVERS goes towards her*). I am going now—it's the end of it all. I told you I stood by Heaven's open door—I am closing it on myself for ever.

TRAVERS. Going—the end?

MISS W. (*starting*). There is the train—I must go—I shall be too late. (*Turns towards path leading to station, then faces TRAVERS*) You said it was an awful thing to be that woman. Only I know what it is. To think that I should say it to you! For I love you—God knows I do. Perhaps that is why He has turned His search-light here. No—no—you mustn't come; you mustn't move. It's the last thing you can do for me. It is only for a moment. (*Then, with an odd, desperate smile*) Oh! don't you understand? I—I am Mrs. Waylett!

TRAVERS (*drawing back, astounded*). You?—you!

MISS W. Yes! And I did it—I did it. And I am not even sorry (*shuddering*). I am glad—I am glad!

[*Exit towards station.*]

*Enter RIGBY, R. (puts his hand on TRAVERS'S arm).*

TRAVERS (*shaking him off*). *You knew!*

RIGBY. Recognised her just now, when they were all out here. There goes the train. (TRAVERS *makes a step towards it.*) She had only just time to catch it.

TRAVERS. Mrs. Waylett!

CURTAIN.

LUCY CLIFFORD.

THE  
NINETEENTH  
CENTURY  
AND AFTER .



No. CCCXII—FEBRUARY 1903

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*OUR CHANGING CONSTITUTION:*  
*'THE KING IN COUNCIL'*

IN no country in the world is so much attention paid to the practical, and so little to the theoretical, side of politics as in England. Our interest seems to be absorbed by the affairs of the moment and the personality of a few conspicuous public men. A gigantic audience can be collected anywhere and at any time to listen to a speech by a popular, or even an unpopular, party leader; and the Press and the platform will rage furiously for months or weeks over the details of the measure which happens to 'fill the bill' for the time being. Meanwhile the large changes and organic modifications which the Constitution is undergoing from day to day pass almost unnoticed. It is, no doubt, all part of that supremely practical instinct which we assume to be one of our national characteristics. The British motto, alike in public and private life, is

'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.' We go on with the business of the hour, doing that which seems necessary, and making our precedents as we want them, leaying principles and theories to take care of themselves. There is a great deal to be said for this method, and assuredly it is the only one which is likely to be adopted in the management of our national, and even our imperial, concerns. Yet it is worth while occasionally to cast a plummet into the depths, and to ascertain how we stand and, if possible, whither we are drifting. Our Constitution is in a continual state of flux and change. It is not the same to-day as it was in the reign of George the Third, or in the earlier decades of Queen Victoria, or even in the later Ministries of Mr. Gladstone. And the process of modification has been going on with unexpected, or at any rate unmarked, rapidity during the period which lies immediately behind us.

Some years ago, the present writer endeavoured to draw attention to certain aspects of the subject in the pages of this Review. In December 1894 an article was published which bore the title 'If the House of Commons were Abolished?' It was not, of course, the intention to suggest that the House of Commons either could, should, or ought to be done out of existence. My purpose was merely to point out how largely the functions of the Representative Chamber, which is popularly supposed to exercise supreme control over legislation and over executive government, had been superseded by various agencies. It was, for instance, shown that the House had practically forfeited its command over Supply, which has passed absolutely into the hands of the Cabinet; and that its power to supervise legislation has also been made over to the same all-absorbing Committee. Again, the old constitutional privilege of the Commons to insist on the redress of grievances has partly fallen into desuetude, and partly it has been transferred to other quarters. As a 'ventilating chamber' the Lower House finds its duties much less cumbrously performed by the Press and the platform, and, I may perhaps add, by the leading periodical publications. Then, if one carries the matter further, it is not difficult to demonstrate that the mere power of choosing a Ministry—the greatest and most valued of all the prerogatives of Parliament—has been encroached upon by the party organisations in the constituencies and by intangible but very genuine social influences of various kinds.

The most serious and noticeable of these changes is undoubtedly the increase in the power of the Cabinet. I venture to think that everything I wrote on this subject eight years ago has been warranted by subsequent experience. It was said in the paper already mentioned that legislation, to all intents and purposes, has become the work of the Ministry in office. I am not referring merely to the well-recognised fact that the private member has

little more power to pass a Bill, against the will, or contrary to the inclination, of the Cabinet, than the man in the street. That, of course, is by this time thoroughly understood, and the hackneyed grievance of the unofficial M.P. has now ceased to be regarded as an abuse, and is accepted as little more than a rather poor joke. But as things stand, the majority of the House, with the exception of its operative Committee, is almost equally powerless. The Cabinet draws up its legislative programme without consulting its three or four hundred rank-and-file supporters, and without any particular regard to their wishes and susceptibilities. It carries as much of the catalogue as it can find time for, or as it thinks public opinion will stand, and that is virtually the end of the matter. Even the discussion in the House of Commons has become little more than formal. In the 'flood of verbiage' and the torrential congestion of public business, there is no time to read through all the debates, nor has any newspaper the space to report them *in extenso*. The argumentative combat is a sort of two-handed, or six-handed, duel between selected front-bench champions, who might just as well be delivering their harangues on the platform, or writing them in the newspapers, as discharging them to an array of packed or half-empty green benches at Westminster. Very often they do adopt these other alternatives. A speech at a great provincial meeting by Lord Rosebery or Mr. Balfour, by Mr. Chamberlain, Sir William Harcourt, or Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, may prove a far more efficient factor in the public controversy—a more valuable card in the party game—than any display of oratory in either House of Parliament. And we have known occasions when at least as much effect has been produced by an article from an eminent statesman in a monthly review, or a long letter addressed to the editor of a great London daily journal. As a discussion chamber, and even as a debating society, the House of Commons has largely lost its utility and meaning.

It would occupy too much space to go into all the causes of this remarkable development. The facts, I think, are recognised more widely than was the case in 1894. Ministerial omnipotence has become almost an accepted phenomenon. The situation is regarded with 'sombre acquiescence' in some quarters, with irritation and anxiety in others; but that it exists is generally admitted. It is seen, among other things, that a general election is now as a rule a mixture of Referendum and Plébiscite. The electorate are asked not so much to choose between rival sets of principles as to vote for a Measure or to vote for a Man. If there are two commanding personalities before the nation, which was the case, as a rule, during the greater part of the half-century that divided the Reform Bill Ministry from the retirement of Lord Beaconsfield, the constituencies are practically solicited to exercise their option in favour



of the one or the other. If there is no such striking personal element in the problem, the decision is for or against a particular act of policy. The last general election was simply a test of public opinion on the South African war. The general question of Conservative and Liberal doctrine hardly entered into consideration. The contest was fought, openly and necessarily, by both sides on South Africa, and on nothing else. Do you or do you not approve of the ministerial policy towards the Dutch Republics, and of their conduct of the war? Nine electors out of ten were solely concerned to answer those questions to their own satisfaction, when they cast their votes in the autumn of 1900. It is also true that, when a Ministry has got the plébiscite recorded in its favour, it can use its power to enact what legislation it pleases, subject only to the necessity of not alienating public opinion so deeply as to injure its chance of a further tenure of office at some future date. To this extent the criticisms of the Opposition on the introduction of the Education Bill have a basis of argument. I am one of those who regard with general approval the provisions of this very able piece of constructive legislation; nor can I see that the Government deserve anything but commendation for endeavouring to deal, in a large and statesmanlike fashion, with a pressing problem of domestic reform. But no doubt it is true that a Ministry, elected on a single limited issue, was able to obtain legislation, which had never been definitely placed before the constituencies, and to which, so far as they knew, their own supporters had not committed themselves. This is not said by way of censure. It is the duty of a Cabinet to bring forward those measures which are required in the interests of the country, whether these happen to have figured conspicuously on their electioneering broad-sheets or not. But, as a matter of history, the fact is as I have stated it. The War Ministry of 1900 decided—very properly—to reconstruct the educational system of the country, and so far as the House of Commons was concerned it had only to issue its *fiat* and in due course its scheme became part of the law of the land. The proceedings in connection with the measure in the House confirm this view of the matter. As long as the Bill was purely a parliamentary affair, that is to say, in the earlier months of the Session of 1902, Ministerialists and Opposition alike regarded it almost with indifference. It was accepted as a foregone conclusion that it would go through, because the Cabinet intended it to pass, and therefore it hardly seemed worth while to take much trouble over it. The Liberals began with the tamest and most perfunctory display of feeble opposition, and the Ministerialists knew that when the time came they would, in any case, go into the lobbies *en masse* to uphold their chiefs. It was not until the Non-conformist caucus in the country had worked up an agitation that any strong feeling was aroused. As far as parliamentary action

went, the Cabinet might just as well have published the clauses of the Bill through the newspapers in February, and announced that, after due discussion in the press and on the platform for, say, six months, it would be carried with such modifications as they themselves might choose to introduce or accept.

Nothing can be more curious than the manner in which Parliament, as it were, stood aside, and allowed the question to be fought out between the Ministry and its supporters in the press, on the one hand, and the opponents of the Bill in the country and *their* newspaper adherents, on the other. Parliament palpably realised its own inability to exert an effective control over legislation in the face of a strong and united Ministry. And this may be said to be the normal condition of things in the present stage of our constitutional evolution. It may be urged that the projects of the Cabinet might be defeated, or materially altered, at any moment, by a hostile vote in the Commons, produced by a numerous secession of their own followers. It is true that this might occur, but it is equally true that it does not. From time to time there is vague talk about a ministerial cave, but nothing ever comes of it. It may be regarded as a fixed principle of English politics—if there are any fixed principles at all in such an empirical business—that members of a majority party in Parliament obey orders. For a member to cross from one side to the other, or even to vote in the wrong lobby on any vital question—on any question, that is, which might involve a change of Government—is so rare that the contingency need not be taken into account. These things, as somebody says in one of Ibsen's plays, 'are not done.' Perhaps twice or three times during the existence of a Parliament some bewildered or supra-conscientious legislator will trek across the floor of the House, or will go back to his constituents for a fresh mandate, because he has changed his mind. But the general proposition holds true. Members are sent to Westminster to support a particular combination of leaders, and they do so. The most of them would no more think of joining the other side, or even helping passively to bring about the downfall of their own, than a player in the Oxford Eleven at Lord's would suddenly doff his colours and assume the rival Blue. There are many reasons—practical and sentimental—which have conduced to this result, and the present writer has endeavoured to set forth some of them on previous occasions.<sup>1</sup> Here it is enough to note that, once placed in power, a Ministry can carry all those measures which it chooses to regard as involving a question of confidence, until such time as its majority has either disappeared, through a long series of hostile

<sup>1</sup> See *The Nineteenth Century*, 'The Decline of the House of Commons,' April 1895, and 'A Foreign Affairs Committee,' September 1895.

by-elections, or until it has itself decided to retire from office, or to risk the chances of another appeal to the constituencies.

Nor is the position of the Cabinet less autocratic, but indeed much more so, in regard to the conduct of administration. It has become a commonplace to say that the control of Parliament over the Executive has been reduced to nullity. In matters of colonial and foreign policy, the most important decisions may be arrived at, and the country committed to action of the utmost seriousness, without even the pretence of consulting the representatives of the people. Take the cases of the alleged Anglo-Italian understanding, of the Anglo-German agreement in China, of the treaty with Japan, and of the recent alliance with Germany in reference to Venezuela. What had Parliament to do with any of these arrangements, until they were irrevocably concluded? It reserved, of course, its right to punish the authors of them; but this would be a futile proceeding, even if our system any longer rendered it practicable, since the effects of what had been done could not have been recalled. The Venezuela agreement seems to have attracted an unusual amount of attention, though in itself it is of considerably less consequence than some other transactions which have passed almost unnoticed. But it is easy to understand the kind of shock which many observers must have experienced, when it came home to them that, even while Parliament was sitting, the country could be engaged, by the mere act of a Ministry, in an alliance with a foreign State, involving the employment of British fleets, and conceivably even leading to complications with another great Power. I do not here enter into the policy of this Venezuela convention; but it is certain that no autocratic Sovereign with his Imperial Chancellor could have committed his country more absolutely, or more silently, than our own Executive to a striking new departure in international policy. When one considers an operation of this character, it is difficult indeed to subscribe to the theories of those writers on the Constitution, who tell us that the Ministers are nothing but the servants and delegates of the House of Commons, which is itself responsible to the Nation. What had the House of Commons, what had the Nation, to do with the Venezuela arrangement?

Nor is Cabinet responsibility quite the same thing, in other respects, as it was only a quarter of a century ago. The most significant constitutional change of the last few years is the growth of the Inner Cabinet. This is a body which has no formal or recognised existence, any more than the Cabinet itself possessed until towards the middle of the eighteenth century. It has grown by a natural process of development, somewhat resembling that by which the actual governing council of the State was segregated from the general assembly of the Privy Council. Many causes have

conducted to its rise, of which the most obvious has been the comparatively recent practice of increasing the size of the Cabinet. A Council of nineteen or twenty is obviously too large for efficient executive functions. It tends to become a debating society rather than a working Committee; and the Cabinet meetings, which were supposed to be confidential discussions between a small knot of high officials, all of whom were intimately acquainted with each other's views and feelings, must now partake to some extent of the procedure of a public assembly. You can hardly have a really private talk in the presence of twenty people. There must be speeches rather than conversations; and one would not be surprised to learn that something like informal divisions occasionally occur. Moreover, with so numerous a body, there cannot be that substantial equality of status and capacity which was part of the essence of the Cabinet system as formerly understood. Every recent Cabinet has had a noticeable 'tail,' consisting of highly respectable and rather inconspicuous politicians, on whom the public verdict would be accurately expressed by Pope's famous lines about the flies in amber:

The things, we know, are neither rich nor rare,  
But wonder how the devil they got there.

It would appear that there is very little distinction nowadays between some of the Ministers within the Cabinet and those who are outside the circle. Cabinet rank seems to be regarded as little more than a titular distinction, conferred on a capable partisan, who has served his time in a minor office with credit; and there are in every Ministry two or three, at least, of these nominally subordinate functionaries, who exercise much more real influence than some heads of departments within the Cabinet. One would be surprised to learn that Mr. George Wyndham, for instance, or Mr. Austen Chamberlain, while they were still excluded from the Cabinet meetings, were not quite as important members of the Government as several of their colleagues who had already obtained their promotion.

Too large and too miscellaneous for joint united action, the Cabinet naturally intrusts the shaping of its policy to a small sub-committee; or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the sub-committee itself assumes the task.

The real Government of England consists of the Prime Minister, aided or directed by three or four colleagues, who are in close and constant touch with him. By this small Junta or Cabal, as it would have been called in the reign of Charles the Second, the vital questions are decided. The remainder of the official Cabinet have little voice in the matter, till the decision is reached. They might be more correctly described as 'Cabinet Officers,' which is the

designation often applied to the President's ministerial advisers in the United States. They look after their bureaux, and are naturally consulted when the special work of the departments is involved; but one Minister scarcely knows what another is doing, nor—unless he belongs to the Inner Ring—does he become acquainted with the conclusions and resolutions of the Junta till they are laid before him for ratification. As the House of Commons majority is to the Cabinet, so is the Cabinet as a whole to the Governing Committee. The business is not done at the formal and comparatively infrequent 'Councils,' which attract the attention of the newspapers, and rouse the curiosity of loiterers in Whitehall; but at the quiet, unnoticed consultations, in libraries, offices, and country-houses, between the men who are the actual masters of the nation's fate. We seem to have reached the condition of things against which the constitutionalists of the eighteenth century so often apprehensively protested. We have our 'Venetian oligarchy,' more compact than that of the 'great Whig houses' and much smaller. And it is irresponsible, because its members work in the dark, and have no recognised status beyond that connected with their departmental duties, which are sometimes the least weighty of their functions. It is impossible to say, at any given moment, who form the real Government, and which of the Ministers are admitted to the Premier's innermost confidence. The conclave can always shelter itself behind the collective responsibility of the whole Cabinet, which sometimes has no more opportunity to deflect or defeat Ministerial action than the voting horde in the House of Commons.

Such is the state of affairs which leads some acute observers to recognise a point already dwelt upon in these pages—that the Government of England is in reality presidential rather than responsible. Mr. Sidney Lee, fresh from his constitutional studies into the history of the Victorian age, goes so far as to say:<sup>2</sup> 'The Prime Minister has been trained in a school which identifies his office with practically absolute political power.' If for 'the Prime Minister' we substitute 'the Prime Minister and certain of his associates in the Cabinet,' the statement may be admitted, though with some reserves. I do not think there is any 'school' which consciously accepts this definition of the ministerial office. We deal with results, as so often in English politics, without clearly acknowledging the causes. But it is interesting to observe that the biographer of Queen Victoria, an inquirer so competent, learned, and judicious as Mr. Lee, emphatically endorses this theory of Cabinet omnipotence. Of course the Junta cannot really act without limitations, though it is no longer under the effective control of the elected representatives of the People. There are other restraining influences,

<sup>2</sup> See his letter on 'The Prime Minister and the Crown,' in the *Spectator*, January 8, 1908.

some of them new, some as old as our Constitution itself. One most effective check is analogous to that which prevents the President of the United States from becoming, as he might otherwise be, something like an autocrat during his term of office. The Prime Minister, like the President, is a party man and a party leader. He has the interests of his own connection to consider, the fear of the managers and wire-pullers before his eyes. Even if he is not ambitious of a further term of office for himself, he cannot be indifferent to the prospects of his friends, and the chances of the faction to which he owes his ascendancy. He will naturally endeavour to satisfy public opinion, and to earn for himself and his associates that species of gratitude which can be paid in current electoral coin at the ballot-boxes. Moreover, if he cannot be defeated—speaking generally—till the close of a Parliament or a dissolution, he can be criticised. He may lose *prestige* and authority, and may go before the electorate, when the time for the supreme test comes, as a statesman who has incurred ridicule, who has misunderstood the interests of the country, who has involved it in disastrous errors. This, patriotism and integrity apart, is a real check upon carelessness, levity, and hasty adventure. Never, perhaps, was there a time when Ministers were more sensitive to the attitude of the press and the platform. They are watched, they know, by keen and jealous eyes, and assailed by trenchant tongues, which speak to a wider audience than their critics in the House of Commons, and with rather more knowledge and weight of authority.

But is there not another restraining influence, in addition to the caucus, the newspapers, and the party agents? Has the Crown lost the whole of its functions as one of the 'checks and balances' in our constitutional machinery? The question has been raised, not, one must imagine, quite gratuitously or willingly, in connection with recent events. It has been hinted, or rather not hinted but openly stated in print, that the intervention of the Crown has been employed to override or bias the judgment of Ministers. This is the indiscreet assertion which has provoked Mr. Lee's Letter, and the substance of the rumours may be reproduced in his very explicit summary. 'It has been,' he says, 'seriously argued that Court influence, rather than the deliberate judgment of the Ministry, is the efficient cause of the co-operation of our own fleet with the German fleet off the Venezuelan coast. In plain terms, we are invited to believe that the English Sovereign, of his own motion, has successfully importuned his Ministers to entangle this country in an alliance with a foreign Power. It is taken for granted that the policy did not present itself to the Ministers before it was brought to their notice by the King, and that it failed very strongly to recommend itself to the Ministry when royal pressure secured its adoption at their hands.' It is in order to repudiate this allegation that Mr. Lee formulates

the doctrine of ministerial power and royal weakness, and has couched it in terms of such uncompromising directness as may appear in some quarters extravagant. 'The Sovereign can, under the Constitution, no more initiate a policy for Ministers to follow, or impose upon them, by the urgency of his appeal, a policy of his own devising, than he can by his sole authority promulgate a new law.' And again: 'In no conceivable circumstances can the Government's action in high matters of policy originate suddenly and unprovokedly with the King.' This seems, at first sight, overstated; yet there can be no question that it is technically correct. The Sovereign could not possibly send for the Prime Minister or the Foreign Secretary and suggest the conclusion of a treaty of alliance with an alien Government, or tell the Home Secretary to bring in a Factory Bill. But though things are not done in that way, perhaps more is done, and can be done, than Mr. Lee allows. I do not enter upon the Venezuela question, or upon the singularly delicate controversy which has been initiated over a matter upon which the public at large is in no position to know anything beyond gossip and rumour. But the general question of the relations of the Crown to the Cabinet Junta is undoubtedly a matter of legitimate interest. Mr. Lee assures us that the correct constitutional practice is for the Sovereign to be treated as a nonentity. He may criticise the ministerial proposals, as any of the Premier's colleagues may do, or any man reading a halfpenny newspaper on the top of an omnibus. The sole advantage enjoyed by the most august Personage in the Realm is that of getting in his criticism at an earlier date. 'Custom requires the Minister to acquaint the occupant of the throne with his intentions, particularly in the domain of foreign affairs, before carrying them into effect.' Having been seised of the ministerial project, the Sovereign may, if he pleases, criticise. But then 'usage forbids the Minister to attach to the royal criticisms any paramount force.' The Minister 'invariably treats them as unauthoritative suggestions.' And he is 'entitled to ignore them altogether,' while his Sovereign has not even a constitutional right to feel offended.

If this is the case, our 'Venetian oligarchy' may leave the Crown out of account. A King or Queen must have a saint-like temper to frame criticisms which are invariably treated as 'unauthoritative,' and frequently waved contemptuously aside. In such circumstances would a monarch, with any sense of personal dignity, care to criticise at all? Yet we know, from Mr. Lee's pages and from other sources, that criticisms and suggestions were frequently made by Queen Victoria, and that it was by no means the rule for them to be inoperative. In this, as in so many matters, the constitutional theory is one thing and the constitutional practice another. Who can say what the Sovereign can or cannot do 'under the Constitution'? Undoubtedly, 'under the Constitution,' the Prime

Minister should not be an irresponsible autocrat; but this is what Mr. Lee tells us he is. The English Constitution is not fixed or crystallised; it varies from year to year; rights and prerogatives differ not only with circumstances, but with personalities. The privilege of criticism, which even according to the most limited construction the Sovereign enjoys, may be quite unauthoritative, or it may be something which would have a very large and real influence on policy. The situation has never been better stated than it was by Walter Bagehot more than thirty years ago:

To state the matter shortly, the Sovereign has, under a constitutional monarchy such as ours, three rights—the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, the right to warn. And a King of great sense and sagacity would want no others. He would find that his having no others would enable him to use these with singular effect. He would say to his Minister: ‘The responsibility of these measures is upon you. Whatever you think best must be done. Whatever you think best shall have my full and effectual support. But you will observe that for this reason and that reason what you propose to do is bad; for this reason and that reason what you do not propose is better. I do not oppose, it is my duty not to oppose; but observe that I *warn*.’ . . . In the course of a long reign a sagacious King would acquire an experience with which few Ministers could contend. The King could say: ‘Have you referred to the transactions which happened during such and such an administration, I think about fourteen years ago? They afford an instructive example of the bad results which are sure to attend the policy you propose. You did not at that time take so prominent a part in public life as you do now, and it is possible you do not fully remember all the events. I should recommend you to recur to them, and to discuss them with your older colleagues who took part in them. It is unwise to recommence a policy which so lately worked so ill.’ . . . Even under our present Constitution a monarch like George the Third, with high abilities, would possess the greatest influence. It is known to all Europe that in Belgium King Leopold has exercised immense power by the use of such means.—Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, chap. iii. •

There have been many changes since Bagehot wrote, but they are not such as to make the functions here attributed to the Crown less valuable. When it is said that the Prime Minister wields ‘practically absolute power,’ it does not necessarily follow that he ought to do so. An irresponsible Junta, working in the dark, stands in need of restraining, as well as critical, influences of various kinds; and with the proved inability of Parliament to exercise an effective supervision over the Executive, there is not, perhaps, very much danger of a revival of that jealousy of the interference of the Throne with the Cabinet, which was exhibited during the first portion of the late Queen’s reign. There may even be a feeling that the constitutional theory of government by ‘the King in Council’ might well become more of a reality, since it is obvious that the ‘Council’ is itself only becoming a name for an irresponsible Committee.

And there is another contingency which cannot be left entirely out of consideration. The whole edifice of ministerial absolutism, and of the despotic independence of the Cabinet oligarchy, is based upon



the existing party system. It would fall to pieces if there were not two separate well-defined parties, or if there were more than two. Without a safe, assured majority, as the result of a general election, it could scarcely be maintained. But the dualism of parties, itself the happy 'accident of an accident,' has been conserved by largely accidental causes. The differences of principle which divided the two historical factions have been blurred and confused. There is nothing fantastic in the anticipation that within the next few years Conservatives and Liberals may be split up into a number of minor and disconnected groups. In that event the Ministers might become, in much more than a formal sense, the King's servants, authorised by the Sovereign to remain in office and to carry on the government, with the help of a shifting and heterogeneous Parliamentary majority, or perhaps even without any majority at all. This has happened in countries like Austria, where, with the best intentions in the world, it has been found impossible to maintain the Cabinet system, on the supposed English model, because of the lack of a stable division of parties. The Sovereign, with every desire to be strictly 'constitutional,' has had to make his Ministers his clerks in a Parliament permanently broken up into groups. One would not like to predict that this is the direction towards which we are tending in England; and indeed it is highly unsafe to prophesy about anything so baffling and uncertain as the course of political evolutions in England. Much depends on chance, more on purely personal factors. We shall adapt our ethics and our practices to the exigencies as they arise, and concern ourselves very little about symmetry or system. But an increase of the formal, as well as the actual, participation of the Crown in the business of the Government is not deemed unlikely by some observers of events: especially when it is considered that such an extension of activity would no longer be a derogation from the power of Parliament, but rather a mitigation of the uncontrolled authority of the Cabinet Committee.

SIDNEY LOW.

[P.S. While these pages were passing through the press a speech was delivered by Lord Rosebery at Plymouth, which contained a passage of some interest in connection with the subject discussed above. Lord Rosebery urged that it would have been wise to appoint Lord Kitchener Secretary of State for War, with 'large and almost dictatorial powers,' so that he might have a 'free hand' to deal with Army administration. It might, no doubt, be objected that if Lord Kitchener had become Secretary of State he would be a member of the Cabinet, and as such responsible for the acts of the Cabinet. 'But,' added Lord Rosebery, 'is there necessity for that? As Secretary of State he might only be summoned to the meetings of the Cabinet which

had to do with his department; and he might be definitely cut off from the collective responsibility of the Cabinet. *It is in the power of the Sovereign to summon any Privy Councillor to any Cabinet for any particular purpose, and there is no reason why he should not have adopted that course in the case of Lord Kitchener.*' The words I have italicised are worthy of the closest attention. Here we have, from one of the only three men now living who have filled the office of Prime Minister in Great Britain, the remarkable suggestion that it is competent for the Sovereign to nominate an individual Minister with almost dictatorial powers, and to make him a member of the Cabinet *ad hoc*, while releasing him from the joint responsibility which lies upon his colleagues. We are to assume that Lord Rosebery would see nothing unconstitutional in this reversion to a former practice, and that he would regard with approval the appointment of a Secretary of State responsible, not to the Premier and the general body of his colleagues, or to the majority of the House of Commons, but directly to the Crown. For it is clear that, in the situation imagined, the military Secretary of State must be, in more than a formal sense, 'the King's servant,' since he is to be expressly released from all dependence on that governing Committee of the dominant party in Parliament which is known as the Cabinet. I need not discuss this interesting proposition at present. But the distinguished Liberal statesman who uttered it would obviously not accept the theory that the Prime Minister's office is one of 'absolute political power,' with the Sovereign's function limited to that of unauthoritative criticism. On the contrary, it would appear that he is prepared to accord to the Crown a share in the actual conduct of administration, such as few champions of royal prerogative during the past century would have ventured to claim.—S. L.]

THE  
POLITICAL TESTAMENT OF FUAD PASHA<sup>1</sup>

(ADDRESSED TO THE SULTAN ABDUL AZIZ IN 1869, ONE DAY  
BEFORE THE DEATH OF ITS AUTHOR)

SIRE,—I have only a few more days, maybe only a few more hours, to live, and I desire to consecrate these last moments to the accomplishment of a sacred duty. I wish to lay before your august Majesty my last thoughts—thoughts full of sadness, the bitter fruit of a long and unfortunate career. When your Majesty receives these words, I shall no longer be of this world. You may, therefore, listen to me now without mistrust, for the voice which speaks from the grave is always sincere.

God has charged you with a mission as glorious as it is perilous. In order to fulfil this mission worthily, your Majesty should endeavour to realise a great and painful truth. The Empire of the Ottomans is in danger. The rapid progress made by our neighbours and the inconceivable mistakes of our ancestors have placed us in a very critical position to-day. To avert a terrible calamity, your Majesty will be forced to break with the past, and to lead us to a new destiny.

A few ignorant patriots seek to make you believe that with our old resources we could re-establish our former greatness. Fatal mistake! Unpardonable delusion! Doubtless, if our neighbours were at the present time in the same position they were in the days of our fathers, our former means would have sufficed to make your Majesty the Arbitrator of Europe. But alas! our neighbours are far from being where they were two centuries ago. They have all gone on ahead, and have left us far behind. True enough, we ourselves have made some advance.

<sup>1</sup> [This document, translated from an authentic copy and never before published in English, throws light upon the manner in which the Turkish Reform Party of the present day still view the affairs of their country. To its author, who was for so many years alternately Grand Vizier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, it is said, Turkey mainly owes the celebrated *Hatti Humayun* of 1856, which proclaimed equal civil rights to all the races and creeds of the Turkish Dominions.—ED. *Nineteenth Century and After.*]

Your present Government is much more enlightened and has more means at its disposal than that of your ancestors. Unfortunately, however, this state of comparative prosperity is far from being sufficient for the needs of the time. To maintain a position in Europe at the present day, you must be able not only to equal or even to surpass your predecessors, but to equal and defy your present neighbours. To express my idea more clearly, I assert that your empire is forced, under penalty of death, to have as much money as England, as much intelligence as France, and as many soldiers as Russia.

As far as we are concerned, it is no longer merely a question of making rapid progress; it is simply and entirely a question of making as great progress as the other nations of Europe.

Your magnificent empire has furnished you amply with every element necessary to surpass any and every other European Power. But to arrive at this one thing is necessary, absolutely necessary. All our political, all our civil institutions must be changed. Many laws, beneficial enough in the past, have become injurious to our Society as it exists at present.

Man, himself capable of advancing towards perfection, must continually strive to improve and make perfect his achievements. Happily this first law of our nature is perfectly in accordance with the spirit of our Mohammedan religion. For Islamism comprehends all those true doctrines which acknowledge their essential object to be the progress of the world and of humanity. Those who pretend in the name of this religion to impede the progress of our State are certainly not Mohammedans but insensate believers. Every other religion is fettered by dogmas and fixed principles which are so many barriers to the progress of human thought. Islamism alone, unfettered by mysteries, free from all infallible rules, holds it a sacred duty incumbent on us to advance with the world, to develop as much as possible all our intellectual faculties, and to seek for enlightenment and knowledge not only in Arabia, not only among Mohammedans, but in foreign countries, in China, in the ends of the earth.

We must not for an instant think that Mohammedan science differs from that of other countries. Science is everywhere one and the same. The same sun illumines the whole world of Intellect. And as, according to our belief, Islamism is the universal expression of all truth and all knowledge, so every useful discovery, every new advance, wherever the place and among whatever people it may be made manifest, among the Pagans or among the Mohammedans, at Medina or at Paris, it nevertheless belongs to Mohammedans. There is therefore nothing whatever to prevent us from copying the laws and other new methods introduced by Europeans. I have studied our religion sufficiently well to understand its true spirit; my head is still clear enough to comprehend the relative importance

of my ideas ; and I could not think of betraying my Sovereign, my country, and my religion at a moment when I am preparing to leave the world and present myself before the supreme Judge of the Universe.

I assert then, with the deepest conviction, that in all the new institutions which Europe offers to us there is nothing, absolutely nothing, which is contrary to the spirit of our religion. I declare solemnly that the salvation of Islamism demands that without delay we adopt these new institutions without which no nation can continue to exist in Europe. I declare further that in thus changing our empire, far from doing anything contrary to the sacredness of our religion, you would be rendering the most lawful, the most legitimate service to all Mohammedans, a service more meritorious, more glorious than has ever been dreamed of by your most illustrious ancestors. This great work of regeneration embraces a host of questions the consideration of which would be beyond the limit of my strength and the few remaining moments of my life. But your Majesty will still have the services of that eminent man whose friend and adviser it has been my privilege to be. May the Almighty long preserve him to you, for he understands better than anyone else the means of salvation of your empire. On no occasion have I ever given advice to your Majesty without having first made sure that it had the approval of his wisdom, the fruit of his experience. Continue to give him your confidence, your entire confidence, for the confidence of a great Sovereign makes the strength of a great Minister. Above all, I urge you never to permit that this devoted servant, whose talents are so essential to your Majesty, should be hampered by ignorant colleagues. Nothing would discourage him more than the necessity of being obliged to act with men incapable of understanding him.

Now for a few words about our foreign relations, for it is in this respect that the task of our Government becomes really hopeless. Not being strong enough of ourselves to fight our enemies, we are obliged to seek assistance from foreign friends and allies. Their jealous, hostile, and at the same time powerful interests have placed us in a position which is impossible to describe. To defend the least of our rights we are forced to display more strength, more cleverness, more courage than it has cost our ancestors to conquer kingdoms. Amongst our foreign allies you will find England always in the front rank. Her policy and her friendship are as solid as are her institutions. She has rendered us immense service in the past, and it will be impossible for us to dispense with what help she may give us in the future. Whatever may come to pass, the English people, the most reliable and most wonderful in the world, will be the first and the last of our allies. I would rather be the loser of several provinces than see the Sublime Porte abandoned by England.

France is an ally that we must always treat with the greatest consideration, not only because she is able to give us the most efficient help, but also because she is able to inflict on us the most deadly injury. This chivalrous nation indulges more in sentiment than in calculation. She has a passion for glory and grand ideas, even when manifested by her enemies. The best means of preserving the alliance of this generous people is to keep pace with her ideas and to show advance which may appeal to her imagination as much as to her intellect. If ever France should forsake our cause she will make hostile combinations and be the means of completing our ruin.

Austria, hampered by her European interests, has been obliged so far to restrain her rôle in the East. She committed a great blunder during the Crimean War. Cast off by Germany, she will in future better understand the danger of the North—and this danger is as serious for her empire as it is for ours. As long as Vienna exercises an enlightened and consistent policy, she will be the most natural ally of the Sublime Porte. The greatest evil, this encroaching evil which has been troubling the East for more than a century, can only be definitely warded off by the active support of Austria backed by all our allies in the East.

As to Prussia, up to the present moment she has preserved almost total indifference with regard to the Eastern Question. It is quite possible that, in her precipitated policy, she may sacrifice us in favour of her project of the Union of Germany. But once this Union accomplished, Germany will not be slow in perceiving that she has at least as many interests at stake in the Eastern question as any other European country. However, Heaven grant that she may not have bought the spoils of Austria by forcing our enemies to take irrevocable possession of our European provinces.

Lastly I come to Russia, the natural enemy of our empire. The expansion of this Power towards the East is a fatal law of Muscovite destiny, and if I were a Russian Minister I should myself convulse the world to conquer Constantinople. We must therefore neither be surprised at, nor complain of, aggressive dealings of Russia. They treat us now, though under new conditions, in the same manner as we ourselves formerly treated the Greeks of the Bas-Empire. It would be puerile to trust solely to our rights to be able to defend ourselves against Muscovite invasion. What we need is force, not the used-up force of history, which we might try in vain to revive, but the new and irresistible force which science and modern principles have placed in the hands of all the peoples of Europe. From the time of Peter the Great, Russia has made enormous strides. In a short time her railways will increase her power tenfold. What alarms me most is that the greater number of nations in Europe appear to be gradually resigning themselves to the future aggression of Russia.

The indifference of England with regard to affairs in Central Asia both astonishes and alarms me. What, however, alarms me still more is the great change in the position of Russia brought about by pacification of the Caucasian Provinces. It is my firm opinion that in future the most serious attacks of Russia will be directed against our Asia Minor. May your Majesty work unceasingly towards the reorganisation of our forces. Who knows if our allies will always have their hands free and be able to come to our help in time? A domestic quarrel in Europe, a Bismarck in Russia, might change the face of the world.

I know that there have been many foolish mistakes on the part of every Government—these mistakes are one of their most important rights. But I must confess that I have totally failed to understand that profound wisdom of the European Government which can with such strange indifference permit the most appalling despotism of the world to put itself at the head of 100,000,000 barbarians, arm them with all the means of civilisation, that they absorb at every step provinces and kingdoms as large as France. Further, that whilst on the one hand surrounding Asia with troops, on the other undermining Europe with Pan Slavism, this State should, notwithstanding, come forward periodically with protestations of her love of peace, and her sincere determination not to seek new conquests.

Russia leads me on to say a few words about Persia. The Government of this turbulent country, always under the domination of Shiite fanaticism, has at all times been the ally of our enemies. During the Crimean War she made common cause with Russia, and if she has failed in the realisation of her hostile projects it is thanks to the vigilance of Eastern diplomacy. The throne of the Shah at this present moment is entirely dependent on the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. Therefore, when the Sublime Porte has its hands free, the Government of the Shah, weak and ignorant, without credit and without initiative, will never have the courage to seek such an occasion of quarrel with us. But from the moment that we become embroiled with Russia, however great may be our caution with regard to Persia, her political dependence, and still more her blind jealousy, will of necessity put her among the ranks of our most determined enemies. Fortunately the Sublime Porte, besides her material strength, is possessed of moral means more than sufficient to keep in awe a country crushed by barbarous despotism, disputed by several pretenders, and surrounded on all sides by Sunnites. We must not forget Greece, a country insignificant in itself, but a tiresome tool in the hands of a hostile Power. European poets, in suddenly setting up this phantom of a kingdom, did so in the belief that they could bring back to life a nation that had been dead for more than two thousand years. In seeking to restore the country of Homer and Aristotle they have only succeeded in creating a seat

of intrigue, anarchy, and brigandage. The Sublime Porte might possibly find some intelligent servants amongst the Greeks, but the spirit of the Hellenic race will always be hostile to our cause. The remembrances of a glorious past history, although severed by centuries of corruption, ignorance, and bastardy from the Greek of to-day, will sustain this egoistic people for a long time to come with the hope of being able to pilfer for a second time the Empire of the East which she so completely degraded in forming the Byzantine Empire, or, as it has been well named, the Bas-Empire. Our best safeguard against the encroachment of this deceitful and malicious people is its revolting vanity and exclusiveness, which make it daily more odious and unbearable to all our Eastern nations. The object of our policy should be to isolate the Greeks as much as possible from our other Christians. Above all, we must withdraw the Bulgarians from the domination of the Greek Church, without attaching them either to the Russian or to the Roman clergy.

The Sublime Porte should never tolerate any intrigue which has as its object the union of the Armenian with the Orthodox Church. It may perhaps be wise to encourage among our Christians the philosophical spirit so useful in drawing men together by alienating them from clerical influence. I must add that as regards ourselves there is not the least doubt that the best policy will be that which will place the State above all religious questions.

With respect to internal affairs, all our efforts must tend towards one sole object: the fusion of our races. Without such fusion the unity of your empire appears to me an impossibility. Henceforth this great empire could belong neither to the Greek nor to the Slav, neither to this religion nor that race. The Eastern Empire can only exist by the union of all the Orientals.

A great Germany, a France of 40,000,000 men, an England strongly fortified by nature—all these nationalities may preserve their powerful and useful individualities for a time. But a Montenegro, a Serbian Principality, a kingdom of Armenia, possessing neither the smallest advantage for themselves nor for the world at large, can only be States more or less chimerical—unfortunate remains of ancient rendings of humanity, the inevitable prey of every new conqueror—injurious to the progress of man, dangerous to the peace of the world.

In the constitution of modern States the only lasting theory is that of large agglomerations. The means, therefore, of preventing the ruin of our State will be reconstitution upon a new, broad, and solid basis which shall embrace every different element, without distinction of race or of religion. This principle of equality will naturally qualify our Christian subjects for public offices, and this will involve us in a position of considerable difficulty. For these subjects, suddenly set free from the yoke which has kept them in



subjection, seem too anxious to replace their former masters. The Armenians especially have displayed an inclination towards encroachment, and it will be wise to moderate their ardour by opening a career only to those who have honestly accepted the unitary principle of our empire.

All our Christian peoples have generally two distinct religions, the one moral, the other political. Their moral religion must be entirely ignored by our Government; but, on the other hand, our Government must pay great attention to everything that has to do with their political religion, as this often involves theories incompatible with our existence. Whether a Pasha worships God either according to the law of Moses or after the manner of the Christians, there is no reason why we should deprive ourselves of his services. But should this same Pasha, not recognising the unity of our country, dream that he can found a Byzantine Empire, or aspire to serve a kingdom of Cilicia, he must be removed, as he will cease to be a loyal servant.

Unity of the State and the Fatherland, based on equality of all men, is the only dogma that I should require from every public officer. In order, however, to show how great are the marvels of this fertile dogma, your Majesty must first endeavour to organise justice. The task is one of difficulty, but it is urgent and indispensable. When the life and goods of all our citizens have been legally guaranteed, the first measure that your Majesty ought to consider as an imperial duty is the construction of our roads. The day when we shall have as many railroads as the rest of Europe your Majesty will be at the head of the first empire of the world. But there is still another question the supreme importance of which, as affecting us, cannot be over-estimated. I mean the question of public instruction, the sole basis of all social progress, without which no greatness, either moral or material, can exist. It includes Army, Navy, and Administration. Without this essential basis we have neither strength nor independence, neither a government nor a future. Notwithstanding the spirit of our religion, which is in itself highly instructive, education has so far, owing to many different reasons, remained in a very backward condition. Our innumerable 'medresses' and the vast resources which these consume to so little profit furnish us with ready elements for a great system of national instruction. If I have failed myself in realising this great scheme, it is owing to the fact of my attention having been continually diverted from it by unfortunate circumstances. I bequeath this project to my successors—the most fruitful and glorious project they can conceive of. I know well that a certain number of Mussulmans will curse me as an enemy of their religion. I pardon their indignation, knowing full well that they understand neither my ideas nor my speech. But the day will come when they will understand that I, the impious reformer, have been more religious, a better

Mussulman, than all those ignorant zealots who have covered me with their curses. They will understand, but unfortunately too late, that I have fought more than any other martyr to save both their State and their religion, which they themselves would have brought to sure and certain ruin. The first law of every institution, Divine or human, is the law of self-preservation. Has not the preservation of Islamism been my sole thought in every reform? Only, instead of seeking this in blind submission to ancient prejudices, I have constrained myself to find it in the enlightened paths which the God of Islam has put before us, as well as before every other nation on the face of the earth.

My weak, trembling hand refuses further service. In bringing these lines to a close I beg that your Majesty will give your consideration to these last words of an unfortunate servant, who in the midst of all human weakness has always loved his fellow-men, has laboured unremittingly to do all the good that lay in his power, and who, bowed down by the weight of a heavy burden, leaves the world without regret, dies a submissive Mussulman, yielding up his soul to the Supreme Judge, Judge full of compassion and mercy.

FUAD.

*BRITISH PHILISTINISM AND INDIAN ART*

ONE of the greatest of Greek philosophers in a few memorable sentences has indicated the proper place of art in an ideal educational system :

To use the beauties of earth as steps along which he mounts upwards, going from one to two, and from two to all fair forms, and from fair forms to fair actions, and from fair actions to fair notions, until from fair notions he arrives at the notion of absolute beauty, and at last knows what the essence of beauty is.<sup>1</sup>

The Greeks, whose religious and philosophical ideas were founded on the closest observation of Nature, were deeply impressed by the invariable correlation between perfect beauty and perfect fitness, which is found in all of Nature's handiwork. The study of this universal law led them to regard the æsthetic faculty as part of that divine nature which lifts mankind above the brute creation, and must be cherished as the most precious endowment. Art, or the science of the beautiful, was to them a second religion ; it became the daily bread of their intellectual life. To respect art was a national as well as an individual duty, because its influence tends to develop the best moral virtues in a citizen. It teaches patience and honesty, for no good art is produced without them. It teaches reverence, for admiration of the beautiful is the mainspring of the æsthetic faculty. It begets unselfishness, for æsthetic enjoyment is not obtained, like so many other of men's pleasures, at other people's expense, and it is increased when others share in it. It tends to elevate the mind and to create a dislike for all that is mean, dirty, and sordid.

English higher education in the nineteenth century was based theoretically on Greek traditions. But if one seeks in the national life for the effect of so-called classic education the difference between theory and practice can be seen too plainly. If the poetical inspiration of Shakespeare and Milton is often a hidden mystery to the Indian student who knows all his text and notes by heart, just as often the English schoolboy, who pores over his Greek idioms and syntax, remains in sublime ignorance of the ideas and impulses which brought the Greek nation to the highest summit of civilisation. The classic ideal in the modern English educational system

<sup>1</sup> *Plato's Republic*, Jowett's translation.

lost the quickening influence it possessed in the sixteenth century, not because Greek literature and art are any less fresh and beautiful, but because the system ignored the motives and ideas, contained in Greek civilisation, of which Greek literature and art were the expression. The sixteenth century, when the influence of Greek literature and art was so powerfully felt in Europe, was the crest of a great intellectual and artistic wave which passed over the whole civilised world, affecting India, Persia, China, and Japan, almost as much as it did Italy and other European countries. Even in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the literature and art of Greece were an influence only, not the source of inspiration. They were the quickening influence in the Renaissance in Italy, because the intellectual and social conditions of the time were in many ways analogous to those which had given them birth in ancient Greece, not from an inherent creative power contained in themselves, as modern pedagogy would have us believe. But the educational traditions of the pseudo-classic school have still many followers, and the English public-school boy is too often fed on the husks of Greek literature, in the belief that style is the only end of literary expression. The usual art teaching in English public schools is just as remote from the spirit of Greek philosophy. Art, according to modern pedagogy, is merely a fashionable taste for water-colour landscape painting, and with more or less skill in this elegant accomplishment most Englishmen are ready to decide all artistic questions. In the schoolboy's after-life this rigid adherence to forms without principles, and fashions without motives, degraded nineteenth-century art as much as it degraded social life. The training of the artist and architect was based on a slavish imitation of effete schools and defunct styles. The living art of the Greeks applied to practical life the principles of perfect order, perfect arrangement, perfect workmanship, and perfect fitness for use, which are always found in Nature's work and regulate all healthy styles of art. Beauty was sought after not merely for its own sake, but because to the Greeks absolute beauty was absolute perfection. But the nineteenth century forsook the cult of the beautiful for the cult of the golden calf. So much of the art of the greater part of the nineteenth century as really entered into the life of the nation, and was not relegated to museums and picture galleries, was generally devoid of reality and life; it was vulgar ostentation when it was not rampant ugliness, insipidity and inanity when it was not a cloak for stupid construction or dishonest workmanship.

It is the supreme merit of the new movement in art (by which I do not mean any particular sect or clique, but the general revolt against dead academic formulæ) that, in spite of the eccentricities and extravagances which attend all great transitions, it has brought life and sincerity into the teaching and practice of art. It has

taught that style in art is the exoteric expression of an esoteric meaning, and that to separate the one from the other is to divorce the body from the soul. It has taught that neither the Greeks nor the Romans nor the master-minds of the middle ages have exhausted all the resources of art, which must always seek the form of expression best adapted to the thoughts and necessities of the times. And, above all, it has taught that art is not a curiosity for museums, but a beneficent influence in public and private life; not a fashion, but a faculty; not the privilege of a caste, but a divine gift to humanity. .

India, unfortunately, affords another example of the difference between theory and practice, for the conditions which exist in India are in every way favourable for putting into practice the theories of Greek philosophy which English higher education professes to take for its gospel. India is the only part of the British Empire where the æsthetic sense of the people, in spite of all that British philistinism has done to suppress it, strongly influences their everyday life. It is pitiful to find, even in semi-European cities like Bombay and Calcutta—where nine out of ten of the imposing public buildings built for the official administration flaunt before the native gaze the banalities and vulgarities of the worst English nineteenth-century architecture—that one may go into a back slum and see a modern Mahomedan mosque or Hindu temple, in which the native workman, in naive admiration, has borrowed the details from these Gothic or Classic atrocities, and contrived by the unconscious exercise of his inner æsthetic consciousness to build something which defies all the musty canons of scholastic architectural law, but yet reveals something of that essential spirit of beauty which all living art possesses. In places more remote from European influence, the houses, mosques and temples built by native workmen of the present day, who have had no other education than the traditions of their fathers, are hardly less eloquent than the nobler monuments of the past in their silent protest against the stupid materialism and the false classicism with which the art of the West would instruct the art of the East.

Perhaps the greatest fault to be found with our educational methods in India is in their lack of imagination. Following the traditions of the English public school we have always regarded the schoolboy as an animal in which the imaginative faculties should be sternly repressed. Build a barrack in the heart of a dirty, overcrowded city, pack it with students—that is a college. Cram the students with Shakespeare and Milton before they can express their own ideas in tolerable modern English—that is culture. It would appear from the evidence given before Lord Curzon's Universities' Commission that there are still many exponents of this kind of education flourishing under the shelter of our Indian universities. Greatly concerned for the lack of moral principle in the generation

newly fledged under their own protection, some Indian educational authorities have for many years been seeking a moral text-book as a remedy for the evil. They are still vainly looking for that text-book, though India has a very old one and a very good one, which has served the world for many ages. Plato found it twenty-three centuries ago—'*To use the beauties of earth as steps along which he mounts upwards.*' Our forefathers knew it when they built the most famous of our seats of learning and joined the resources of art to the richest of Nature's endowments. Darwin, in the nineteenth century, proclaimed the scientific truth contained in it, when he taught the influence of environment upon the development of species.

It is not perhaps astonishing to find that many educationists in India, both native and European, have not risen higher in their conception of education than the routine of instruction which for many generations has been considered the only one suitable for an English gentleman. We have taught English to the Indian school-boy just as Greek is taught to the English schoolboy. All the accidence, prosody and etymology, which to the average English schoolmaster represent Greek literature and thought, stand for Shakespeare's 'native wood-notes wild' in the mind of the average Indian teacher. And the attitude of Indian educationists towards art only reflects the universal ideas of the greater part of the nineteenth century not only in England but in the greater part of Europe. But the vital difference between the conditions prevailing in Europe and in India make the consequences of our educational deficiencies and mistakes far more serious to the Indian social system than they are to our own. The Englishman's school career is only one of the many influences which help to form his character and mental development. He has endless opportunities—both during his schooldays and afterwards—of supplying for himself the wants of his individual aptitudes and tendencies which his school-training leaves unsatisfied. The public-school system, with all its shortcomings, at least leaves him with a *mens sana in corpore sano*, free and eager to fight the battle of life. The same cannot always be said for higher education in India. The ordinary Indian schoolboy, directly he leaves his vernacular studies and enters upon his University course, finds himself in an entirely artificial environment of ideas in which even his teachers are often helpless to guide him. Certainly there is a small proportion of students whose families for several generations have lived in close intercourse with European society and have adopted more or less English ways of living. Such students begin their regular English studies under much more favourable conditions, for they have learnt to speak English and to imbibe English ideas almost from childhood. But the great majority of Indian students have little or nothing outside

the four walls of their schoolhouse or college to aid them in finding their way along the bewildering paths of European thought. Less resourceful and less active than their English fellows, as Indian schoolboys generally are, it is not surprising, when they discover so little food for their reflective and imaginative faculties in the mental fare provided for them, that they should be quite content to let the most precious part of their intellectual possessions lie fallow and only cultivate that which promises the surest and easiest way of obtaining their academic diplomas—namely, a retentive memory. Spending the best part of their schooldays in dingy and dirty class-rooms and in the squalor of even dingier and dirtier lodgings, with little or nothing of the distractions which help to make the English boy's schooldays the happiest time of his life, their brains constantly racked in the endeavour to assimilate what the incompetence or indifference of their teachers often reduces to a meaningless jargon of words, there need be little wonder that so many finish their school career with no other ambition and no other hope than to find at last some comfortable harbour for cerebral inertia in a Government or private office.

Yet, however much some of our educational methods may be open to criticism, it must always be allowed that in the introduction of a system of higher education, based upon the teaching of a language and ideas entirely foreign to the people, there have been extraordinary difficulties. The intellectual gifts which make a really great teacher are as rare as a four-leaved shamrock, and it is hardly the fault of the Indian Education Department, with its huge organisation, that it has not been able to grow enough for its requirements. Its weakest points, perhaps, have been those which are the common failings of all Government departments—too great reliance on cut and dried systems and too little attention to the quality and training of its executive officers. But I fear that history will not judge the treatment of the artistic side of education in India with the same indulgence, for on the one hand we have neglected the most magnificent opportunity, and on the other hand countenanced and encouraged the most ruthless barbarity. Even the Goths and Vandals in their most ferocious iconoclasm did less injury to art than that which we have done and continue to do in the name of European civilisation. If the Goths and Vandals destroyed, they brought with them the genius to reconstruct. But we, a nation whose æsthetic understanding has been deadened by generations of pedantry and false teaching, have done all that indifference and active philistinism could do to suppress the lively inborn artistic sense of the Indian peoples. All that recent Indian administrations have done to support and encourage art is but a feather in the scale against the destructive counter-influences, originating in times less sympathetic to Indian art, which have been allowed to continue under their authority.

Schools of art have been established in the four chief Presidency cities, but they have been left so much to their own devices; that for thirty years the teaching in two of them ignored the very existence of any indigenous art. For several years past one of the largest has devoted itself almost entirely to the manufacture of aluminium cooking-vessels, and this year another new enterprise in the application of art to modern life evoked from the controlling authority of this school the expression of a pious doubt as to whether experimenting in flying machines was the proper function of a school of art! Government subsidies have been given to art exhibitions, but with so little discrimination or definite purpose that, instead of encouraging the highest possible standard of design and workmanship—the only justification of State aid—they have helped to degrade Indian art, and in the long run to injure it commercially, by advertising the inferior productions manufactured only for the European and American markets. Though large sums have been spent in building and maintaining them, there is hardly an art museum in India which has had qualified artistic advice in the purchase of its collections. These, however, are merely ordinary symptoms of nineteenth-century incapacity to deal seriously and sanely with art questions; and however well managed they might be, four schools of art, a half dozen museums, and an occasional exhibition could not affect very deeply the artistic sense of three hundred million people. If art had ever been considered of sufficient importance in India to engage the serious attention of responsible administrators, we should never have placed any great reliance upon the artificial stimulants which the low vitality of our æsthetic constitutions renders necessary in Europe. For the one conspicuous fact which must force itself upon the attention of any one who seriously studies the artistic condition of India is that in the real India, which exists outside the semi-Europeanised society we have created, art belongs as much to the everyday life of the people as it did in ancient Greece. In Europe we play with art as a child plays with a toy, not knowing its use except as a plaything. The artist is a specialist who is called in by those who can afford to pay for the amusement; but art is always more or less a frivolity which serious and sensible people dispense with as much as possible, except when it happens to be fashionable. In the Hindu social organisation there are no schools of art, no art museums, but art lives and is felt as much by the ryot as by the maharajah. In the typical Hindu village every carpenter, mason, potter, blacksmith, brass-smith, and weaver is an artist, and the making of cooking-pots is as much an artistic and religious work as the building of the village temple. So throughout our vast Indian Empire there is a most marvellous store of artistic material available for educational and economic purposes, such as exists nowhere in Europe.



How have we used this extraordinary opportunity for restoring the real classic ideal of education which the youth of England fondly regard as their own? The answer given by the schools, public buildings and streets of Anglo-Indian towns and cities should make us ashamed of nineteenth-century civilisation.

The great national educator in art, that which brings art home to us and makes it live with us—namely, the architecture of the country—we have practically converted in India into a Government monopoly. Thus, for the last fifty years at least, we have had at hand a really effective instrument by which, without spending an extra rupee, without schools of art, without art museums, and without exhibitions, we could have stimulated the whole artistic intelligence of the people and brought prosperity to the principal art industries. This instrument we have deliberately thrown away. Let us examine this point carefully. In European architecture of the last few centuries there has gradually grown up a hard and fast distinction between architecture and building—the same false distinction which is commonly made between artistic work and useful work. The natural consequence was that the builder became less and less an architect, and the architect less and less a builder. Gradually the builder became an unintelligent tool in the hands of the architect, and the architect, instead of evolving artistic ideas from structural necessities, came to regard his art either as a screen for concealing the ugliness of construction or as a means of forcing construction into certain conventional moulds which he wrongly called ‘styles.’ With the total loss of artistic expression in building which we reached in the middle of the nineteenth century, European architecture degenerated into a confused jumble of archæological ideas borrowed from the buildings of former times. In India, on the other hand, architecture has continued to be a living art down to the present day, because there building and architecture are always one. The master-mason is both builder and architect, just as he was in Europe in the middle ages. Over a great part of Northern India there still exist descendants of the master-builders of the Mogul period, practising their art as it was practised in the days of Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan. If they do not now produce anything to compare with the masterpieces of those days, how could it be expected under the conditions which our shortsighted policy imposes upon them? For ever since we have created a Government monopoly in architecture, we have totally ignored these men, who could teach us more of the art of building than we could teach them; we have boycotted them and the art industries dependent upon them, and have foisted upon India the falsest of our nineteenth-century art, which means nothing and teaches nothing, and is utterly unworthy of the dignity and intelligence of the English nation.

What Fergusson wrote nearly thirty years ago in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* is almost as true now as it was then :

Architecture in India is still a living art, practised on the principles which caused its wonderful development in Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and there consequently, and there alone, the student of architecture has a chance of seeing the real principles of the art in action. In Europe, at the present day, architecture is practised in a manner so anomalous and so abnormal that few, if any, have hitherto been able to shake off the influence of a false system and see that the art of ornamental building can be based on principles of common sense, and that when so practised the result not only is, but must be, satisfactory.

What a tremendous impetus we should have given to Indian art had we only made a sensible use of the men who thus carry on the living traditions of architecture when we spent the many crores of rupees which have been sunk in the so-called imposing public buildings of Bombay and Calcutta! What an object-lesson those cities might have been both to ourselves and to the rest of the Empire! Are these indigenous styles of India all unsuitable for our requirements in building? No one will imagine that who tries to appreciate the essential difference between a living and an academic style of architecture. The modern European architect, when he is designing, holds up to his mind, either consciously or unconsciously, some ancient building or buildings as patterns to imitate. This is why we so often see theatres like Greek temples, hospitals like churches, and suburban villas like mediæval castles. The original designers of these pattern buildings very rarely thought of imitating anything else. They were taught how to build, and having learnt, they made their buildings suitable for the purposes for which they were intended, without any thought of the buildings their ancestors had made for their own purposes. It is exactly the same with the modern Indian architect. It is unreasonable to suppose that such past masters in the art of building as the Moguls showed themselves to be, could not have designed a hospital, police station, railway station, or any other accessory of modern life, as well as they built a palace, mosque, or mausoleum. No one can suppose that they would have been so stupid as we are and make a hospital like a mosque or a town-hall like a mausoleum. Neither is it reasonable to assume that the descendants of these men, who still carry on their traditions, could not understand our requirements if we attempted to teach them or gave them the opportunity of learning. But the Indian Public Works engineers, with a few exceptions, have never attempted to study the architecture of the country and have always worked on the blind assumption that the native architects have only built temples and mosques, forgetting that we ourselves have destroyed, or allowed to decay, most of the civil buildings which the Mogul and other Indian architects constructed.

But how, it may be asked, does this architectural question affect the problem of general education? Because, until the art education of India is put upon a sane and practical basis, art can never take

the place it ought to take in a thorough system of general education. As long as the great Government building department in India uses its whole influence to stifle the artistic sentiments of the people, it stultifies all that is being done or might be done educationally in a different direction. For every one who knows India is aware what a powerful influence Government initiative has upon popular feeling. In England, if the Government were to adopt ancient Egyptian or Babylonian architectural ideas in the designs of public offices, it is highly improbable that the Royal Institute of British Architects would make the practice of these styles compulsory on its members, or that the general public would follow official example. But in India official authority controls the fashion in architecture, as in many other things, especially in the more advanced or more Europeanised provinces. The Engineering Colleges in India follow the example of Coopers Hill in teaching only European styles, and even European architects who are not in Government service are obliged by force of circumstances to adopt the official fashion. So the native hereditary builder has been deprived of all official and a great deal of non-official patronage unless he has forsaken the art of his forefathers and blindly followed his blind European leaders. Consequently also the wood-carvers, stone-carvers, painters, and all the other craftsmen connected directly or indirectly with architecture (a category which includes nearly all the industrial arts), find the principal source of employment cut off from them. Thus do we, in the name of European culture and civilisation, crush out the artistic feeling of the Indian peoples.

What then are the necessary steps to take in order to put the Indian educational system on a better footing with regard to art teaching? For if we really believe in the teaching of Greek philosophy and Greek civilisation we must be convinced that it is no real education which does not help to develop all the higher imaginative faculties. First we must accept the principle which the Greeks acted upon, that which has been acknowledged more or less in every country, though in the nineteenth century we tried to ignore it—namely, the influence of environment on the development of mind and character. The greatness or meanness of men's motives is reflected in the surroundings they make for themselves; and inversely, if we educate young India to mean and ignoble surroundings we must not expect great things from them, either respect for us or respect for themselves. Who can doubt that the situation of Eton College, with all its noble surroundings in that lovely part of the Thames Valley which is the delight of every artist, has had a great influence for good—not the less profound because it cannot be gauged by examinations—on the mind and character of those who have had the advantage of learning in the most famous of English schools! Eton is not an isolated example; most of the old English

schools and colleges are distinguished both by architectural beauty and by the beauty of their surroundings. Though it cannot be stated in definite terms or calculated by statistics, the whole English nation benefits spiritually, morally, and intellectually by the wisdom and loving care of our forefathers when they built the old schools and colleges of which we are justly proud. If we had shown more of the same wisdom and care in our educational efforts in India, the feeble shoot of Western culture which we have been trying to graft upon the ancient civilisation of the country might by now have been a more vigorous branch. There are many colleges and schools connected with Indian universities in which the most ordinary necessities and decencies of school life are hardly attended to. A short time ago the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University referred in a lecture to certain schools in Upper India in which, he said, everything was fitted to depress the minds of the students: the rooms that were there were destitute of proper light, destitute of every kind of reasonable appliances, and yet these institutions rejoiced in a high-sounding title and were recognised by the University. I think every one will agree with the Vice-Chancellor's view that it would be better to conduct a high school under the shadow of a banyan tree than in such places as these, for much of the ancient culture of India has grown up under banyan trees. Such cases as these may be extreme, but hardly anywhere in India—certainly not in Bengal—has it yet been accepted as an axiom that education has a great concern in choosing or arranging harmonious surroundings for schools and colleges.

When we have attended to the surroundings of schools, let us turn our attention to the buildings and try to free our minds from the popular fallacy that art is an expensive luxury. Art is a luxury with us, only because we in our foolishness have made it so. In India art is no luxury; it is the common property of the poorest and the richest. The art of the peasant is just as real and just as true as the art of the greatest maharajah. We practise no economy, but the most reckless wastefulness, when we check the natural development of Indian art and architecture and surround Indian students with all the ugliness Europe produced in the nineteenth century. Set Indian art free to follow its natural channel, remove the impediments we have placed in its course, and it can minister to the spiritual and intellectual needs of India and at the same time increase the prosperity of the people and add to the resources of the State. And when we have provided Indian students with an environment which will help to elevate their moral and intellectual faculties, let us try in every way to stimulate their love for what is beautiful in nature and in art. The Government of India and some of the local Governments publish from time to time many excellent illustrations of

Indian art and architecture, which in India, at least, serve no other purpose than to help to fill the almirahs of Government offices. Such illustrations might be used to brighten the class-rooms and corridors of Indian schools and colleges, and to accustom the eyes of students to beautiful things. Let us get rid of that false culture which reduces education to a dull system of mental gymnastics, which crams an Indian undergraduate with Shakespeare's plays, but leaves him ignorant of everything in heaven and earth that Shakespeare included in his philosophy. It is not education, but the most pernicious pedantry, which uses Western culture to blind the eyes and stop the ears of Indian youth to all that the nature, the art, and the culture of their own country have to teach them.

With regard to methods of direct art teaching, an intelligent system of instruction in drawing should not only develop the powers of observation but teach students to appreciate beauty of form and line. We should by all means avoid in India the mistake so frequently made in English public schools through which art education comes to mean amateur picture-painting. Picture-painting holds precisely the same place in art that novel-writing and poetry hold in literature. I imagine that no serious educationist would ever propose to make practice in writing novels or poems the principal part of literary exercise in public schools. The increase in the number of minor novelists and minor poets which such a system would produce is too alarming to contemplate. 'It is only another proof of the incapacity of our generation to take art seriously that we should have ever adopted such a method of art teaching as a part of general education.

When students have been taught to observe and their hands have been practised in drawing, I know of no better way of developing their artistic perception than the practice of elementary design. Design is the foundation of all art practice, and, properly taught, it is not only a very fascinating study, but it tends to healthier and wider views of art than sketching in oils and water-colours.

The Indian student has a great natural aptitude for ornamental design which can be easily developed. I have always made a point of including elementary design in the course for the native drawing teachers trained under me in the Madras and Calcutta Schools of Art, and I have seen some excellent work done by the pupils of these teachers in some of the Madras colleges.

I believe that work of this kind is educationally valuable, even though the students' after-vocation may be only to fill up official forms or to write objection statements.

To understand beauty, to enjoy it and feel that it is necessary for us, is surely not merely idle gratification. The whole history of mankind shows how generation after generation of every race strive,

consciously or unconsciously, to understand beauty. It is a struggle to lift ourselves into a higher plane of intelligence, to obtain in this life some dim knowledge of one of the eternal laws on which the universe is constructed, a presentiment of that Nirvana of perfect beauty of which Plato wrote, on which all the hopes of humanity are fixed.

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*THE STUDY OF GREEK*

THE vote of the Oxford Congregation retaining Greek as a compulsory subject for a pass degree is not likely to be permanent. The majority was not large, and it is seldom that great universities adopt serious changes in a hurry. But modern Oxford is full of the intellectual restlessness which mental vigour begets and is more liable than it ever was before to the pressure of the outer world. Now the outer world are only too apt to agree with the opinion of Bismarck, recorded by Busch, that Russian is quite as difficult as Greek, and much more useful. The question might well be left to practical educationalists, as instructors of youth are now called, if only they were unanimous. But when we find the Headmaster of Eton and the Headmaster of Marlborough taking diametrically opposite views, an ordinary citizen who has conjugated the verb 'to teach' only in its passive mood is emboldened to express his views. I venture, therefore, to say that I do not believe the study of Greek would suffer if it were made voluntary. When Bishop Thirlwall was told that at Cambridge, of which he was so illustrious an ornament, the choice lay between compulsory religion and no religion at all, he replied, 'The distinction is too subtle for my mental grasp.' It is, no doubt, true that Greek has been well and effectively taught to unwilling pupils. But it may also be true that the amount of Greek acquired by a passman at Oxford, or a passman at Cambridge, is not worth the time bestowed upon the acquisition. On the other hand, the removal of compulsion would not leave Greek to stand upon its own merits and the disinterested enthusiasm of heaven-born students. It would still lead to posts of honour and emolument even in this world. There would still be classical scholarships and classical fellowships, and similar incentives to those who had not the sacred thirst of Browning's Grammarian. Latin, like French, is a necessity. Greek, like German, is a luxury. The late Lord Coleridge used to say that if mankind were sharply divided into an educated and an uneducated class, he supposed he should be in the educated one. He was an accomplished scholar in the old-fashioned sense of the word. Total ignorance of French, or of Latin, is hardly compatible with education as now understood. They belong to the common

knowledge of cultivated persons in all civilised communities. Almost every word in the last sentence is Latin in its origin. Of course, a eulogy of the electric telegraph is as Greek, good or bad, as a prophylactic against dyspepsia, a diatribe against anarchy, as the hypothesis of amnesty, as a political panacea, the thesis that philosophic despotism is utopian, the hydrostatic paradox, the polygamous prophet. But Latin words are a natural element in even vernacular English, and Greek words, though acclimatised, are intruders. Grote's endeavour to appropriate them was unsuccessful. As Macaulay said before the days of Newnham and Girton, 'if a young lady were to read that Alcibiades won the favour of the Athenian people by the novelty of his theories and the expensiveness of his liturgies, she would get a very inaccurate idea of Greek history. Nowadays she would, of course, know that a theory in this connexion was an embassy, and a liturgy a public office. A knowledge of Latin is essential for every lawyer, for every doctor, for every man of letters, of science, or of affairs. Latin has been, since the days of the Roman Republic, a sort of universal language. It never entirely died out, even in the dark ages. Greek for several centuries absolutely disappeared from the world. Dante could not read Aristotle, 'the master of them that know,' in the original tongue. Petrarch knew nothing and could know nothing of Theocritus. Erasmus in the sixteenth century was denounced as a heretic for editing the New Testament in the language with which almost the whole of it was composed. *Omne ignotum pro hæretico*. Latin was always orthodox because it never had to be rediscovered.

The Renaissance, a beautiful name for a beautiful thing, not harsh and pedantic like Renascence, was the revival or new birth of learning which succeeded the obscurity of the Middle Ages, when ignorant armies clashed by night. Perhaps the best account ever given of that wonderful movement which has never died out, because it permanently reconnected the ancient with the modern world, is Sir Richard Jebb's chapter in the first volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*. The ease, grace, and purity of Sir Richard's style are not more excellent, though they may be more attractive, than the masterly condensation and artistic proportion of the narrative. It is a fortunate accident that this exhaustive essay should have appeared just when the place of Greek in education had come within the range of practical debate. The Renaissance exhibited Greek once for all as the fount and origin of Western culture, the 'force and potency,' to adopt Tyndall's words, of every form of intellectual life. Latin, on the other hand, occupied then, as it occupies now, a different position. The elegant trifles in which such scholars as Cardinal Bembo indulged, the tortured Ciceronianism which Erasmus, most Ciceronian of writers, afterwards turned into ridicule, did not represent the real value of Latin. Even the



beautiful verses of Petrarch in the fourteenth and of Politian in the fifteenth century were froth on the surface of modern Latinity. Latin was then an instrument of government, the language of affairs, the recognised means of communication between the educated classes of Europe. Of course it is not that now. But it is embedded in history, the records of the past can scarcely be understood without it; it is the foundation of French and Spanish, as well as of Italian, and to write English prose without the use of Latin words is a mis-directed effort of ingenuity. Sir Richard Jebb tells us that the classical Renaissance had two aspects. 'In one,' he says, 'it is the recovery of a lost culture; in another, of even higher and wider significance, it is the renewed diffusion of a liberal spirit which for centuries had been dead or sleeping.' Two aspects, not two parts; for parts are separable, and aspects are not. The culture lost and regained included the spiritual freedom which had been buried with it. If one may say so without irreverence, where the spirit of the Greeks is, there is liberty. 'To be free, to understand, to enjoy' were declared by an acute and original philosopher, Thomas Hill Green, to be the claims of modern thought. No words could better express the attitude of Greek mind and character in the palmy days of Athens. The great men of the Renaissance found something more, something higher, than literary beauty in the Greek manuscripts which they deciphered, collated, and edited. They discovered the passionate enthusiasm for freedom, not for the mere absence of outward restraint which may leave men inwardly slaves, but for the conscious exercise of the mental faculties upon the problems of life and mind. Liberty has always by some persons been abused. If it could not be abused, it would not be liberty. The abuse was copied as well as the use, and there is a side of the Renaissance almost wholly evil. The *exemplaria Græca* are *vitiis imitabilia*. You may reproduce the faults, and only the faults, of the Greek models. But do not blame the Greeks, though they be not as blameless as the Ethiopians. As well complain of writing because it enables men to forge cheques, or of arithmetic because without it they could not cook accounts.

The Renaissance succeeded to the scholastic philosophy, upon which minds of the highest order had wasted their strength. By applying Aristotelian logic to patristic theology they had put the match to the magazine and blown the entire structure into the air. Humanism went back to nature and truth, to knowledge, to culture, and to instinct. It took the course which is taken in actual education at the present day, by approaching Greek through Latin, by going, like Alice, behind the looking-glass. If we abstract from Latin poetry of the first class that which is not Greek in its origin, we shall be left with little except the Satires of Juvénal. It is otherwise, no doubt, with Latin prose. Yet Cicero's philosophical treatises are avowed imitations of Plato, and his letters teem with

scraps of Greek at which Plato would have stared in amazement. That was the Greek of Cicero's own time, and Cicero quoted it as we should quote French. But he would have been proud, not ashamed, of the fact that he adopted the Athenians as his masters. That Greece conquered her Roman conquerors is the tritest of Horatian commonplaces, and one of the few really musical hexameters Horace ever wrote describes the long duel in which Greece was engaged with barbarism.<sup>1</sup> The early and the late Renaissance are respectively typified by Petrarch and Politian. Petrarch was born in 1304, and died in 1374. He was an orthodox member of the Catholic Church, and one proof among many that the Renaissance is not as such pagan. An accomplished writer of Virgilian poetry, and in a less degree of Ciceronian prose, he studied hard, but unsuccessfully, to learn Greek. As Sir Richard Jebb points out, Greek could not then be acquired through Latin or Italian. A Greek teacher was necessary, and the Greek teachers of Constantinople had not in the time of Petrarch come to Florence. When they came they introduced Greek scholarship, which was also fostered by the visits of Italian students to Constantinople. Twenty years after Petrarch's death, Manuel Chrysoloras arrived in Florence and gave lectures on the classical authors of Greece. Boccaccio knew a little Greek, and would have thoroughly appreciated Lucian, who endeavoured to reproduce in the decline of literature the Attic Greek of the past days. But Politian, whose short life was more than covered by the latter half of the fifteenth century, is the finest flower of the Renaissance. He translated four books of the *Iliad* into Latin when he was sixteen, and when he was eighteen he brought out an edition of Catullus, who is almost as Greek as Homer. The rhetorical genius of his Latin hexameters is highly praised by Sir Richard Jebb, a consummate judge. Yet even Politian was much better acquainted with Latin than with Greek, and was inclined to indulge in the paradox of putting Virgil above Homer. Not till the age of Erasmus and the great Venetian publisher Aldo, when the fifteenth century was passing into the sixteenth, did Greek acquire the position it has ever since maintained. The Aldine editions of the Greek classics began in 1493 and were continued till 1513, when they reached their climax in the famous Plato, dedicated to Pope Leo the Tenth. Sir Richard Jebb mentions the curious and interesting circumstance that the Aldine type was cast from the handwriting of a Cretan named Musurus, as Porson in the eighteenth century furnished a model for the Cambridge type identical with the printed Greek of the present day.

The Aldine editions were as cheap as they were splendid, and from their appearance dates the general diffusion of Greek literature among the educated classes. The influence of Erasmus, first

<sup>1</sup> 'Græcia barbariæ lento collisa duello.'

and greatest of Broad Churchmen, was powerfully exerted on the side of Christian humanism as opposed to monkish ignorance and to the prohibition of free inquiry. The modern scholar, with his luxurious apparatus of commentaries and lexicons, can but dimly imagine the poverty of the materials with which his predecessors in the time of Erasmus, or even in the time of Bentley, had to do their work. The prejudice against Greek as dangerous and unorthodox was finally dispelled by the wit and the irony, the piety and the learning of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*. The Renaissance in its largest and fullest sense was represented by Rabelais, Cervantes, and Shakespeare. The learning of Rabelais was as colossal as his humour, in which he is akin with Aristophanes. Cervantes embodies the triumph of the modern spirit over mediævalism. Shakespeare, if one may safely say anything of him except that he is universal, expressed the full and complete glory of intellectual freedom before the Puritan reaction set in.

Latin is a practical language, and a little of it sometimes goes a long way. No one who remembers the story of the apparition which Rab Tull, the Town Clerk of Fairport, saw in the Antiquary's Green Room will be disposed to undervalue even a smattering of that tongue. 'Aweel,' said Grizel Oldbuck, 'Rab was a just-living man for a country writer, and he was less fear'd than maybe might just hae been expected; and he asked in the name o' goodness what the apparition wanted—and the spirit answered in an unknown tongue. Then Rab said he tried him wi' Erse, for he cam in his youth frae the braes of Glenlivat—but it wadna do. Aweel, in this strait, he bethought him of the twa or three words o' Latin that he used in making out the town's deeds, and he had nae sooner tried the spirit wi' that, than out cam sic a blatter o' Latin about his lugs, that poor Rab Tull, wha was nae great scholar, was clean overwhelmed.' But he heard the word which, such was his erudition, he knew to be the Latin for paper, and the ghost of Aldobrand Oldenbuck guided him to the lost deed of which he was in search. This is the modern test of education. Will it be of use to you in after life? Let Latin then by all means be compulsory, for other reasons, and for that. After the age of academic honours and emoluments Greek, like good sense, is its own reward. No deed was ever discovered, no fortune was ever made, by means of a Platonic Dialogue. The pursuit of truth is not lucrative. Indeed it has a tendency to draw men away from their proper business of making money. The teaching of Socrates was worth infinitely more than all the gold then or now existing in the bowels of the earth, and he died in poverty by the hand of the public executioner. In the Athens of the fifth century, which was what we mean by Greece, there were doubtless men of great practical wisdom. There was Pericles. There was Thucydides. There was Aristophanes. But intellectual versatility, not

common sense, was the strong point of the Athenians. The Romans founded a vast empire, which has long since crumbled into dust. The Greeks produced a literature not very large in quantity, but infinitely precious in quality, which exercises at this moment a commanding influence over the thoughts and speculations of mankind. 'What is the glory of Cæsar and Alexander to that?' It is the Latin writers who primarily testify to the intellectual supremacy of Greece. That such a man as Virgil, perhaps the most musical of all poets, should have been content to imitate first Theocritus, secondly Hesiod, and finally Homer, is a phenomenon without a parallel from the dawn of letters to our own time. Frederic Myers in his beautiful essay on the Mantuan poet, the finest tribute to him that I know except Tennyson's poem, shows how continuous through the ages have been the charm and power of Virgilian phrases and Virgilian melodies over the human heart and soul. John Henry Newman, imparting to the idea a Christian turn, speaks of the pathetic half-lines, giving utterance, like the voice of Nature herself, to that pain and weariness, yet hope of better things, which is the inheritance of her children in every clime. A greater than Newman, one of the three or four supreme poets vouchsafed by Providence to man, made Virgil the object of profound and reverent study. Yet Virgil, with all the matchless charm of his exquisite and inimitable verse, was no more an original poet than Cicero was an original philosopher, or Terence was an original playwright. Greece, to quote his own mighty line, had breathed on him with the winds of her lightning, and touched him with the finger of flame.<sup>2</sup> Terence, most graceful and elegant comedian, is now supposed to have simply translated Menander, unless, indeed, as some say, he was a mere amanuensis of the real translator, Scipio Africanus. Plautus, who wrote the purest and raciest vernacular, as became a slave born in the house,<sup>3</sup> is believed to have copied Diphilus and other Greeks as faithfully as Molière in the *Amphytrion* copied him. We think of Horace as the type of a Roman gentleman, and so he was. But his metres, his subjects, even the perfect style, of his Odes were Greek. That Catullus translated a poem of Sappho and a poem of Callimachus we know. How many other Greek poems he translated we do not know, but in all probability they were numerous. This sort of literary imitation is common enough, and in ordinary circumstances is hardly worth pointing out. But the peculiarity in this case is that the imitators and copyists were poets of the highest, or almost the highest, order, not mere versifiers, but men of genius. Yet so complete was the ascendancy of Greek poetry over their minds, that they copied it as a painter copies nature, and would have been equally at a loss without it. Virgil carried this form of devotion to quite a touching extreme.

<sup>2</sup> 'Fulminis afflavit ventis, et contigit igni.'

<sup>3</sup> *Verna*.

There is a line in one of his Eclogues which makes perfect nonsense, because he misunderstood the corresponding passage in Theocritus, and yet never doubted that, as it was Theocritus, it must be all right. People who learn Latin cannot help learning Greek too. Richard Porson, as is well known, desired, and was content, to be remembered, as one who had done something for the text of Euripides. Yet Porson was much more than a merely learned man. His natural powers of mind were probably not inferior to Gibbon's or to Burke's. His wit was celebrated in a witty age, and he was almost as great a master of irony as Pascal. Every reader of the *Letters to Archdeacon Travis*, most luckless of archdeacons, will admit that there have been few such writers of English as Porson. Painful and tragic circumstances obstructed the full development of his literary genius. He did not follow the example of the Greeks in putting water with his wine. But, though fully conscious of his intellectual strength, he did not consider that he wasted it in collating the manuscripts of one Greek author. The suggestion that 'your Porsons stain the purple they would fold,' is preposterous as applied to Porson himself, whose reverence for the classics was as profound as his knowledge of their meaning, and his appreciation of their beauties. It cannot, of course, be proved that Porson was no product of compulsory Greek. He may have acquired his style and his handwriting in Long Chamber. But compulsion does not usually beget enthusiasm. There can be no scholars like Porson, though there can be many like Travis. It was compulsion which turned out that consummate philologist, the compiler of the Eton Greek Grammar, with his *ὄπως γαυλεῖται ὀψιτίνο*, justly described as the most striking instance of self-denial on record, inasmuch as that Greek preposition is almost always found in the company of the future indicative. The quantity and quality of the Greek required for a pass degree are responsible for such precious compounds as 'sociology,' and 'automobile,' for the notion that 'Anglophobe' means one who hates England, and 'Turcophile' one who loves Turkey; for the theory that a 'Symposium' is a number of articles on the same subject, and for the belief, which seems to be widely prevalent, that Maranatha is a Greek adjective qualifying the Greek substantive Anathema.

When Sir Henry Maine said that 'except the blind forces of Nature, nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin,' he is thought to have forgotten the Christian religion. But he might have replied, if the objection had been put to him, that at least the earliest forms of Christianity are Greek. He probably had in his mind Homer, the father of poetry; Herodotus, or, as I should rather say, Thucydides, the father of history; Plato, the father of philosophy, and Aristotle, the father of science. The influence of Aristotle, as may be gathered from Dante, was predominant when all knowledge of the language in which he wrote had disappeared

from Western Europe. If the same cannot be said of Plato, it is nevertheless true that there would no more have been an Aristotle without a Plato than a Plato without a Socrates. By some odd and perverse mischance there has been formed from Plato's name the most unmeaning of English epithets, and a prime favourite with bad writers in search of a word. But when Dr. Arnold said that he could understand Coleridge better if Coleridge would write Platonic Greek, he expressed, half unconsciously, the permanent power of an author who had been dead for 2,300 years. He also illustrated the manner in which it is worth while to know Greek. A very slight knowledge of Latin is better than none. But to acquire a mere smattering of Greek is simply waste of time, and results in nothing, or in absurd derivations, of which 'pancake' from *πᾶν κακόν* is scarcely a caricature. There is not the slightest danger of Greek dying out when it becomes a voluntary subject. Greek scholarship was never more exact or more profound in the English Universities than it is to-day, and certainly pass examinations, which alone are compulsory, have nothing to do with the matter. In the eighteenth century, a curious and not unlearned age, Greek was at rather a low ebb. Dr. Johnson's Latin scholarship, if not elegant, was sound, thorough, and robust. His Greek would scarcely carry him in these days through Smalls or the Little Go. Whatever Pope may have translated Homer from, it was not from the original. Voltaire loved the literature of Rome, and especially the *Bucolics* of Virgil. But to compare these with the *Idylls* of Theocritus was beyond his capacity. Carteret's acquaintance with Greek was considered portentous, even stranger than his faculty of talking German. Lady Mary Wortley was conspicuous not only among her sex, but in her age, for her familiarity with the Greek as well as the Roman classics. Gibbon taught himself Greek, as he taught himself everything. But he was a miracle, for which the ordinary chain of sequences will not account. The vastness of Bentley's erudition cannot be denied, whatever may be thought of his taste. Yet Bentley himself seemed even more gigantic than he was when Boyle, and Atterbury, and Temple took an ostensibly serious part in a classical dispute. The range of Burke's reading, the amount of his acquirements, went far beyond Peel's, and were equal to Gladstone's. But his Greek scholarship was childish compared with Gladstone's or Peel's. Robert Lowe, who loved to depreciate classical learning, knew more Greek than all the unprofessional scholars of the eighteenth century, except Fielding and Gray. The poets have done more than the doctors to stimulate and perpetuate interest in the glory which was Greece, the grandeur which was Rome. Some of the attempts which have been made to convert ancient into modern poetry are indeed fanciful enough. A brilliant scholar and delightful essayist, Professor Sellar, amused himself and fascinated his readers by drawing an elaborate parallel between Catullus

and Burns. It would be hard to say which was the greater genius of the two. For while the humour of Burns is infinitely above the coarse scurrility of the Roman poet, there is nothing in the love-songs of the Ayrshire peasant, exquisite as they are, to be set beside the intensity of passion and of despair which makes the verse of Catullus glow and scorch with unquenchable fire. Burns owed nothing to the classics nor to anyone except the author of the *Gentle Shepherd*. So far as originality is possible to man, he was original, while Catullus would have considered originality a sign or note of barbarism. He believed, as all Romans, including Veronese, of his time believed, in the verbal inspiration of Hellenic poetry. It is improbable that Burns had ever heard of Cynthia or of Sirmio. But yet it is easy to understand how Sellar came to think of them together. The resemblance between them, if resemblance there be, lies less in their sentiment, which with all its depth and fervour belongs also to other men of other times, than in the peculiar pathos, to be felt, not to be described, of such poems as that whose opening words are *Si qua recordanti*, and that whose closing lines are :

Had we never loved so kindly,  
Had we never loved so blindly,  
Never met, or never parted,  
We had ne'er been broken-hearted.

Tennyson found for Catullus, an even more illustrious similitude. With the instinct of critical genius he discovered an amplification of Catullus's noblest couplet<sup>3</sup> in one of Shakespeare's most glorious sonnets.

Then can I drown an eye, unused to flow,  
For precious friends hid in death's dateless night,  
And weep afresh love's long-since cancelled woe,  
And moan the expense of many a vanished sight.

Of Catullus we may certainly say that whatever he wrote, except mere expressions of personal love or hatred, was Greek in its origin. A great poet of the next generation after Burns, the author of the *Ode to a Grecian Urn*, which Wordsworth thought improper, was equally innocent of the languages foolishly called dead. But Keats, as all the world knows through his famous sonnet, fell in with one of those rare translations which preserve the spirit without neglecting the letter. There is not in English a finer rendering of Greek poetry than Chapman's *Homer*, and the full, proud sail of his great verse carried Keats away. Mr. Rudyard Kipling, in the cleverest, because the most imaginative, of all his stories, tells how a modern English clerk addicted to scribbling trash is suddenly visited by the spirit of *ἀνάμνησις*, or reminiscence, and describes a naval battle of the Peloponnesian war, in which as a galley-slave he had been engaged.

<sup>3</sup> 'Quo desiderio veteres revocamus amores,  
Atque olim amissas flemus amicitias.'

The soul of our grandam may haply have inhabited a bird, and many things, including the Baconian authorship of Shakespeare, are less likely than that Keats was once a Greek poet whose works have perished.

The scholars of the Italian Renaissance have been not unjustly accused of neglecting substance for style. No one, said Erasmus, would have felt more contempt for that brood of little Ciceronians than Cicero himself. The leading men, such as Politian, are not touched by this sarcasm, which may have suggested the brilliant picture of a learned squabble drawn by George Eliot in *Romola*. Erasmus was a true child of the Renaissance, though as a Christian, a scholar, and a man of fastidious literary taste, he saw all its defects. Perhaps he was not sufficiently grateful to the men who, with all their faults, relit the extinct torch of Greek scholarship, handed down in uninterrupted succession, through Scaliger, Casaubon, Bentley, Porson, to our own day. 'The greatest intellect that ever spent itself in the search for knowledge' is the judgment of Casaubon's biographer, Mark Pattison, upon a greater than Casaubon, the French or Italian Bentley, Scaliger. Bentley was a big man full of small foibles, and they may be seen set forth at large in the fascinating pages of his Life by Monk. His foibles are conspicuous in his reckless emendations of Horace (though some display real genius), his outrages upon the text of Milton, and his twenty years' war with the Fellows of Trinity. His full stature appears in the immortal treatise on the *Epistles of Phalaris*, and may be seen at a glance by everyone who takes the slight trouble of reading his short letter on Joshua Barnes's Homer. If the lives of the victims of great men ever find a chronicler, a place beside Chelsum, and Davies, and Travis, and Goezman, and Robert Montgomery must be given on account of Bentley to Boyle and Barnes. Barnes was a very good example of superficial scholarship. He was by no means an ignorant man. He knew enough to make blunders quite beyond the reach of a dunce, and to destroy the possibility of restoring a text by changes which were not merely absurd in themselves, but would, if adopted, have removed all chance of finding the proper emendation. It is not for a desultory amateur to affect contempt of sciolism, unless sciolism occupies the professorial chair. But as Barnes was to Bentley, so are the mechanical products of compulsory Greek to Barnes. If they were asked in the witness-box, as the Claimant was, what Greek they had read at school, they would probably not say 'Cæsar.' They would remember that Cæsar wrote a book for beginners in Latin. But an aversion from the sight of the Greek alphabet is the most definite result in many cases of ramming Greek syntax into unsympathetic minds. It is the same with mathematics. Mathematicians, like musicians, are born, not made, and are scarcely less to be envied. Astronomy is their plaything, and they have the



instinct of exactitude. But the attempt to hammer mathematics into unmathematical brains is useless torture, far worse than waste of time. Arithmetic is, no doubt, essential, and comes, more or less, by nature. But geometry is a mystery to thousands, and they can derive no benefit from it, except a slight improvement of the memory from learning Euclid by heart. There are certain beggarly elements, as St. Paul calls them, which must be common to all education worthy of the name. When they have been mastered, the sooner the literary and the scientific portions of the human race are allowed to separate, the better for both. If there is no water to which a horse cannot be brought, there is none which he can be made to drink.

That most learned and excellent scholar, the Rector of Exeter, defending his recent vote in Congregation against compulsory Greek, declared the knowledge of it acquired by candidates for pass degrees to be absolutely worthless. Of course there is the remedy of raising the standard, and some would go so far as to abolish pass degrees altogether. But, on the whole, it seems more reasonable to recognise that Greek is an accomplishment, not an elementary subject, and that the noblest of all languages is degraded by administration in homœopathic doses to recalcitrant schoolboys. From a merely philological point of view such smattering is useless, and it is even more remote from literature than from philology. That classical authors should be handled with reverence is, to put it no higher, a respectable superstition. But, on the other hand, the study of Greek is time thrown away unless it results in a familiarity with the style and idiom of the Greek writers from Homer to Theocritus, at least equal to an educated Englishman's acquaintance with French. Mr. Gilbert Murray's *Euripides*, the third volume of Mr. George Allen's *Athenian Drama*, is a good example of the way in which a Greek author may be treated by a real master of his subject, who can appreciate for himself, and present to others, the inward and spiritual meaning of ancient tragedy and comedy. Mr. Murray has adopted the unusual and rather startling plan of combining *The Bacchanals* and *The Hippolytus*, two of the greatest extant plays Euripides produced, with that marvellous comedy *The Frogs*, in which Aristophanes made fun of Euripides and everything Euripidean. 'To some readers,' he says in his Preface, 'there may appear to be something irreverent in allowing two noble tragedies to be so closely followed by a hostile burlesque.' But *The Frogs* is far more than a burlesque. It is the work of a poet as well as a satirist, of a man who, though full of what the French call *l'esprit Gaulois*, was steeped in all the culture of a highly cultivated age, and it contains more good literary criticism than many accredited treatises on the art. Mr. Murray calls it 'preposterously unfair.' A burlesque can hardly be fair, and when Aristophanes began to use his powers of sarcasm, he was apt to let himself go. The defence of Euripides is well worth undertaking, and

few men are so well qualified to undertake it as Mr. Murray. But Aristophanes is not responsible for the dull pedants, mostly German, who have assumed that Euripides was a bad poet because the greatest of all parodists made game of his peculiarities. Aristophanes appreciated Euripides, if Schlegel did not, and Mr. Murray's brilliant translations will show even the unclassical reader the absurdity of the view that Euripides represents a dramatic decadence. Aristophanes was a ferocious Conservative, and he has lampooned Socrates as fiercely as Euripides, both being guilty of innovation, in his eyes the worst of crimes. But Aristophanes was not a man who would have wasted his strength on bad philosophers or bad poets. It was a battle of giants in which he fought, and his audacious satire did not spare Æschylus, whom, even on his own principles, he was bound to revere. No dramatist has raised more problems, or been the subject of more controversy, than Euripides. Mr. Verrall's paradoxical and almost supernaturally clever pamphlet, *Euripides the Rationalist*, attributes to 'sad Electra's poet' a Machiavellian subtlety not suspected by Aristophanes or Aristotle. The *Bacchantals* or *Bacchæ*, translated by Mr. Murray, contains an unequalled representation of religious enthusiasm passing into religious madness. Yet it is equally possible to hold that Euripides meant to exalt the Bacchic frenzy, that he meant to decry it, or that his object was purely dramatic. The abiding interest of Euripides for critics of all nations and schools is a sufficient answer to the theory that he fell away from the standard of Æschylus and Sophocles. Which of the three was the greatest is a question that may be argued for ever. That they all belonged to the highest order of dramatic literature is a certain and incontestable truth. They differed, as Cicero says, in quality not in degree, and it is strange that modern critics should have selected for ignorant disparagement the most modern of that mighty trio. *Aristophanes' Apology* contains an eloquent and passionate defence of the tragic against the comic poet, put into the mouth of an Athenian lady who has endured the moral torture of sitting through a representation of the *Lysistrata*. Her reminiscences are expressed with vigour, though with the prolixity of Browning's later style, which makes consecutive quotation impossible.

Waves, said to wash pollution from the world,  
Take that plague-memory, cure that pustule caught,  
As, past escape, I sat and saw the piece  
By one appalled at Phaidra's fate.

. . . . . that bestiality—

So beyond all brute-beast imagining,  
That when, to point the moral at the close,  
• Poor Salabaccho, just to show how fair  
Was 'Reconciliation,' stripped her charms,

That exhibition simply bade us breathe,  
 Seemed something healthy and commendable  
 After obscenity grotesqued so much  
 It slunk away revolted at itself.

Browning did not know Greek as Mr. Murray knows it. He was not a professional scholar nor a deeply learned man. But he had a robust and manly grasp of Greek literature, the fruit of voluntary study, which was always a labour of love. His estimate of Aristophanes was out of proportion because he put the accidental on a level with the essential, the coarseness which is on the surface with the poetry and humour which it sometimes overlays. Most English critics, with the great and signal exception of Coleridge, have made a similar mistake about Rabelais. The *Lysistrata* was certainly not a play for women to go and see. The *Adventures of Pantagruel* is perhaps not a book for them to read. Yet the real objects are in each case noble. With Aristophanes, it was the establishment of peace and good-will among men. With Rabelais it was the emancipation of the human intellect from the trammels of monkish tyranny. But if Browning's love of Euripides made him unjust to the author of *The Frogs* and *The Clouds*, it led him to a spirited vindication of his favourite poet against criticism often captious and sometimes absurd. His own poetry was not exactly Greek in finish, or in restraint. Yet the beautiful fragment which he called *Artemis Prologises* is strictly classical both in form and in substance. Dearly as Browning loved Euripides, he could not love him more than Milton did. Euripides was to Milton what Virgil was to Dante, and the admiration of Milton is conclusive for the English-speaking race. Milton's Greek and Latin verses are not distinguished for accuracy, elegance, or ease. But they are quite intelligible, and it illustrates the scholarship of the eighteenth century that to four Archilochian iambics inscribed by Milton under a bad portrait of himself, Warton appended the note, 'a satire on the engraver, but happily concealed in an unknown tongue.' The lines are not a satire at all, but plain, downright abuse of the unlucky artist, in remarkably bad Greek. Milton's Greek is most perceptible in his English; for instance, in that fine passage which Macaulay quotes as after the manner of Euripides:

But wherefore thou alone? Wherefore with thee  
 Came not all hell broke loose?

It does not fall within Mr. Murray's province, more's the pity, to trace the influence of Euripides upon succeeding ages, from his own to the fall of the Western Empire and from the Renaissance to the present day. 'Our Euripides, the human,' wrote a gifted lady, who might have been a great poet if she could have made or avoided rhymes. 'No one in modern times,' says Mr. Verrall, 'since Greek

has been well understood, has said that his dearest desire beyond the grave would be to meet Euripides; not this nor anything like it,' as, for example, that his dearest desire was to meet Euripides beyond the grave. But if no one has said this, Euripides has found modern admirers as competent and as diverse as Milton and Fox. The structure of his plays is faulty enough, unless we adopt the ingenious hypothesis of Mr. Verrall, and assume that ridicule of the supernatural is his secret purpose. But they abound in felicitous phrases, in lovely songs, in exquisite descriptions of natural beauty, in maxims of civic wisdom and political prudence. And there is something more in them than that. Among the causes of sudden and impressive influence upon sceptical minds enumerated by Bishop Blougram, coupled with

A fancy from a flower-bell, some one's death,

is

A chorus-ending from Euripides.

Perhaps Browning was thinking of those wonderful lines put into the mouth of the Muse in the *Hippolytus* :

But if any far-off state there be,  
 Dearer than life to mortality;  
 The hand of the Dark hath hold thereof;  
 And mist is under and mist above.  
 And so we are sick for life and cling  
 On earth to this nameless and shining thing.  
 For other life is a fountain sealed  
 And the deeps below are unrevealed,  
 And we drift on legends for ever.

The greatest of England's classical scholars, Richard Bentley, was not a man who undervalued his own countrymen, or even, that last infirmity of noble mind, his own contemporaries. It was he who wrote, and it was to Bishop Pearson he applied, the fine and striking phrase, 'The dust of his writings is gold.' When his favourite daughter, 'Jug,' lamented that her father's powers should be exclusively devoted to work which was not original, he acknowledged the justice of the complaint. 'But,' he added, with a simplicity and a modesty he did not often show, 'the wit and genius of those old heathens beguiled me: and as I despaired of raising myself up to their standard on fair ground, I thought the only chance I had of looking over their heads was to get upon their shoulders.' And upon their shoulders he stands. If one may reverse Porson's caustic judgment of Southey, Bentley's works will cease to be read when Homer and Virgil are forgotten. Monk, who was a college tutor before he became a dean and a bishop, tells us that pupils whom he referred to the *Dissertation on Phalaris* for some particular point of prosody or syntax, almost always read the book through. The native force of that powerful mind dealt with the vast learning it had

accumulated as Adam Smith dealt with economic science, and Gladstone with financial policy. A little learning makes a pedant. It was not a real scholar who, preaching upon the subject of a new organ, told his congregation that the Greeks called the instrument *τὸ ὄργανον*. George Eliot used to cite Dean Milman, author, by the way, of some of the most beautiful hymns in the English language, as a man to whom intimate acquaintance with the classics had not given good style, and Dean Merivale, known as 'Gibbon in slippers,' would be a better instance still. But these examples are cited because they are rare. They prove the existence of the rule. There have been acknowledged masters of English prose who were wholly innocent of Greek. Shakespeare's prose is inferior only to his verse; the names of Bunyan and of Goldsmith will at once occur to everyone. There is Cobbett, whom a famous scholar compared with Cleon, and the letters of Burns have a fiery eloquence of their own. Johnson, Byron, and Scott knew Greek chiefly, if not wholly, through Latin. Jane Austen and Charles Dickens did not know it at all. It is a commonplace that original genius can dispense with extraneous aid. If Fielding is to be reckoned above Richardson as a novelist, it is because he had a sense of humour, and not because his acquaintance with the *Iliad* enabled him to describe the battle in the churchyard. Fielding's English is so idiomatic, so stately, and so pure, that it seems to come straight from his own brain and soul; yet he himself confesses his debt to Lucian, who was not a real classic, but a conscious and deliberate imitator of a style which had not been written for hundreds of years. Since the loss of Athenian independence every institution then existing in the Western world has passed away; Greek literature itself perished, and had to be rediscovered. It fell under the ban of the Church as something outlandish, heretical, impious. Yet its influence upon the culture of civilised communities is greater now than it has ever been before, and if the study ceases to be compulsory, it will be because no compulsion is needed, because Greek is a sixth sense.

HERBERT PAUL.

*PORT ROYAL AND PASCAL.*

'PORT ROYAL' as a name does not arouse any deep feeling of interest in the average reader. I do not mean that anyone with some pretence to education or with the faintest tinge of literary culture would choose in the present day to acknowledge the ignorance which a well-known Oxford man once confessed, when he owned that he satisfactorily accounted for the name by referring to the history of the town of Port Royal in Jamaica. But, short of this ingenuous admission, it is excusable, if one has no liking for religious controversy, and has not read Sainte-Beuve's delightful history, that he should pause before further inquiry. An unpleasant feeling of expectation, and a sense of apprehension of what may be our fate, cause us to fear that we shall be deafened by the confused din of religious dispute in the atmosphere of the French Port Royal, and this stirs up a spirit of disinclination against investigating too closely the causes and circumstances of these once famous quarrels. Yet it is necessary to glance at some of the historical facts, so that the actors in the drama of the destruction of Port Royal may take their right place, and keep the picture in due perspective before the more important personages enter upon the scene.

L'Abbaye de Port-Royal, a convent of women near Chevrete and Versailles, was founded in the thirteenth century in a wild and swampy valley, and was under the rule of St. Bernard. The strictness of that rule, however, became relaxed, as was the case in all religious houses of that age. In 1608 twelve pious ladies made there a kind of worldly retreat, under an abbess but eleven years old, who, at the age of sixteen, revolutionised the government of the community. If it were not of the first importance in a study of the present kind to keep to the main lines of our subject—the relation of Pascal to Port Royal—there would be great temptation to pause a moment and contemplate the character of the great Mère Angélique. Her brother, 'Le grand Arnauld,' and herself were the two members of a family so distinguished that they could truly be called great. She was born a great ruler, and, with a force which never weakened into exaggeration, she compelled worldly women to

take their vows seriously. 'Douce à force d'énergie,' she developed that indispensable quality in a ruler of observing everything, at the same time being very reticent in reproof and mingling gentleness with firmness in enforcing discipline.

I forget which of the celebrated beauties—was it Madame de la Sablière?—was not unlikely to undermine her health by her fierce enthusiasm for cleaning and scouring fireplaces. 'Ne pouvant plus être la première,' said the young reverend Mother gently, 'vous voulez, ma sœur, être la dernière,' and she gradually led her charge back to the ways of religious humility.

But Mère Angélique's work in Port Royal was more important than that of a directrice, however well inspired. In 1626 the community was established under her care in Paris, Rue St. Jacques. There the influence of St. Cyran, the head of the Jansenists, prepared the soil for the reception of the Augustinian doctrine of predestination and grace, and the fanatical ardour with which the nuns embraced these condemned doctrines gradually inspired the grave Solitaires with the same enthusiasm. Mère Angélique, Jacqueline Pascal, and the most gifted of the nuns led the way; and when, in 1635, Port Royal des Champs was established, the goodly array of learned men with the great Arnauld at their head, and later on with Pascal as their champion, presented a brave front to the enemy. But that enemy was the Pope and the Catholic Church, and the new band of thinkers was crushed, as was inevitable. Yet, if outward submission had been shown, this catastrophe would probably have been averted in the same way as Quiétisme was gently suppressed in spite of the imposing personality of Fénelon. For, after all, St. Augustine was not to be ignored as an obscure Father of the Church. The Solitaires were not ignorant men; they were trained to discern every turn in the controversial fight that he waged against the Pelagian heresy. They knew that in spite of the leaning of St. Thomas and the Schoolmen in favour of reason and free-will, the reverence for St. Augustine as the acknowledged and orthodox defender of the opposite doctrine was never withheld for a moment. It is well to keep this in sight, for in the perception by the greatest divines and by the deepest philosophers, that truth lies in the firm apprehension of opposites is to be found the key to the mystery of Pascal's genius. The raging bitterness of controversy between the advocates of predestination and grace, of philosophic hair-splitting in the quarrel between free-will and necessity, seem to fade before this enforced yielding of each side to the other. In tracing this perception, which gradually made itself felt, a gleam of brightness unexpectedly illuminates the gloomy writings of the most dogmatic theologians. Luther opposes grace to works, but sometimes falters in the positiveness of his conclusions. From the Council of Trent, which enjoined that the doctrine of grace and the

freedom of the will should be held together, on through countless instances of the foreshadowing of the modern doctrine of monism, we reach Pascal, whose grasp of the identity of contradictories seems more comprehensive even than Hegel's. His eloquent expression of the *idée mère* makes all other attempts at an exposition fall in a dull and listless tone on the ear.

It is this consideration which gives the study of Pascal's career its peculiar interest. The endeavour to bring life into old controversies would be as futile as it would be uninteresting. There may be—no doubt there are—some thinkers to whom the fundamental contention at the root of these controversies is fraught with meaning; but the attempt to put this motive forward to the world in general as an inducement to study the life of Pascal would defeat its own object. Nor is it the keen appreciation of the different aspects of Pascal's character that should lead to the narrow course of considering one of these aspects to the exclusion of the others. It is not as a philosopher or a scientist or a devout believer that Pascal should be judged. He was all this, but he was much more. The things he dealt with are not of yesterday, of to-day, or of to-morrow. They are as high and real as Eternity, and as fathomless as space, and when in detail the mysteries of life, death, and destiny are dealt with, we must rejoice in being under the spell of genius—the genius of Pascal.

At this point I feel induced to quote a modern appreciation of Pascal by one of the most subtle of French critics :<sup>1</sup>

That a man should profess the most intolerant catholicism that has ever fired any human soul, should abhor irreligion not as an error but as a crime, should degrade human nature by reducing it to a mere gulf of folly or perversity, should preach Faith imposed by Force, should curse liberty, should deny the existence of progress, should even insult literature after having dragged through the mire philosophy, science, morality, all the splendid spangles of the show that is called human society—that he should do all this, and yet see his glory only the greater at the very time when the most stainless fames are drifting to forgetfulness, and yet be admired by atheists, worshipped by sceptics, almost venerated by a generation fanatical for free thought, progress, and tolerance—that is assuredly a strange paradox, and such was the fate of the great Pascal.

The feeling and colour in this sympathetic passage recall, from sheer contrast, the critical notices of the same man by Englishmen that have appeared from time to time, and revive in the present writer the acute sense of disappointment and discontent which found expression at the moment in a few words of protest. This protest seems to receive fresh life from the consolatory hope that the French and not the English interpretation of Pascal is the true one.

Only a decade ago realistic novelists and analytical physiologists seemed inclined to make a complete surrender of every aspiration and of every faculty to the most hopelessly pessimistic philosophy

<sup>1</sup> *Etudes et Portraits*, par Paul Bourget.



with which poor humanity has yet been threatened. But at the present time there seems to be growing up silently and very slowly a school in the note of whose teaching may be detected an undertone of rebellion—not very accentuated, and dealing more in suggestion than in statement—against this surrender. The paragraph just quoted from M. Bourget is an indication of this reaction. Whether it has any chance of making way against the scientific determinism of the day cannot here be considered. The strength of the fatalist position must be acknowledged, but it need not crush the expression of the opposite school of thought. That determinism is far less dogmatic in the beginning of the twentieth century than it was in the last quarter of the nineteenth is indisputable. But even then the greater men—Huxley, Spencer, Darwin, and such like—were unwilling to crystallise their negations into hard, unbending axiomatic dogmatism. It perhaps did not occur to them that the course of time might bring alterations in the treatment of the elementary principles of science; they defended these principles against the onslaughts of the ignorant and the superstitious; but they paused before the unknown. Recent psychological speculations in this country would seem to indicate that the treatment of the unknown shows signs of revolt against the reverence of the past, and to a real admirer of Pascal there is genuine pleasure in realising in the most distinct way that the greater the advance of speculative thought, the closer we feel to him, and the wildest speculations seem but faint echoes of the utterances of the master mind. His latest biographer<sup>2</sup> insists on the point that Pascal's reasoning demonstrated 200 years before Darwin the theory of evolution. Can anything be more in accordance with the most modern thought than Pascal's refusal to regard human nature as a complete entity obeying immutable laws, and to those who study it aright offering no contradiction? Nothing can be false, he says, than this glorification of what is simply the work of our own imagination, our own inherited habits of mind, our individual prejudices built up by the actions of the mind of man acting upon what surrounds him. Interpreted by Mr. Lanson<sup>3</sup> he says:

Quelle est donc cette nature sujette à être effacée? La coutume est une seconde nature qui détruit la première. Pourquoi la coutume n'est-elle point naturelle? J'ai peur que cette nature ne soit elle-même qu'une première coutume, comme la coutume est une seconde nature. Ce que nous appelons nature aujourd'hui dans tous les êtres, formes et propriétés ou instincts, n'est-ce pas une collection d'acquisitions successives fixées par l'habitude?

This brings to one's mind in a crystalline and refined form Nietzsche's sayings on 'the value of the valuations of the past.'

In the same way, if we are arrested by the speculations of the

<sup>2</sup> *Grands Écrivains Français* (Boutroux).

<sup>3</sup> *Littérature Française* (Lanson).

new positivism,<sup>4</sup> in the perfectly justifiable paradoxes of the scientific Catholics, in the vain attempt of modern dreamers to graft Christian on Eastern mysticism, we suddenly feel that Pascal has said all this, but much better; that with his irresistible force in welding together contrary terms so as to grasp through science and its opposite pure idealism, the actual and the real, he seems impelled by the blending of contradictions in his character to drive through all obstacles to the very heart of the problem. These contradictions have been well described as including the gift of scientific observation and reasoning, yet with a penetrating sense of things pertaining to heart and soul; the thirst for knowledge, but also the longing for love; the inclination for the inner life, together with the ardent desire to influence other men. His ambition is as striking as his simplicity. His simplicity is in no way impaired by his subtlety, nor his subtlety by his frankness. Armed with a power of abstraction counterbalancing an intense power of imagination, urged by irresistible passion and force of will often expressed in terms of generous impulse and tender compassion, there is nothing apparently to check his course. But now he pauses. He cannot, it seems, get nearer to 'the thing in itself that lies behind these knowable phenomena.' He is face to face with the *inconnaissable*, and he bows crushed by the inaccessibility of the infinite and the terror of annihilation. Then is it that Pascal reveals himself as a poet. It seems as if we had been groping for the key to his genius and have at last found it. Now we see that not only did he wring the essence of their meaning out of opposite phenomena, but out of opposite mysteries—the mystery of life and the mystery of death, the mystery of thought and the mystery of consciousness. We know that no poet has deserved to be called one who had not a subtle sense of mystery. M. Paul Adam says of Baudelaire:

Il sut rétablir les données des impressions qui mènent vers le mystère et par elles évoquer ce qui dans la vie décèle le contraire du connu.

Pascal's biographer strikes, as is fitting, a higher note of praise:

L'originalité de Pascal c'est le caractère, si je puis dire, métaphysique des inquiétudes et des images qui jettent ces flammes intenses dans son style. Jamais il n'est plus poète plus largement, plus douloureusement, ou plus terriblement poète que lorsqu'il se place en face de l'inconnaissable.

It is rather distasteful to leave the larger aspect of our subject, and turn to the depressing task of analysing and comparing French and English criticism. This, however, is a necessary duty, in order to refute the imputation of dealing with a foregone conclusion. It brings us face to face with facts, with positive statements, and each of these must be carefully weighed, so that this historical fragment may be judged by the light of unfavourable criticism

<sup>4</sup> Roberty, Flammarion, Paul Adam, W. Ward.

before we produce the counteracting force of French appreciation to restore the balance.

It is no light task to follow the fluctuations and caprices of criticism. We should soon find ourselves in a hornets' nest if we were presumptuous enough to deal out praise and blame generally, and neglect the homely rule of keeping the main line of our argument clear of irrelevant controversy without shirking the task of putting a right valuation on each adverse opinion touching the subject of this study. Even ten years ago we should not have had to contend with some of the difficulties which now lie in our path. One characteristic of the present day was not so clearly discernible then, *i.e.* the absence of all deference to the works of the greatest metaphysicians and thinkers of the past. One and all are considered *suranné*, so that scarcely a name formerly in high repute receives the honour of a quotation or of a moment's consideration. Two exceptions prove the rule, Spinoza and Pascal. Spinoza's name ever raises appreciative recognition amounting to enthusiasm in England; but Pascal remains ignored, and although time softens the rough edge of unpardonable neglect, yet the extent of that neglect in the past should be traced to the really responsible creators of an erroneous popular judgment which should even now be combated lest such an evil should again rise up and baffle us.

To begin, therefore, with our English critics. It is desirable to go to the root of the matter and deal only with the most important of these. One on the first line led the way a few years ago, and the tone of his essay on Pascal gave the key-note to other English attempts to judge the great Frenchman, until Pater's ringing passage, in his study of the same man, almost redeemed the whole situation. And here let me remind the reader of the necessity of remarking that the use of the word 'sceptic' in its secondary or acquired sense is unpardonable; but, strange to say, this writer is actually affected by the common conventional significance, as adopted by the vulgar; and it is one of the many instances of the mischief done by the educated—and there is no doubt of the high position of this critic in the literary world—to the illiterate when the former are not careful to keep clear of the misuse of a term and so attach a label to a man's name that is wholly inappropriate.

Even if we grant that this term 'sceptic' may not be applied in a consciously unfair sense, yet our contention is that Pascal first instituted the inquiry and then disbelieved. Inquiry being the supposed pivot on which all philosophical thought turns, it is needless for the critic to make the distinction and to assure us that Pascal was no sceptic in religion. He disbelieved in systems of philosophy after searching inquiry, and this is so obvious that friend and foe must indeed need attentive guidance in their study of Pascal, if these explanations are necessary. Sceptic, Pascal may be called;

but what kind of sceptic? Fanatic; yes again, but what kind of fanatic? Madman, 'fou sublime,' as Voltaire called him; mad as Dante was thought mad; mad as Shakespeare imagines madness in Hamlet, but surely not a madman, fanatically narrow, to be treated with compassion, tempered with a little wholesome severity. A Frenchman has said that a hero or a saint greatly disturbs the Teutonic mind, and it may be that the Teutonic element in our English race makes us strangely impervious to the fact that heroes and saints are, in fact, geniuses.

The faculty of being possessed more or less by an idea [says Professor Huxley] is probably the fundamental condition of what is called genius; whether it shows itself in the saint, the artist, or the man of science. One calls it faith, another calls it inspiration, a third insight; but the 'intending of the mind,' to borrow Newton's well-known phrase, the concentration of all the rays of intellectual energy on some one point until it glows and colours the whole cast of thought with its peculiar light, is common to all.<sup>5</sup>

To multiply quotations appreciative of genius would seem to *disprove the charge of indifference*; but the contrast between the exceptional and the average judgment is more marked among the English than elsewhere; the recognition of genius in conduct, *i.e.* of heroism, is slower.

To find Voltaire and Condorcet cordially allowing Pascal to be a 'génie,' to hear Victor Hugo granting to Torquemada "a sublime vision of universal love, does not surprise us, but where shall we find parallel instances among ourselves? What was Gordon?—both a hero and a saint; yet such was the lack of intellectual sympathy among his countrymen that, to say nothing of the official obtuseness which pigeon-holed him as a madman, the great mass of his compatriots were content to account for his high failure by reference to his religious fancies, and to acquiesce somewhat coldly in the deep note of sympathy that vibrated from China to France when the hero fell. Now and again a voice was raised in protest,<sup>7</sup> but these exceptions prove the conclusion to be inevitable that if in 'the sense of quality in action,' as George Eliot puts it, lies the secret of wringing out the essence of the problems of life, such a sense is missing in the ordinary Englishman.

This may be the reason that, if we attempt a comparative study of English and French utterances on Pascal, we find so vast a

<sup>5</sup> 'Great wit and madness are both of them divergencies from the common standard; but the study of genius may have as much to teach us of the mind's evolution as the study of insanity has to teach us of its decay.'—(F. Myers.)

<sup>6</sup> 'Et l'infini farouche à travers tous ces cribles ne laisse rien passer que ces deux mots terribles: Jamais! Toujours! Mon Dieu, qui donc aura pitié? Moi, e viens sauver l'homme ou l'homme amnistié; j'ai cette obsession: en moi l'amour sublime crée, et je combattrai l'abîme par l'abîme!—Torquemada (V. Hugo).

<sup>7</sup> 'Men will think and feel about him more or less deeply according to the depth of their own nature.'—(Jowett.)

difference between the two. To begin with words, if the criticisms of Pascal proceeding from Frenchmen be examined, not one of the epithets which Englishmen so freely apply to those whom they fail to understand are to be found, with the exception of 'fou' from Voltaire, surely tempered by the 'sublime.' We have alluded before to the one bright and strong exception which makes us perhaps indifferent to the defects of the less gifted of the critics. But this admirer often goes over the heads of his readers, and the reiteration of humbler protests may reach those who refuse to bow to his authority. These few words of Mr. Pater, for he is the exception we wish to quote, seem to separate Pascal for ever from the herd of theologians with whom on account of his religious side he is often grouped. 'What might have passed with all its fiery ways for an *esprit de secte et de cabale* is now revealed, amid the disputes not of a single generation but of eternal ones, by the light of a phenomenal storm of blinding and blasting inspiration.'<sup>8</sup>

Sainte-Beuve, in the most perfect work from his pen, *Histoire de Port-Royal*, stands at the head of French authorities on Pascal. It is impossible for anyone acquainted with this book, and also with the various allusions made in the *Causeries*, not to quote Sainte-Beuve unconsciously; it is difficult even to keep clear of other plagiarisms, haunted, as one must be, by expressions concerning Pascal to be found in almost every French writer of note. What would Sainte-Beuve and his friends have thought of an astounding sentence at the beginning of an article by one of the English critics?—'The *Pensées* are only the mouth-piece of such mediocre thinkers as Etienne Périer and the Duc de Roannez.' What does this mean? M. Cousin's work in restoring the original text of the *Pensées* is of no value if it has failed to show that, in every instance where the original was tampered with, weakness was substituted for strength, and something like jargon for the uncompromising vigour of Pascal's terse and vibrating language. M. Cousin, while himself bitterly regretting the almost defiant tone adopted by Pascal towards all human systems of philosophy, has too keen a perception of the masterly use in the *Pensées* of that supreme engine of analytic thought, the French language, to abstain from demonstrating how superior the original manuscript is to the emasculated edition we owe to the scruples of the Solitaires.

Let us first look at *Les Provinciales*; as a model of style, in power of irony, in dialectical and rhetorical skill they are unsurpassed.

It is certain that the judgment formed by Pascal's contemporaries of the revolution in French prose, which dates from the *Provinciales* and the *Pensées*, has not been reversed by later critics; but still the *Provinciales* are polemical, and modern readers do not feel in sympathy with the unravelling of distinctions in doctrine.

<sup>8</sup> *Miscellaneous Essays* (Pater).

It is when Pascal puts aside subtleties, and inveighs, with all the strength of his genius, on the stupidity and baseness of the Jesuit code of morality, that his words ring with an accent which reaches far beyond the domain of controversy. The character of his attack, and his passionate appeal in the defence of honesty, truth and justice at any cost, arrested even Joseph de Maistre (the best defender the Jesuits can boast of); and will ever arrest those who, in reading *Les Lettres Provinciales*, discern, apart from his rhetorical skill and subtle wit, Pascal's sense of the momentous importance of this defence. In his finest moments he abruptly casts controversy aside and deals with the general question of the good of humanity, and with words of swift and piercing condemnation attacks every doctrine, Jesuit and other, which may tamper with the liberty, freedom, and independence of individual judgment. Strange to say, it is at the very moment when he is strongest in the fight that Pascal asserts the supremacy of reason, the absolute authority of conscience; and the question forces itself upon us, Can this be he who later, in his perplexity and despair at the relative quality in morality, says: 'Trois degrés d'élévation du pôle renversent toute la jurisprudence; un méridien décide de la vérité . . . plaisante justice qu'une rivière borne: vérité en deçà des Pyrénées, erreur au delà'?

Was it that he may have foreseen the dilemma, and inveighed against the Jesuits all the more bitterly because he feared that the compromise which they clumsily inaugurated foreshadowed a much more powerful and destructive attack from the opposite camp upon absolute morality? Logic and natural science, he may have perceived, would enter in by the breach thus made, and destroy both religious creeds and philosophical systems at one blow. It might very well be so, for who so capable as Pascal of seizing contrary aspects of abstract questions? a capacity he himself describes thus: 'On ne montre pas sa grandeur pour être en une extrémité, mais bien en touchant deux à la fois et remplissant tout l'entre-deux.'

Shall we imitate the amiable weakness of the pious Solitaires of Port Royal, and fear to demonstrate that it was the very force of his philosophical scepticism as to the power of mankind to apprehend absolute truth of any kind that made him fling himself with all the impetuosity and passion of which his great nature was capable into the Christian faith? Unconsciously we are finding our way back from the *Provinciales* to the *Pensées*, which English critics seem to think scarcely worth considering in comparison with the former. Certainly, for brilliant satire, for logical and dialectical skill, it is not easy to find in any language an indictment so powerful and conclusive against a religious sect. Still, if we except the passages in which the conflict is based on first principles, the interest lies mainly in a religious controversy, and that interest is difficult to sustain if the reader is indifferent to the result from a sectarian

point of view. As a matter of pure polemics, Pascal's adversaries may have had something to urge worthy of attention when they averred that there were unfairness and exaggeration in his attacks. They declared that some of the weapons he employed might be turned against himself, and made to tell against any religious system whatever. He who would follow the intricacies of the Jesuit and Jansenist disputes should study the refutation of the *Provinciales* by Bourdaloue, who had no difficulty in demonstrating that the force of the attack lost some of its vigour by being too rancorous. Bourdaloue's denunciations of *La Médisance* seemed directed against *Les Provinciales*. Without doubt Bourdaloue's own life and teaching redeemed his order, and blunted the force of the accusation levelled at the Jesuits by Pascal. If, on the one hand, Pascal showed the weak uncertainty of the Jesuit code of morality, Bourdaloue was not far wrong when he attacked the narrow dogmatism of the extreme Jansenists, and the spirit of compromise that prevailed among those living the life of the world, but who were 'Jansénistes par raffinement et en théorie,' and whose ultimate state was one of polite indifference; 'ou tout ou rien, dit-on, mais bien entendu qu'on s'en tiendra toujours au rien, et qu'on aura garde de se charger jamais du tout.' M. Havet in his account of the *Provinciales* points out that, to a modern reader, the note struck is not that which emanates from the spirit of piety, but is distinctly the outcome of the spirit of independence. Can we wonder, therefore, that the Jesuits should turn his own weapons against Pascal, and prophesy that his arguments would hereafter be used by the free-thinker and the unbeliever? The modern reader, for whom, as M. Havet remarks, this result has no terror, is simply impressed with the breadth of view that, almost unwillingly, breaks away in the most unexpected manner from the technically theological presentment of the controversy. And we may easily suppose it was this abstract merit which attracted the attention of the thinkers of that day, who were most opposed to Pascal's religious ideas. So, in the present day and for the same reason, he stands out from the midst of metaphysicians and theologians, and is the only thinker of past days except, as has been already said, Spinoza, who obtains a hearing. His name comes upon you unexpectedly, and seems to stare at you strangely but distinctly from a background intensely modern, as in the page of a Daudet or of a Bourget. It is this double aspect of Pascal's mode of thought which makes the analysis of his works so subtly difficult. If one side of his mental state is clearly apprehended, it seems as if, in grasping it, the other escapes the critic. What can be said of a method of criticism that, especially in one instance, ignores everything from first to last, except the most commonplace dissertations on the supposed variations in the mind of an ordinary fanatic? The nervous terrors

caused by his illness cannot be brought to bear on his religious convictions, or made to prove or disprove, as is sometimes attempted, their strength and reality.

According to Sainte-Beuve, the *Provinciales* were first put together bit by bit, as reminiscences of conversations between Pascal, M. de Saci, and M. Singlin; in the fear which the latter expressed that De Saci would be dazzled—'ébloui de tout ce brillant qui charmait néanmoins et enlevait tout le monde'—we get a glimpse of the estimation in which Pascal was held as a man of the world by the then 'enfants du siècle.' He was known to frequent the salon of Madame de Sablé and to be an ardent admirer of Montaigne; and it seems clear that the good Solitaires were aware that the snares of the intellect were not the only dangers which threatened the completeness of Pascal's conversion.

We are told that M. de Saci's method as directeur at Port Royal was to find the subject upon which the penitent was most strongly interested, and to close with him upon that point; the subject, whatever it might be, providing the confessor with the necessary arguments whereby he would endeavour to convince the disciple. Hence the famous chapter on Epictetus and Montaigne, whom the confessor, true to the line he had traced for his dealings with Pascal, declared he knew so imperfectly as authors that he begged his friend to explain their meaning. And now appears the first instance of the garbling of the original text, that was to be followed afterwards by the inept parings and diluting of the remainder of the *Pensées* by Etienne Périer and the Duc de Roannez.

The dialogue between Pascal and De Saci must have been, as Sainte-Beuve remarks, full of 'le mouvement, le naïf, le familier,' and, even with all the mutilations in the Port Royal edition of the *Pensées*, the true Pascal asserts himself, for it was impossible to quote a single phrase without producing the impression of faultless epigrammatic and veracious expression. Pascal himself, speaking of style, said, 'Il y en a des écrivains qui masquent toute la Nature; il n'y a pas de rois parmi eux, mais un auguste monarque; point de Paris, mais la capitale du royaume'; he also adds; 'Il y a de ces mots déterminants qui font juger d'un homme.' To a student of the French language these determining words in the *Pensées* prevent the destructive effect which the suppression of whole paragraphs and the rounding-off of others would otherwise have. In this vivacious dialogue between Pascal and De Saci each was strongly impressed by his own author, Pascal strengthening his assertions with lore from Montaigne, while De Saci's replies are saturated with the spirit of St. Augustine. The *entretien*, which was in fact, as it were, Pascal's certificate of admission into Port Royal, was the foundation of the whole book of *Pensées*. The demolition of the systems of Epictetus and Montaigne, as the representatives of the opposite tendencies of



the Stoic and Epicurean schools, loses much of its force by the omission of the swing of the dialogue and by cutting up the conversations. In spite of this and of the alteration and the weakening of the invective, the ring of some of the well-known paragraphs makes itself heard through every meditation. In the summing-up of his indictment against Epictetus and all those who have unduly exalted human nature, as well as for Montaigne and the ancient and modern sceptics who have railed at poor humanity, Pascal seems to have traversed the whole cycle of thought, and it would be a hopeless undertaking to attempt to explain how and where his mind was in touch with, or in antagonism to, the many and various systems of philosophy that have harassed mankind before and since his time. A better way would be to dwell for a moment on the connection between Pascal's intelligence and Montaigne's, and for this purpose we return to the *entretien*.

It is obvious the dispute would have assumed the aspect of a duel between rationalism and religious fatalism, had not both sides been one at heart; but, as it stands in the corrected form (*i.e.* the form of a dialogue), it gives the reader some insight into the influence which Montaigne exercised over Pascal. Sainte-Beuve observes that, in the very act of demonstrating how deeply rooted was Montaigne's scepticism, Pascal shows more than once a keen sympathy for that bright, witty and daring spirit. This did not escape the keen eye of the confessor, who says gently :

Je vous suis obligé, monsieur; je suis sûr que, si j'avais lu longtemps Montaigne, je ne le connaîtrais pas autant que je le connais par l'entretien que je viens d'avoir avec vous. Je crois assurément que cet homme avait de l'esprit, mais je ne sais si vous ne lui en prêtez pas un peu plus qu'il n'en a eu, par cet enchaînement si juste que vous faites de ses principes.

And further on he remarks of Montaigne's words that 'elles renversent les fondements de toute connaissance, et par conséquent de la religion même.' This universal scepticism, the doubt sapping the foundations of all philosophy, of even every process of reasoning, was in fact what attracted Pascal, and, strangely enough, forges the link which binds him to the modern Agnostic school of destructive criticism.

Yet it would be stretching the analogy far more than it can bear to ignore the innately religious temper of Pascal, who is as truly and passionately devoted to the Man-God of his creed as was ever Thomas à Kempis, or Dante. It is in the dual aspect of this great mind that lies the interest which must attach itself to one whose scientific instinct was on a level with that of the masters of to-day, whose trenchant logic and impetuous dialectic force made his orthodox friends tremble as they beheld the fearlessness with which he plunged into the fray, and yet whose religiousness gave a charm and persuasiveness to the expression of his belief. In our analysis

of these religious expressions we again perceive the double force which the union of impetuosity and tenderness, of awful fear and touching self-surrender, gives to his words. If we find in his ringing accents a note akin to despair, if the impenetrable mystery of the universe seems to crush him, if the author of the incomparable picture of man, placed, as he is, between infinite greatness and infinite littleness, has notes which mark him out to be of the family of Dante, of Milton, of Hamlet, of those 'qui cherchent en gémissant,' and, if terror seems sometimes to possess his soul—'Le silence éternel de ces espaces infinis m'effraie'—then let us turn and rest for a while on the gentleness and power in the pathetic dialogue between master and disciple, beginning thus: 'Console-toi, tu ne me chercherais pas si tu ne m'avais trouvé; ne t'inquiète donc pas; je pensais à toi dans mon agonie. J'ai versé telles gouttes de sang pour toi. Veux-tu qu'il me coûte toujours du sang de mon humanité sans que tu donnes des larmes?'

M. Cousin, moved by this appeal, says, 'C'est dans ces pages brûlantes et passionnées où on respire dans l'amour divin la charité humaine que Pascal a prise sur nous plus qu'aucun apologiste de son temps.' M. Havet dwells rather on his disinterested passion for truth and the general impression of nobleness which even Condorcet, perhaps the most vehemently anti-religious man of his age, acknowledged. It will be objected, perhaps, that we are but recapitulating the leading points of the well-worn controversy between religion and science, but the religious and scientific aspect of the question pales before the interest roused by the study of this strange mind and character. It would be easy to point to more systematic metaphysicians than Pascal. Indeed, as a specialist, he probably might be placed below Kant or Hegel, and, as a theologian, it might be shown that he lacked subtlety. To arrive at the truth, the weight of his stupendous individuality should be grasped, rather than any special manifestation of brain power. Also the single-minded quality underlying the duality of the intelligence must be carefully observed. He is as genuine when he lashes 'ce faux sens commun qui n'en est pas un' as in the religious feeling of his definition of faith: 'Le cœur a ses raisons que la raison ne comprend pas. Voilà la foi, Dieu sensible au cœur.'

This sincerity of thought is noted by Sainte-Beuve:

Pascal n'a point un double rôle; ce n'est point monsieur le théologal d'un côté et le disciple de Sénèque et de Montaigne de l'autre. En lui l'apologiste et l'homme ne font qu'un; il y est tout entier, corps et âme. Dans ce drame que nous dévoilent ses pensées l'acteur est le même que le héros, et l'un et l'autre ne sont que l'homme souffrant, cherchant, désirant, et quand il a trouvé criant aux autres: Suivez-moi. . . tel est, le talent aidant, le secret pour nous de sa puissance, de sa haute et religieuse beauté.

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\* 'The false metaphysics of so-called common sense. . .'.—(Huxley.)

M. Havet and Sainte-Beuve, in their dispassionate method of criticism, indicate in many ways their appreciation of the double aspect of the mind of Pascal. To dwell upon this, Sainte-Beuve (as we have seen before) is struck by the religious side from the force of contrast; he speaks of 'charité véritable et tendresse dans la parole impérieuse en apparence et despotique de Pascal:' and in a comparison which he makes between Pascal and Massillon we find an expression which marks this perception. Speaking of *Le Petit Carême*, he says: 'Il y manque peut-être vers la fin dans l'ordre de la foi je ne sais quelle flamme et quelle pointe de glaive non contraire pourtant à la charité, et à laquelle on ne se méprend pas. Voltaire sentait cette pointe de glaive chez Pascal, chez Bossuet; il la sentait moins chez Massillon.' M. Havet, on his part, dwells on the dislike Pascal showed for so-called proofs of the existence of God from the works of Nature. The Port Royalists, afraid of this line of thought, attempted to soften the impression by casting such expressions in the third person instead of the first, as they did in the *entretien* with De Saci. But the original form has been restored to us by M. Cousin:

J'admire [says Pascal ironically] avec quelle hardiesse ces personnes [the preachers of natural religion] entreprennent de parler de Dieu en adressant leur discours aux impies. Leur premier chapitre est de prouver la Divinité par les ouvrages de la nature. . . . quant aux autres, aux indifférents, à ceux qui sont destitués de foi vive et de grâce, dire à ceux-là qu'ils n'ont qu'à voir la moindre des choses qui les environnent et qu'ils verront Dieu à découvert, et leur donner pour toute preuve de ce grand et important sujet le cours de la lune ou des planètes et prétendre avoir achevé sa preuve avec un tel discours c'est leur donner sujet de croire que les preuves de notre religion sont bien faibles, et je vois par raison et par expérience que rien n'est plus propre à leur en faire naître le mépris.

It is perhaps idle to consider how far this same sincerity would have led Pascal away from religion, and what hold the more rigorous and exacting spirit of modern scientific research would have had upon him, had he belonged to this age. Such considerations are frequently misleading, but, in spite of the complexity of the question, they forcibly present themselves to the mind. It may be true that the spirit of the seventeenth century, when it was not licentious, was distinctly religious, and that, therefore, to compare the influences which prevailed then with those which predominate now seems impossible; but Pascal was less influenced by the spirit of the age than were most of his contemporaries. The sceptical note is sounded from within and not from without, and it is probable that, as he succeeded in silencing this note when the inexorable logic of its persistent sound haunted him, he would have been found in the present day among the disciples of Newman, rather than following the lead of Huxley. As it is, to be claimed by both sides is a tribute to his greatness, and the fact that no amount of analysis will shake the belief in his truthful fearlessness is sufficient

to place him in the very first line of not only his contemporaries and compatriots, but of men of genius of all time. Haunted by the insoluble problem which now as then unnerves the strongest minds, the problem at the root of the conflict between predestination and free-will, or, in words of to-day, between determinism and spontaneous action, Pascal's mind never lost its lucidity.<sup>10</sup> M. Havet, in whose study of Pascal we find perhaps the most searching criticism and the deepest insight, says with regard to this lucidity :

Ce besoin de netteté et de lumière qu'il porte jusque dans la théologie, cette indépendance à l'égard de l'autorité même spirituelle, ce sentiment si vif du ridicule et cette antipathie à l'égard de la sottise et de la bassesse, cet amour profond du vrai et de l'honnête, voilà ce qui a fait des *Provinciales* un chef-d'œuvre tout à fait à part, et une époque dans notre littérature. Pascal se place au premier rang parmi les préparateurs de l'avenir. 'La foi de Pascal a des racines dans le moyen âge ; un mot nous en fait souvenir de temps à autre, mais l'ensemble de son livre est plein de l'esprit moderne et tourné vers l'avenir.

As there lies deep truth in the saying that Voltaire showed the strength of Loyola, and Loyola of Voltaire, so Pascal's mathematical insight and intensely logical mind double the force of his religious idealism, and *vice versa*.

But his versatility is met by many of his English critics in a hostile spirit, and by demonstrations of Pascal's supposed inconsistencies. It would appear to those who have studied not only Pascal's nature a little closely, but human nature generally, that both his Christian fervour and his scientific insight gain rather than lose by the fact, which has been glanced at before, that in the Salons of Madame de Sablé and Madame de Longueville he forgot his rôle *l'homme sérieux*. He was in love with the sister of the Duc de Roannez, and had been seen (a still greater enormity) in the company of a beautiful but frail *savante* who was to be found at Clermont. If it be true 'qu'il n'y ait pas d'honnête femme qui n'ait vu le vice de près,' it may be allowed, one would think, to apply the saying to the other sex, and it is scarcely to be regretted that, in his onslaught on immorality and on frivolity, Pascal knew very well of what he was speaking.

There remains the question of style ; here a foreigner should pause. The analysis of that finely tempered instrument, the French

<sup>10</sup> Of this there is clear evidence in the following sentences, which could be paralleled by hundreds equally brilliant :

'La chose la plus importante à toute la vie c'est le choix du métier, le hasard en dispose !'

'La justice et la vérité sont deux pointes si subtiles que nos instruments sont trop mousses pour y toucher exactement. C'est sortir de l'humanité que de sortir du milieu : la grandeur de l'âme humaine consiste à savoir s'y tenir : . . .'

'Cette superbe puissance [imagination] ennemie de la raison combien toutes les richesses de la terre sont insuffisantes sans son consentement . . . elle fait la beauté, la justice et le bonheur qui est le tout du monde. L'imagination dispose de tout.'

language, presents difficulties enough to French students, but inept tampering therewith may be resented even by a foreign student, and such literary criticism on Pascal as has found its way into the English language seems incredibly bald and ludicrously inadequate.

Pascal was a cause in literature rather than an effect; strong nervous thought was conveyed in strong nervous words, '*un style qui se grave à la pointe du compas.*' The great service he rendered to his mother tongue was to clear it of all redundance, to strengthen and to purify it.

In order to avoid irritation, let us remember how unanimous is the judgment of his compatriots, from P. L. Courier, who said, '*La moindre lettre de Pascal était plus mal-aisée à faire que toute l'Encyclopédie,*' to the later estimate of Paul Bourget, not the least able of his critics. Bearing this in mind, the English judgment that in style Pascal was a plagiarist, that in morals we need not despair of him because he once gave alms without boasting to a poor serving-girl, seems monstrous. The climax of depreciation has here been reached; this judgment and the blunting effect of such unsympathetic treatment may well be borne with equanimity, after the stirring words of love and admiration from France that we have been considering.

MARY E. PONSONBY.

## THE RAVEN

It may be remembered that, in a former number of this Review, I have written somewhat at length upon the owl, and have expressed an opinion that there is no bird which is of so great interest in itself and which it is so important and so imperative for us to preserve. Owls apart, there is, I think, no class of birds which, in view of their high physical and mental development, of their powers of imitation, of their curiously alternating sociability and shyness, of their drolleries and their delicious aptitude, when domesticated, for fun and mischief, of their influence, through all the earlier centuries and earlier civilisations—an influence which has not quite gone by even now and here—over the thoughts, the hopes and the fears of man, is equal in interest to the crow or corvine tribe. That tribe, it should be remarked for the sake of the general reader, includes the crow itself, carrion and hooded, the rook, the magpie, the jackdaw, the jay, and, perhaps, the Cornish chough. Each one of these birds has noteworthy characteristics of its own, and at the head of them all—as much, perhaps, above them as their genus stands above all other genera—stands the subject of this paper, the raven.

The raven (*Corvus corax*) is the biggest, the strongest, the boldest, the most wary, the cleverest, the most amusing, the most voracious—I am afraid I must also add, by far the rarest, and that in an ever-accelerating degree—of its kind. In the opinion of some of the most observant of hill-and-field naturalists, like Macgillivray and Waterton, and of some of the most recent and most strictly scientific of ornithologists, Professor Foster and Professor A. Newton, he takes his place, for reasons which they give, not only at the head of his own corvine family, but of all birds whatsoever. In other words, in their judgment—though it is impossible to record it without regret and without demur—he has dethroned the king of birds himself, the bird of Jupiter, the royal eagle, from his immemorial pride of place.

Glance for a moment at his history. His connection with man goes back to the most dim and distant traditions of the race. He plays a characteristic part as a weather-wise bird—

Imbrium divina avis imminetum—

who did not always do what he ought to do, in the earliest records of the most sacred and venerable book in the world, the

Bible. In a later record of the same book, he plays a part which is equally characteristic in the career of the prophet Elijah. He was placed at the head of the birds of omen, the 'oscines' (*oscino*), as they were called: birds, that is, which, by their weird and startling cries possessed the curious and enviable privilege of prescribing every detail of the public and social life—commanding this or forbidding that—of the severely practical ancient Romans. He was the sacred bird of the supreme divinity of all the Teutonic and Scandinavian races, our own ancestors, of course, among them. He was the travelling companion, sometimes in person, always in effigy, of the 'hardy Norseman,' wherever the winds or waves could carry his adventurous bark. More than any other bird—if we include along with him his nearest ally the crow, which is in many languages confused with him—he attracted the attention of Shakespeare. It is worth noting that while the swan, which

With arched neck,  
Between her white wings mantling proudly, rows  
Her state with oary feet,

so often and so exquisitely referred to by Milton, and the 'wakeful nightingale,' an equal favourite of his, for the most pathetic of all reasons, that, like himself, she

Sings darkling, and in shadiest covert hid  
Tunes her nocturnal note,

have, each of them, to be content with being mentioned only a modest ten times by Shakespeare, the swallow and the owl may pride themselves on being referred to some twenty, the dove some thirty, the eagle some forty, while the raven has the unique distinction of being mentioned over fifty times.

In the rich and wide region of fable—of books, that is, some of which have been translated into more languages, ancient and modern, Eastern and Western, and have had a greater influence, alike as cause, picture, and effect, upon current morality than any other book except the Bible—the raven, as was to be expected from a bird of his marked character, takes a prominent place. In fable, the raven is among birds pretty much what the fox is among animals, the most adroit, the most knowing, the most ubiquitous among them all. In Pilpay as in Æsop, in Babrius as in Phædrus, in La Fontaine and L'Estrange as in Gay, he serves to point many a moral and adorn many a tale.

A bird whose literary history begins with Noah and with Elijah, and who gave his name to the Midianite chieftain Oreb; whose every action and cry was observed and noted down, alike by the descendants of Romulus and the ancestors of Rolf the Ganger; who occurs in every second play of Shakespeare; who forms the subject of one of the most eery poems of Edgar Allan Poe, and enlivens the pages

of the *Roderick Random* of Smollett, of the *Rookwood* of Ainsworth, of the *Barnaby Rudge* of Dickens, is a bird whose historical and literary pre-eminence is unapproached; while, to the mind of the patriotic English naturalist, he carries with him also something of the pathetic interest which always attaches to a lost or losing cause, to a state of things, to a phase of thought or feeling, to a people or to an individual, whether man or beast, who is slowly passing away. The raven is passing away; not yet, I am glad to say, from the world at large—he is much too widespread and much too wide awake for that—nor even from the British Islands as a whole, but he is passing away from the whole of the interior districts of England, where, a generation or two ago, his solemn croak could so often be heard.

I will premise two things: first, I pretend to no strictly scientific knowledge of the subject. Science, nay, one single subdivision of one single branch of science nowadays, demands and deserves, if the study is to be fruitful of positive results, the devotion of a lifetime. But the observations—even if they should be somewhat ‘random and desultory’—of anyone who has loved birds with a passionate love all his life, may have some little value of their own. They may rouse a general interest in the subject which purely scientific details may fail to do. They may add to the enjoyment of country life, and they may tend, as I have good reason to hope my paper on owls has already begun to tend, towards the preservation of fascinating birds which, even if they are guilty of an occasional depredation on game or on the flock, surely do more than atone for it, by the oddities of their habits, by the beauty of their movements, and by their sonorous cries, so admirably harmonising with those clumps of Scotch firs and those expanses of wild moorland in which they may still occasionally be found.

Secondly, my chief field of observation has, as in the case of the owls, been not the county of Middlesex in which my working life has been passed—for no wild raven has been heard or seen for many years past, or ever will, I fear, be heard or seen again within some fifty or more miles of London—but the county of Dorset, a county which, with its breezy downs, its flint-bestrewn uplands, its dark fir plantations, its limpid streams, its stretches of bog and marsh and heather, its splendid coast-line, possesses nearly every variety of soil and climate suitable for bird-life. In Dorset, I may add that I have had quite exceptional opportunities, as will be seen hereafter, of studying the raven ‘at home.’ The habits of a bird so ‘shy and sly’ as a raven can be observed at anything like close quarters only during the breeding season, when the natural affection of the parent for its young does so much to transform its shyness into familiarity and its slyness into dauntless courage.

The raven is as nearly cosmopolitan as any bird can well be. Roughly speaking, he is to be found scattered at intervals over much



the greater part of the northern hemisphere—the hemisphere, that is, which contains two-thirds of all the land of the world. To put it more clearly, while he is not found in South America, in Central and Southern Africa, in Australia, in New Zealand or in Polynesia, he is found over the whole of North America, over the whole of Europe, over the north of Africa and over more than three-fourths of Asia. He penetrates as far northward as land itself appears to stretch—well, that is, into the Polar circle—where he seems positively to revel in its extreme cold. He is still comparatively common in the Outer Hebrides, in the Orkney, the Shetland, and the Faroe Islands, where a price is often set upon his head. He is commoner still in Iceland and throughout Scandinavia. It is interesting to note that in nearly all the regions in which the cult of Odin once held supreme sway, and where it may well be that some lingering relics of the vanished cult still survive, Odin's sacred bird still holds his own. He ranges throughout Russia in Europe and Russia in Asia to the remote Corea and the still more remote Kurile Islands. He gives some life, and deals, perhaps, as much death, amidst the thinly-peopled wastes of Central Asia. A much-travelled friend of mine, Mr. Robert Hayne, just returned from the Thian Shan mountains, tells me that he is the commonest of all birds there. His croak is to be heard on the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush, on the Suliman mountains and on Mount Elbruz, on the Taurus, the Caucasus, and the Lebanon, on the Balkans, the Alps and the Pyrenees, throughout the whole range of the Atlas, on Mount Sinai, and—as the dawn of history and tradition and the continuity of bird-life seem to demand—on that 'huge boundary-stone' where the three empires, Russian, Turkish, and Persian, still meet, Mount Ararat.

To come nearer home: on the mainland of Scotland and Ireland, in spite of incessant persecution, the raven maintains a precarious existence amongst the wild deer forests and the grander of the mountain peaks. In England, though, as I have remarked, he has vanished or is vanishing fast from the midland districts, he still breeds on many of the rifted rocks and the precipitous headlands which mark its coast-line. Till lately—I do not know whether he does so still—he bred on Flamborough and on Beachy Head, on Bolt Tail in Devonshire, and on the Freshwater Cliffs in the Isle of Wight. But he seems to cling most fondly of all to the coasts of Cornwall and of Dorset. In a walk of a moderate length along the Cornish coast from the Lizard, I have watched three pairs of ravens busy about their nests; while in a rather longer walk along the coast of Dorset, from Whitenose Cliff to St. Alban's Head, I have known at least four pairs of ravens rearing or trying to rear their young. Swyre Head would hardly be Swyre Head, Gad Cliff would hardly be Gad Cliff—Studland, where they are strictly preserved by its owner, would hardly be Studland—without its pair of ravens, and without

also, I am glad to add, the hereditary friends or foes of the ravens, a pair of peregrine falcons.

I say they *try* to rear their young; for while the old birds generally take good enough care of themselves and keep just out of the range of shot, the heavy-bodied young, when at last they begin to bestir themselves, often flutter down from their nest, hidden as it is beneath an overhanging rock, on to the more accessible ledges, or even to the beach below, where they may easily be captured. The price they fetch, owing to their unique attractions as pets, from the bird dealers in Leadenhall Market, is so high—some ten or fifteen shillings each—that a brood is rarely reared in safety. But it is probable that the high price paid for the young birds may help to secure the safety of the old; for the expert cragsman, carrying his rope and his life in his hand, who is to be found at the neighbouring villages of Chaldon or West Lulworth, is too much alive to his own interest to kill the goose that lays for him the golden eggs.

What is the raven like? He is highly symmetrical in form. In bearing he is grave, dignified, and sedate. No one would suspect the fun, the perennial fund of humour, conscious or unconscious—chiefly, I am convinced, the former—which lies behind. His walk is, like himself, stately and deliberate, especially when he is searching the sea-shore and prying into every nook and corner for any food which may have been thrown up upon it, never so well described as in one line of Virgil, remarkable alike for its rhythm and its alliteration:

Et sola in siccâ secum spatiatûr arenâ.

[And stalks in stately solitude along the dry sea-sand.]

His eyes are exceptionally bright, but of small size, as also are his nostrils, for what they have to do. It is probable that both nostrils and eyes help him in discovering, at an amazing distance, any offal that has been thrown into the ditch, any sickly lamb that could 'never live to be turned into mutton,' any sheep that has been rendered helpless by being 'cast' upon his back.

With the exception of his eyes, which are dark grey or brown, and the graceful and pointed feathers of his neck, which, in certain lights, seem to be shot with purple, he is black all over—feathers, legs, claws and toes. The stiff bristles which cover half the beak are jet black; so is the beak itself; and it is strange but true—though I have never seen any mention of the fact—that the inside of his mouth and his tongue itself are also black. It is easy to see how many country folk, struck by the completeness and intensity of his sable coat, might well conclude that he must be black inside as well as out—be black, that is, at heart; while others, charmed by the gloss and brilliancy of his colouring, might well regard him as almost an ideal of beauty, to which it would be a delicate compliment to compare the dark eyes or hair of their beloved. What says the

bride of her lover in the Song of Solomon? 'His head is like fine gold; his locks are bushy, and black as a raven.' Or read the exquisite description of Ellen in *The Lady of the Lake*:

And seldom was a snood amid  
Such wild luxuriant ringlets hid,  
Whose glossy black to shame might bring  
The plumage of the raven's wing.

A pathetic story is told by Ovid of the way in which the raven—like the Black Stone in the Kaaba at Mecca, which was once of dazzling whiteness, but since then has been turned black by the kisses of sinful mortals—acquired his sable hue. Apollo thought himself happy in the love of the nymph Coronis. But his ignorance was his bliss, and the raven, his favourite bird and messenger, which was then white as snow, always prying into secrets and ready to prate about them, discovered that her heart was elsewhere, and informed the god of it. Infuriated by jealousy, Apollo shot a far-reaching arrow into her bosom, and repented only when it was too late. In vain did he have recourse to his own healing arts; in vain did he shed

tears such as angels weep.

His last office was reverently to place the body of his beloved on the funeral pyre; then he turned upon the chatterbox and changed him from white to black:

Inter aves albas vetuit consistere corvum.

The raven once in snowy plumes was dressed,  
White as the whitest dove's unsullied breast;  
His tongue, his prating tongue, had changed him quite  
To sooty blackness from the purest white.

Another legend, not very creditable to the raven, but interesting, as showing the character for cunning and impudence, for malingering and for greed, which he had, even in those early times, acquired, and which he has not got rid of since, is also told by Ovid. Apollo sent him with a bowl to fetch some lustral water from the spring, in honour of a festival to Jupiter. The bird started on his errand as he was ordered; but some fine figs hanging over the spring took his fancy, and finding that they were green and hard, he determined to wait till they were ripe. When he had eaten them, he killed a big snake, and carrying it back to his master—bowl and lustral water and all—held it up in triumph and said, 'See, here is the foe who has been fighting me off all this time from the spring and from my duty.' The prophet Elisha could hardly have rebuked the greed and falsehood of his servant Gehazi with more severity, than that with which the god of prophecy now turned upon his guilty messenger. 'Went not my heart with thee? Dost thou dare to add a lie to thy guilt? Never henceforward, so long as the figs are hang-

ing green upon the trees, shalt thou taste of water from the spring.' The incident was closed; but, according to Ovid, a strange memorial of it, half punishment, it would seem, and half reward, remained. The raven, the snake, and the bowl have ever since been seen in the heavens side by side, and the constellation which contains them all was long called by astronomers the Corvus or Raven.

Influenced by such legends and by some of the undoubted characteristics of the raven, Shakespeare is fond of contrasting his 'black arts' with the whiteness and innocence of the dove.

Not Hermia but Helena I love :  
Who will not change a raven for a dove ?

cries Lysander in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. So too, the Duke of Illyria, in *Twelfth Night*, says :

I'll sacrifice the lamb that I do love,  
To spite a raven's heart within a dove.

So again the violent outburst of Queen Margaret against the 'good Duke Humphrey' of Gloucester, in whom her husband still has implicit trust :

Seems he a dove ? His feathers are but borrowed,  
For he's disposed as the hateful raven.  
Is he a lamb ? His skin is surely lent him,  
For he's inclin'd as are the ravenous wolves.

And, once more, read the impassioned utterances, the contradictions in terms of the love-lorn Juliet, when she hears of the deed which may separate her from her Romeo :

Beautiful tyrant ! Fiend angelical !  
Dove-feathered raven, wolfish ravening lamb !

A white raven was supposed by the ancients to be as much an impossibility, a contravention of the order of nature, as a black swan. Phalanthus, when besieged in a town of Rhodes, having received an oracle that he would remain master of the town 'till ravens became white,' felt as secure as Macbeth did in his castle, till 'Birnam wood' began to 'move towards Dunsinane.' But the commander of the besieging army, hearing of the oracle, rubbed some ravens with gypsum and let them loose. Phalanthus, on seeing them, abandoned the town in despair. Both white ravens and black swans are now known to exist. Black swans are common enough in Western Australia, and pied and even white varieties of the raven have been observed in the Outer Hebrides, in the Faroes, and in Iceland. 'I have seen,' says Boyle, in his book *On Colour*—published before Dr. Johnson wrote his dictionary, and described the raven, which he might often have seen, had he cared to see it, in his *Tour in the Hebrides*, as 'a large black fowl, said to be remarkably voracious, and whose cry is pretended to be ominous'—'I have seen a perfectly white

raven as to bill, as well as feathers'; and there is, if I mistake not, just such a white raven in the Albino Case in the British Museum.

How is it, we may well ask, that the raven, whose croak is one of the most awe-inspiring and sepulchral sounds in nature, has not, according to the rule which generally holds good in such cases, received in all languages a name which is onomatopœic—expressive, that is, of the cry? The Greek name *corax* is admirably imitative. The Latin *corvus*, the French *corbeau*, the Italian *corbo*, the Highland *corbie*, the English words *crow* and *croak*, connected with him, will pass muster. The strange thing is that the names given him by the Teutonic and Scandinavian nations, among whom he was best known and most honoured, though they are said by Professor Skeat to be derived from a root 'krap,' Latin 'crepare,' 'to make a sound,' are anything but imitative of any one of the many remarkable sounds he makes. Such are the Anglo-Saxon 'hræfu' or 'hrefu,' the Icelandic 'hrafu,' the Old High German 'hraban,' the Dutch 'raaf,' the Danish 'ravn,' the German 'rabe,' the English 'raven,' and, perhaps, 'Ralph.' I only note the fact; I cannot offer any explanation of it.

What about the food of the raven?—a somewhat unsavoury but interesting part of the subject, and highly illustrative of his strength, his sagacity, his adaptability to circumstances. Like most of his tribe, the raven is, in the strictest sense of the word, omnivorous. His dietary ranges from a worm to a whale. During certain months of the year, he feeds largely on grubs and insects, and then he does unmixed good. Sometimes, he takes to berries, fruits and grain. Snakes and frogs and moles never come amiss to him. Of rats he is passionately fond; and when, after the thrashing of a rick, the usual massacre of rats has taken place, the raven, if they are within the wide range of his scent or his sight, is sure to present himself and claim his share. If the word 'ravenous' is not derived from 'raven'—as Professor Skeat tells us it is not, and I suppose we must believe him—it might well be so, for it exactly expresses what the raven ever has been, ever is, and ever will be; and when, in addition to his own voracity, he has to supply that of the five or six 'young ravens that cry,' he is bound to fly at higher game, and will 'lift' without scruple a nest of partridge's eggs, a rabbit, or a leveret. When his nest is built, as it generally is, beneath some overhanging rock which quite conceals it from view from above, its position may sometimes be discovered by the remains of rabbits neatly laid in the short grass on the top of the cliff, in what I was going to call his 'larder.' But a larder implies an amount of economy and self-restraint which it is not in the raven to practise. 'Consider the ravens: for they neither sow nor reap; which neither have storehouse nor barn; and God feedeth them.' A rabbit warren is, generally, not far distant from the eyrie; and the young rabbits, as they sun themselves in front of

their burrows, fall an easy prey. On one occasion the old warrenner at Whitenose Cliff told me that he had counted the parent birds bringing as many as five rabbits within an hour to their clamorous brood. As the season gets on, the raven varies the diet of his nurslings by giving them the eggs of the cormorant or the seagull which are laid on the adjoining ledges. He will spike them with his bill and carry them off in triumph; he will even, at times, enter the burrow of the puffin, and a battle-royal will take place for the possession of her eggs, beneath the surface of the earth. The puffin is a small bird, but it is armed with a huge razor-like bill which, if it does not beat the intruder off, will at least give him a squeeze which he will remember for a long time to come.

All this on occasion; but at other times a sort of 'truce of God' seems to be established between the raven and his nearest neighbours. There is, apparently, an honourable understanding between them that, being his neighbours, they are free of the guild, and he will leave their eggs, exposed as they are, quite unmolested, while he carries off those which are more remote. In like manner, a hill fox in Scotland will often leave the poultry and the geese and the turkeys which are near his 'earth' severely alone, and will travel past them for miles by night, to get others which he will have to carry toilsomely home. He wishes, no doubt from motives of self-preservation, to be on good terms with those who, if they are so minded, can do him most harm. So too, again, a pair of ravens watched by Professor Newton, from year to year, at their inland breeding-place in Norfolk, carefully abstained from molesting the sheep and lambs and game which abounded within their sight, and lived almost entirely upon the moles whose burrows were further away.

In moorland districts, where food is scarce, the ravens will attack without scruple a newly-born lamb or even a sheep that has been 'cast.' His method is always the same, and has been noticed to be so from the earliest times. He goes straight at the eye, which one blow of his powerful beak will destroy. 'The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it.' *Cornicum oculos configere*, 'to dig out the eyes of the ravens,' was a proverbial expression used by Cicero, equivalent to our proverb 'the biter bit.' Another English proverb, true enough as a general statement of fact in Natural History, tells us that 'hawks don't pick out hawks' een,' but Mr. Ralph Bankes of Kingston Lacy, in Dorset, a great protector of ravens, was the eye-witness of a curious exception to the rule, in the case of his favourite bird. 'In 1885,' he says, 'I saw one morning, on the lawn here, a fine old raven. Immediately afterwards a second one pitched down and a battle-royal took place. One of the birds, I could not discover whether it was cock or hen, was pecked in the eye and killed on the spot.' It was a case of the 'biter bit' with a vengeance.

The phrase *paseo corvos*, 'be food for the ravens', among the Romans, like *θῆς κόρακας*, 'go to the ravens,' or *βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας*, 'fling him to the ravens,' among the Greeks, were curses imprecating utter disgrace and ruin. They involved death, mutilation by a bird of evil omen, want of burial. And want of burial carried with it disagreeable consequences in the other world. Charon would not ferry the soul over the Styx.

But what the raven loves most of all is carrion, and thereby, like the vulture in the desert, or like the kite in mediæval cities, or the adjutant in Eastern cities now, he, no doubt, plays his appointed part in creation. The carcase of any animal lying on hill or valley, or anything and everything thrown up by the tide, from a mollusc or a shellfish to a shark or a whale, he claims as his own. A shellfish, when it proves too hard a nut for him to crack with his bill, he has been seen to carry high in air and drop upon the rocks. The islands round the west and north of Scotland still afford one of the best fields for the observation of the raven when he is at work. And Macgillivray, who, some sixty years ago, used to watch them with a telescope from huts he had put up for the purpose, has given a graphic description of their *modus operandi*, the gist of which I reproduce.

When a raven discovers a dead sheep he always first alights at a considerable distance from it, looks carefully around, and utters a low croak. He then advances nearer, in his queer sidelong fashion, eyes his prey wistfully, and then, plucking up his courage, leaps upon him and makes a closer examination. Discovering no cause of alarm—no suspicion, that is, of a trap or poison—he gives a louder croak, pecks out an eye and part of the tongue, and devours them. By this time, another raven, and another, and another will have arrived, when they dig out together the intestines and continue to feed on the carcase till they are sated or disturbed. Sometimes a greater black-backed gull, a skua, a fox, or even a dog, will have a 'look in' and be allowed to join in the feast. *Feris convivialis*, 'he will banquet with wild beasts,' says Linnæus tersely of the raven. He was probably describing what he had himself often seen in Sweden; and one of the names by which the raven or corbie crow is known in the Highlands, 'biadhtach,' is said to have much the same meaning.<sup>1</sup>

If a whale be thrown ashore, the good news spreads, no one quite knows how, along

Island and promontory, creek and bay,

throughout the Hebrides. The raven is, in no sense of the word, gregarious; on the contrary, he has a passion for solitude. He will tolerate no rival, not even his own offspring, in the neighbourhood of his ancestral throne. He drives them ruthlessly away, as soon as they are able to shift for themselves. But, on an occasion like this, his voracity overpowers his wish to be alone. Other ravens drop in

<sup>1</sup> Macgillivray's *British Birds*, i. 498 seq.

by twos and threes till they have been counted by hundreds. There they take up their abode for weeks and even months, till the huge carcase has been picked clean. On one occasion, the inhabitants of a small island feared that the prolonged stay of the ravens might end in an attack on the barley crop which was soon to ripen and to supply their illicit whisky stills. Something must be done. A crafty cragsman managed to capture some of the ravens on the ledge on which they roosted at night, heavy with sleep and food. He plucked off all their feathers, except those of their wings and tails, and turned them adrift in the morning. The other ravens, either failing, with all their acuteness, to recognise their uncanny piebald comrades, or reading in them their own future fate, left the island, not to return.

I have said that the raven is a very solitary bird, except when the cry of 'carrion afield' on a colossal scale, causes him to put up for a time with the society of his kind. But two exceptions to the rule, one of which came under my brother's, the other under my own notice, are worth recording. Colonel Walter Marriott Smith, R.A., tells me that in winter the raven becomes gregarious on the margin of the hills and plains in Northern India.

I have seen them by hundreds on a vacated barrack near Peshawur, during the last Afghan war. I have also watched one of them, when no other human being was visible, regularly stationing himself opposite to the fowls' big wire enclosure at Peshawur, and setting to work to systematically imitate their sounds, and ridiculing them with an air of contemptuous superiority.

My own experience was at Athens, in January 1898. The green slopes of Lycabettus, the hill outside the city which so dwarfs the Acropolis and the Areopagus within it, were dotted with ravens, walking about in groups of threes or fours, and, anon, congregating together, to the number of about seventy. They were not there for purposes of carrion—there was none about. It was a more serious business. No clerical convocation could have looked more sober and sedate, nor, so far as appearances went, could have more weighty matters to discuss. What were they there for? My theory is that the convocation consisted of the young birds of the previous year which had recently been sent about their business by their parents, and, by a curious coincidence, had met from all the adjoining parts of Greece at the metropolis, and were now about to take the most far-reaching step in their career. They were about to choose a mate, not for a year, or term of years, but for a lifetime; and a raven, it is to be remembered to his credit, is never false to his choice.

One other interesting experience of a raven abroad should be mentioned here. I was on a visit to the site of Carthage and went out to view the Roman aqueduct, several arches of which, nearly as high as those of the Pont du Gard, still march across a remote plain in stately procession. On the top of one of these a big owl had built her



nest ; on the other side of it, a raven had built hers ; a curious mixture of associations, archæological and religious, the bird of Pallas and the bird of Odin nestling together in amity, on a building reared by the Roman worshippers of Jupiter and Juno, and supplying the wants of the descendants of the Phœnicians, who still clung to their ancestral worship of Baal and of Ashtaroth.

The bill of the raven is a formidable weapon, strong, stout, sharp at the edges, curved towards the tip. It is his one weapon of offence, but it answers the purpose of two or three. Like the dirk of the Highlanders, among whom he is still so often found, it is equally available as a dagger or as a carving knife. It can also be used as a pair of pincers. It can kill a rat at one blow, crush its head into pulp with one squeeze, and then, with its powerful pull, can tear the muscles asunder, or strip off the flesh in small morsels from the bones. It can drive its beak right through the spines of a hedgehog and deal it a death-blow. It is said that it will never attack a man. If this be true, it is, I think, not so much from any defect of courage as from his keen intellectual perception of what will pay and what will not. A raven, and still more a pair of them, will beat off and mob the formidable skua gull, the Iceland falcon, the sea or the golden eagle itself. It will even engage in a not wholly unequal combat, on the ground, with the long-necked heron, one direct blow of whose spear-like beak would kill him on the spot.

Three striking compliments paid by the Romans, the masters of the art of war, to the strength and formidable nature of the raven's beak may be mentioned here.

First, it was nothing but the help, as the story goes, of a raven which, perching on the helmet of the Roman champion, Valerius, and striking with beak and wings against the gigantic Gaul opposed to him, secured the victory for Rome and gave to Valerius, in consequence, his own name of *Corvus*, which he bore as a name of honour ever afterwards.

Secondly, it was nothing but the spike fixed at the end of the mast and drawbridge invented by Duillius, in the first Punic war, and called, from its resemblance to a raven's beak, the *Corvus* or *Corax*, which, when it fell on the deck of a Carthaginian vessel, pinned it to itself in fatal embrace, and so, changing the sea into a land battle, gave to Rome her first naval victory over the masters of the sea.

And, once more, the same terrible name of destiny was given to the grappling-hook or engine which now tore down stones from the walls of a besieged city, and, now, again, when planted on the walls of the besieged, would, by a sudden swing, whip up one of the besiegers from the ground and fling him far into the city.

R. BOSWORTH SMITH.

(To be concluded.)

## *AN AGRICULTURAL PARCEL POST*

THE object of the writer of this article is not so much to entertain the reader as to attempt to show how the income of the United Kingdom may be immediately increased by at least 60 millions sterling, distributed among a class of men who are admitted to be the backbone of the community, but whose fate it seems to be to suffer from the prosperity of their fellows. There is but one class which can be thus described—the agricultural. There is but one remedy suggested for its misfortunes—an Agricultural Parcel Post.

Not that the Post Office can do all that is required. The official Hercules will certainly expect the depressed cultivator to put a shoulder to the wheel. The Postmaster-General is nowise responsible for the enterprise of Transatlantic farmers or the cutting of Transatlantic freights. So long as the British farmer acts on the theory that his land will produce only one thing, which he cannot sell at a profit, nobody, not even Hercules, can help him. For, as against stupidity, 'the gods themselves contend in vain.' But if he will grow that which is highly profitable, and which the Post Office alone (without injury to its revenue) can bring to market, then it is clearly the duty of the Post Office to place its machinery at his service. It is worth while to examine with an impartial mind the facts and arguments for and against postal intervention.

### WHAT WE ARE LOSING—IN ACRES

There are in the United Kingdom 77,677,959 acres, of which 29,917,374 acres are uncultivated. Of the uncultivated portion, 1,225,000 acres were cultivated eleven years ago, when I brought the matter before Mr. Raikes; 806,872 have been laid down in pasture, while 418,473 have become primeval desert.

### WHAT WE ARE LOSING—IN MEN

While our fields have been thus abandoned to weeds, those who tilled them have emigrated to lands where their services are valued. In the last ten years 1,603,523 persons have left our

shores. Whole villages are deserted as in the time of plague; and all we get in return for our country is the barren title, *Officina Gentium*.

#### IN MONEY

It may be urged that the emigrants are not wanted here, nor the abandoned acres either. A most eloquent protest against this assertion is furnished by the following return of dairy and garden produce imported last year (on which *The Times* remarks:—'Every article in it is easily producible at home'):

Butter . . . . .	£20,527,984
Margarine . . . . .	2,569,453
Cheese . . . . .	6,412,420
Eggs . . . . .	6,299,934
Apples . . . . .	1,923,482
Lard . . . . .	4,118,090
Milk (condensed) . . . . .	587,930
Potatoes . . . . .	1,589,583
Flowers . . . . .	267,281
Bacon and hams . . . . .	17,285,969
Total . . . . .	£61,582,976

#### IS IT INEVITABLE?

It appears that we consume yearly 60,000,000*l.* worth of dairy and similar garden produce not raised on our own soil.

Could it be raised here? High authorities like Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Hanbury, and Mr. C. S. Read, say there is no difficulty. Experts tell us that British soil is as rich as any in the salts and fertilising elements required. Public opinion, built up of individual experiences, pronounces British eggs, cheese, butter, and apples to possess unapproachable flavour. Common-sense teaches us that where pigs or fowls or cows are fattened on one farm, they may be fattened on a neighbouring farm, lying on the same strata and having similar physical conditions. Yet we continue to import more and more agricultural produce and to export more and more agricultural labourers.

#### NO LINK BETWEEN GROWER AND BUYER

The sterilising influence, the fatal objection, is the want of some means of getting the produce in question quickly and cheaply to the market. A man farming a thousand acres contracts with dealers in town, and delivers his produce daily, from his own van or cart, at the nearest railway station. But the tens of thousands who occupy from one to twenty acres own no vans, and, in order to secure lower rent, they live far away from the railway. And the situation of a farm is

everything. We cannot say of the modern British farmer, as Horace wrote of the Roman, 'Beatus ille qui procul negotiis.'

#### THE DRUGGIST CALLED IN

When dealing with 'perishable' produce, as it is called, it is obvious that speed of transmission from grower to consumer is the vital factor. No sooner has the apple fallen, or the egg been laid, or the butter been made, than predatory bacteria begin to pollute it and destroy its pristine and peculiar savour. A certain Scottish angler and epicure has a fire kindled on the bank of the Tweed, and into a pot boiling on that fire the first salmon he kills is thrown. Another salmon, caught within the hour, and cooked in London twenty-four hours later, would have a different and inferior flavour because the oil in the flesh would be slightly rancid. Thomson the poet ate peaches growing on the tree, just as writers of prose eat (if bold enough) the oyster—alive. Dr. Johnson, who doubtless, in those days of bad roads and slow waggons, spoke feelingly, declared that no man was 'satisfied with a moderately fresh egg.' If we except Chinamen this is true; but very few inhabitants of our towns can secure 'new-laid' eggs. As to butter, cheese, and milk, it is notorious that our foreign friends thoughtfully save our noses from being offended by a liberal use of chemical preservatives, with which the British stomach is supposed to deal. One dares not calculate how many kegs of Belgian borax and French acid the British middle-class baby must assimilate at the most critical period of its existence.

#### A PROPOSAL

This state of things has prevailed for many years. So long ago as 1891 it seemed possible that the Post Office, by reducing its charges for the conveyance of dairy and garden produce, might bridge the gap between producer and consumer.

A deputation accordingly waited on the late Mr. Raikes, then Postmaster-General, on the 11th of April, 1891. The late Sir Henry Selwyn-Ibbetson (in the writer's absence through illness) represented the cultivators, and laid the case fully before the Minister, who said in the course of his reply:

The deputation urged that a great development of the industry would result if the charges on perishable articles were reduced. And he thought that there was a very strong case indeed for the Post Office taking upon itself the special charge of these perishables, when really speed of conveyance was everything. In this matter he promised to go again to the Treasury to see if anything could be done generally in the direction of the proposals that had been made.

This promise to consult the inexorable Jorkins was not very

encouraging; and not long afterwards Mr. Raikes died without having been able to carry into effect views which did him so much honour.

#### LATER DEVELOPMENTS

It may be instructive to append later official declarations on the subject, exhibiting the effect of persistent agitation.

On the 17th of February, 1896, Mr. Hanbury (in reply to the Member for Canterbury) said :

The Postmaster-General is aware of the interest which the late Mr. Raikes took in the subject of the transmission of agricultural produce by Parcel Post ; but it is a mistake to suppose that Mr. Raikes ever advocated specially low rates in favour of this particular class of produce. Mr. Henniker Heaton asked what objection there was to an Agricultural Parcel Post. Mr. Hanbury said there was no objection to an Agricultural Parcel Post, but to one at reduced rates, because the Postmaster-General had no opportunity of judging how far each individual parcel contained agricultural produce. (In other words, the centre of resistance had shifted from the Treasury to a departmental committee which is probably still sitting, with intervals for rest and refreshment—a company of venerable white-haired men.)

November 1902. *Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*—The question of instituting a special Parcel Post for agricultural products has been considered on more than one occasion, but the difficulties surrounding it are so great that it has not hitherto been found possible to adopt any such scheme. This is, however, one of the questions which I propose to examine afresh as soon as I have leisure to do so.

And so the decision no longer rests with an irresponsible committee, but with a Minister of much promise, and directly responsible to Parliament.

#### APPEALS FROM THE COUNTRY

The reader will perhaps welcome direct evidence from the class which it is proposed to help. The following are extracts from large masses of correspondence which have reached me on the subject :

*Miss Emily FitzGerald, Glanlearn, Valencia Island, Ireland.*—We send off a considerable quantity of butter by Parcel Post as it is, and, were the rate lower, could get more orders.

Eggs have been tried, and a good deal might be done in this line ; but when to the cost of boxes and chances of breakage the postage, coming as it does to  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per egg, is added, it is not worth while. If the postage were halved it would just make the difference. Flowers and vegetables I am most anxious about. I and others are at present trying to work up the cultivation of spring flowers and early vegetables in Kerry through the machinery of a 'Garden Guild.' I believe that, with the absence of frost that we enjoy, we could, with due care, shelter from wind, and proper cultivation, compete successfully with the South of France. And to this industry an Agricultural Parcel Post would be an immense benefit.

I was much struck, only a few days ago, to find that the postage on a little box of flowers forwarded to a neighbouring county from here was 15 per cent.

over the postage that had freed it from Italy. The rearing and fattening of poultry is another industry that would be much helped if the post were more available.

*Mrs. M. E. Lawrie, 30 Albert Gate, S.W.*—I most cordially agree with you as to the Agricultural Parcel Post. It would be an immense boon to the farmer by bringing him into direct touch with the consumer; and to the town house-keeper by ensuring the freshness of eggs, butter, cream, and flowers.

*The Rev. T. Priestly Foster, Paulton Vicarage, Fairford.*—As a country clergyman I feel sure an Agricultural Parcel Post, such as you suggest, would be an unspeakable boon to farmers and others living in the country; it would bring producer and consumer into immediate connection. I suppose the chief difficulty would be the extra burden it would lay upon the rural postman; but the proviso might be that all parcels sent by the Agricultural Post should be given in at a railway station.

P.S.—Some time ago, on behalf of a parishioner, I advertised in the *Morning Post* for recipients of country butter, but found the postal charges were prohibitory. I had many answers showing that such a plan as yours would be a great boon.

*Mr. W. J. Elwes, Preston House, Cirencester.*—I believe that, if properly worked, it (an Agricultural Parcel Post) would do more than anything to make the cultivation of small holdings profitable. It seems to me that, as under our so-called free-trade system it is impossible to give any encouragement directly to the production of fruit, vegetables, poultry, rabbits, &c., in small holdings, and that their increase can never be great as long as they are only profitable, as at present, in the neighbourhood of towns, the Government might give some small advantage of this sort to occupiers in the country, who undoubtedly pay a larger proportion of rates and taxes than the richer occupiers of urban and suburban houses. By carrying their produce through the post at cost, or less than cost price, you would benefit both classes to an extent that few can realise. . . . I may add that I occupy nearly 4,000 acres myself in this county and Hampshire. . . . It is a fact that in neither of these counties is there the least evidence of any desire on the part of the better class of labourers to occupy large allotments or small farms for themselves, the reason being that they cannot make it pay, even when the rent is as low as 10s. to 1l. an acre. The result is that both counties are becoming rapidly depopulated as regards their rural and remote districts, and large quantities of what used to be fairly productive land are lying waste.

*Rev. S. F. Newman, Vicar of Marton, Easingwold.*—I gathered a few sticks of rhubarb and sent them (to my sister-in-law) by Parcel Post. But here is the point—it cost me 6d., and so I have sent no more.

*Miss H. E. Keane, Glenshelane, Cappoquin, Ireland.*—Being much interested in your efforts to get us an Agricultural Post, I thought I should like to let you see a specimen of my industry. I therefore sent by yesterday evening's Parcel Post a box of flowers which I hope you will accept.

With a mild climate in winter and spring like ours, it appeared to me we wasted our opportunities, so I started this flower farm and am advancing rapidly towards success. I need not say what an impetus the Parcel Agricultural Post you propose would give to this kind of trade. I am trying to get a Parcel Post from the South of Ireland by Milford, which would shorten the arrival of parcels in London by twelve hours.

*De B. Crawshaw, Esq., Rosefield, Sevenoaks, Kent.*—Personally I frequently do not send flowers to friends on account of the cost at present. Were the rates 1d. per pound, I could send a strong box with a full-length orchid spike, that now only goes as a single bloom, and I know many others who would do the same.

*Miss Fanny W. Currey, The Mall House, Lismore, Ireland.*—Many ladies are engaged in cultivating flowers for the cut-flower market, and I think you will be

interested to know that, with a little protection and care (of almost the same kind in vogue in the South of France) beautiful flowers can be grown here in the open air during winter and early spring and sold in England at remunerative prices—that is, Christmas roses, snowdrops, primroses, primulas, and anemones (St. Bridget, French, the Bride, and other favourite varieties imported from the South of Europe), and narcissus of every kind.

With regard to the latter, we are scarcely later than the Scilly Isles, and the most delicate white varieties grow splendidly here; and all the *Incomparabilis* sorts, and hyacinths, tulips, irises of every kind, gladioli, lilies, &c. It is really hard to feel how this flower industry is starved by high carriage rates and slow delivery. In order to secure high departmental profits the Post Office compels the people of large tracts of country to abstain from the sort of cultivation their climate and circumstances favour. It is an absurd sort of indirect taxation which compels hands to be idle and lands uncultivated and foreign things imported, all for Post Office balance-sheets. The high railway rates affect us as badly. They simply prohibit the small growers from going into the fruit and vegetable business. There is a great scarcity of vegetables in England now, and we have abundance, but the high rates make our exporting so unprofitable at ordinary times no one is doing anything at it. In the South of Ireland the first beginning of improvement must come through *petite culture*. . . . Poultry farming would also be aided by your proposal, and also the butter and egg traffic.

*Rev. W. H. Dalton, Seagrave Rectory, Loughborough.*—The only difficulty which occurs to me is the distance which postmen in the country have to carry parcels. This might be obviated were parcels sent at a specially low rate received at Post Offices near a railway station only.

*Canon Cromwell, Stisted Rectory, Braintree.*—In this parish we grow myriads of roses in summer, that cannot be now sent to a market, and are wasted.

*Mr. S. O. Gray, 71 Belsize Park Gardens, South Hampstead.*—I have a small farm just forty miles distant from London, on the L. B. & S. C. Railway, and I have the produce—butter, eggs, cream, poultry, vegetables, and occasionally a few flowers, and rarely fruit—sent up for my consumption in London. My town residence is unfortunately somewhat beyond the two and a half mile radius within which goods are delivered free by the railway companies, and I have accordingly to pay for delivery about the same rate that I pay for carriage from the farm to London. This arrangement makes the passenger train parcel rate prohibitive, and I have to send my produce by goods train, which entails a delay of a day, and even then the double rate—for railway and delivery—frequently amounts to twenty-five per cent. or thirty per cent. of the value of the produce, and much more in the case of vegetables. The difficulty arises in my case from the high charge for delivery, which in the case of a Parcel Post such as you propose would not be made.

*Mr. Charles Whitehead (ex-President of the Royal Agricultural Society), Barming House, Maidstone.*—Having seen what an admirable means of distribution the Parcel Post might be if the rates were lowered, I hail with great satisfaction your proposed action. Under Mr. Collings's Small Holdings Act, fruit, vegetables, flower and herb growing, honey, egg and poultry raising, must form the leading features of the produce of the occupiers thus created.

You may, if you please, cite my opinion as to the great advantages to the agricultural community from a cheap Parcel Post service, and especially to small holders.

*Mrs. John Munnings, Mendham Mill, Harleston, Norfolk.*—I supply some families in London with butter, and it costs me a shilling to send six pounds, in paper only. The prices in this district are about 11d. and 1s. a pound, and butter cannot be made for that; but if we send it away, carriage absorbs the extra profit.

I had a sitting of eggs in a small box, by Great Eastern Railway, and the carriage was ninepence. The Company takes a large consignment by goods train at a reasonable rate, but the charge on small parcels is too large to leave any profit; and here the Post could help us greatly.

*Mrs. M. A. E. Parsons, Ashurst Place, Langton, Tunbridge Wells.*—Consider your suggestion one of greater importance than to many minds it might at first appear, involving as it does the interest both of the producer and consumer.

*Mr. G. Bence Lambert, Hôtel Splendide, Lugano, Switzerland.*—Only yesterday I sent several roots I dug up on the Alps to England at a very small rate, which will be delivered at my place in Suffolk (Thornington Hall) on Tuesday morning. It would be a great thing for the agricultural interest.

*Mr. James Hefher, 49 Burney Street, Greenwich.*—Fresh butter, eggs, and other dairy produce for 1d. per lb. for carriage. The very thought of it makes one long for it. . . . Thousands of town dwellers, like myself, were born and brought up in the country. Our lot is cast in London, but we often sigh for pure country butter, pure new milk, fresh (new-laid) eggs, &c. Except, however, on rare occasions, we cannot have them. The carriage is too expensive. But the Post Office Parcel Post is at present very uncertain. A very important package of medicine (marked as such, and 'Deliver immediately') was on the 4th inst. posted early in the morning at Stoke Newington, addressed to me at Greenwich. I got it on the morning of the 6th. This was not all; the carriage was 1s., exactly double what Carter, Paterson & Co. or the London Parcels Delivery would have brought it for in much quicker time.

*The Hon. A. Talbot, 74 Cadogan Gardens, S.W.*—I think that it would be a very great benefit to all the community if greater facilities were given for sending small parcels. I have a large market garden myself, and it would make the greatest difference in disposing of the produce if the present prohibitive rates were altered.

#### A DETAILED PLAN

It remains to suggest a workable plan for the desired operation of the Post Office. And here it becomes an outsider who is not an official and knows nothing experimentally of *la petite culture* to observe all due modesty. The aim in this article is to promote discussion of the subject; and it will of course be a subject of congratulation to the writer if a far better system than his can be brought forward.

#### THE PRIME NEED

In the first place, the Post Office should undertake the work of collection. In every rural district mapped out there should be local depôts, say a mile apart, along the roads to which parcels of produce would be brought by a certain hour from the neighbouring farms and cottages. A postal van hired in the locality would collect from these depôts and the village Post Offices, and convey the parcels to the nearest railway station. The trifling expense of maintaining such a depôt might fairly be undertaken by the farmers benefited.

Motor cars should be employed if possible. Let us suppose that



a district is ten miles from a Post Office, and is inhabited by a hundred cottagers, raising (as all would) produce. Clearly the rural postman who now accepts parcels would (even if trained by Sandow) be unequal to the task. But the postal van, or motor car, would convey everything to the station in time for the appointed train to the town of destination. On reaching that town the parcels would be delivered (if so addressed) to the *dépôt* to be established there, or (if so addressed) to individual purchasers. In this way eggs, milk, butter, poultry, fruit, and flowers might be placed on our tables within four or five hours of leaving the farm of origin.

## REGISTER OF CULTIVATORS

We may here deal with the objection formulated by Mr. Hanbury, that 'the Postmaster-General has no opportunity of judging how far each individual parcel contains agricultural produce.' The official mind evidently contemplates a kind of severe inspection, such as the Turkish Customs maintain for caricatures of the Sultan, and the Prussian Customs for Socialistic literature. It would be sufficient, however, to register the cultivators, each of whom would undertake in writing, under a penalty, to send only specified produce. He should then be supplied with books of printed and gummed labels with counterfoils giving a list of different articles of produce something like the following :

No. on Register . . .	5,318	To	
No. of Book . . .	97,561		
No. of Parcel . . .	16		
From (name) . . .	John Bull		The Lord Hardcastle,
Address . . .	Moreton-in-the-Marsh		105 Belgrave Square,
			London, S.W.
Fowls . . . . .	2		
Eggs . . . . .	—		
Butter . . . . .	—		
Fruit . . . . .	—		
Clotted cream . . . . .	—		
Rabbits . . . . .	—		
Honey . . . . .	—		

Price to be collected  
2s. 6d.

## RATES

And now with respect to rates. The writer would recommend one penny per pound for the cash-on-delivery parcels, with a minimum of twopence for anything not over two pounds; and one halfpenny per pound, with a penny minimum, for parcels consigned to *dépôts*, where the postal work is simply collection. These charges should be paid in adhesive stamps.

The maximum weight should be raised to one hundredweight (as in Germany), to be ultimately higher still. And here one should entreat the Post Office to have as few charges as possible, and to give the 'zone' system, so successful on the Continent, at least a fair trial. Unfortunately, the Post Office, as we know, has to pay fifty-five per cent. of the postage on railway-borne parcels to the companies. That bargain, however, comes to an end next year; and meanwhile the Post Office would pocket all the postage on the parcels sent to the nearest dépôt by its motor-car service.

#### THE MODUS OPERANDI

It would be the duty of the keeper of a road dépôt to stamp the date on label and counterfoil after seeing that they were similarly inscribed, in this case with (1) the figure 2 after the printed words 'fowls,' the figures 2s. 6d. opposite 'collected,' and the name and address of Lord Hardcastle (all the rest would be printed). The counterfoil would be retained by the sender of the parcel, the corresponding label being on the parcel. It would now be sufficient if the postal collector, the dépôt keeper, and any other official whom it is advisable to check, should simply sign on a printed form for '1' parcel of register '5318.' The parcel could thus be traced throughout its course without elaborate book-keeping. At stated intervals the dépôt managers would remit by post payment, on production of counterfoils, for all parcels received, to each cultivator credited in their delivery books.

#### TWO KINDS OF BUYERS

As to collecting the price, it is well to observe that only a comparatively small class of well-to-do people would at first give orders directly to the cultivators. The masses in our great towns at present prefer to buy goods as required from the shop. There is also the middleman to be reckoned with; the long-established shopkeeper, who has a clan of children and first, second, and other cousins all married and settled near him. It would be advisable to institute the cash-on-delivery system, as extensively used on the Continent and in India, for the small class of direct purchasers. The postman bringing the parcel would receive the price, and this would be remitted by the Post Office to the sender.

With reference to other purchasers, it would be necessary to establish distributing dépôts from which the shopkeepers would supply themselves, as they do from the markets.

Such dépôts could be cheaply improvised from existing buildings.

Here, then, is a suggested tariff to begin with :

<i>Inland Parcel Post.</i>				<i>Cash on Delivery.</i>			
<i>Depôt.</i>							
2 lbs.	.	.	1d.	2 lbs.	.	.	2d.
6 lbs.	.	.	3d.	6 lbs.	.	.	6d.
11 lbs.	.	.	5d.	11 lbs.	.	.	10d.
Not exceeding 112 lbs.			2s.				

#### • NO CHEMICALS; LESS PIANO

Now for the part the farmers have to play individually. They must see that the produce is perfectly fresh, of prime quality, and both carefully and honestly packed. A friend has made inquiries for me at Covent Garden and Leadenhall Market, and is assured that trickery is as rife among English as among foreign growers. On the other hand, there are cultivators with an established reputation whose produce commands an immediate sale and a higher price. Above all, let them eschew borax and similar abominations, which the swift working of the postal organisation will render superfluous. Success depends largely on the co-operation of their wives and daughters. I was much struck by what the late Joseph Arch once said to me in the Lobby. 'Why, sir, when I was a boy the farmers' wives and daughters used to come to the market or fair at Leamington once or twice a week with their butter, eggs, poultry, or vegetables for sale. Now you never see them. They are too stuck-up, and give themselves to the piano, and such like.'

#### MONEY FOR THE DEPÔTS

One essential thing is for the farmers (or small cultivators) to establish the town depôts to which the Post Office would convey their produce, and which would purchase all they could send. As we have seen, 60,000,000*l.* sterling worth of foreign produce has to be replaced by British produce, so that an enormous profit can be secured with common prudence. It would perhaps be advisable for the Royal Agricultural Society to call a conference on the subject with a view to promote the adhesion of the class concerned, as well as to collect data as to the districts to be worked, and the land still available for occupation. In my opinion, the County and Borough Councils might be confidently appealed to, to rent or build and staff the depôts out of the rates.

The Antrim County Council has just established the first model poultry farm in Ireland. It must not be forgotten that the residents in towns are only less interested than the country people. By resettling on the land the thousands of country people who now swarm into the towns the urban rates would be sensibly relieved.

## PERSONAL

Let me here confess that serious difficulties exist; I should be the last to ignore them. I was, however, responsible for the promulgation and discussion of the idea of an Agricultural Parcel Post some eleven years ago, and have never ceased to advocate it, in and out of Parliament (more than once in the pages of this Review).

Now that the Postmaster-General has definitely undertaken to examine the question, it is perhaps convenient that I should lay before him and the public my mature convictions as to the nature of the problem and the means of its solution. I will only add that, if the remark quoted from the *Times* be correct, the rejection of my proposal by the Postal officials, in 1891, has already cost the country 660,000,000*l.*

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

*THE EFFECT OF CORN LAWS—A REPLY*

IN the December number of this Review, Sir Guilford Molesworth contends that our grandfathers in abolishing the Corn Laws were the victims of a colossal delusion. To prove this point he reproduces with extraordinary naïveté every statement made by protectionist speakers, while by parading quotations and statistics he creates in the mind of the casual reader the impression of profound research. As I shall presently show, his research, though it may have been deep, has not been very wide. He has failed to notice the frank confessions made by his protectionist friends in their more candid moments; he has ignored facts of fundamental importance, and in some cases has so limited the range of his research as to exclude from a quotation sentences which would have greatly altered the meaning of those which he has quoted.

Before dealing, however, with this quasi-historical portion of his article, I wish to direct attention to the theoretic basis of his argument. This basis is so absolutely unsound that even if all the statements in his article were true, and all the figures accurate, they would have no practical value.

The basis of his whole economic argument in favour of protection is contained in the following paragraph:

The money which is spent abroad in purchasing foreign produce ought to furnish employment for our working classes, and to circulate amongst our butchers and bakers and retail traders; but under our present policy it furnishes capital to the foreigner to arm him for successful competition with us.

Evidently Mr. Seddon's visit to his native land was not wasted. His mantle, woven in cloth of gold with eighteenth-century mercantile fallacies, has fallen upon the shoulders of a worthy successor. Sir Guilford Molesworth comes forth to bar the passage of those 160 million golden sovereigns, whose flight to foreign lands caused such deep sorrow to our greatest colonial statesman. In sober earnest, will Sir Guilford Molesworth or any other protectionist kindly tell the world how we can pay for the goods we buy from abroad except with our own goods? In the daily course of business British importers pay for foreign goods with bills. These bills ultimately represent British goods of equal value. Even in the

small minority of cases where an international transaction is settled by the transmission of gold, a moment's reflection will show that before we could send that gold out of the country we had to get it in. Golden sovereigns do not grow—as Mr. Seddon's picturesque imagination appears to suggest—on English gooseberry bushes. Every ounce of gold in the United Kingdom has been paid for at one time or another by the export of British goods worth 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* Therefore, whether our international trade is conducted with bullion or conducted with bills, it equally represents an exchange of goods for goods.

This fundamental truth is in no way affected by the fact that in no country do the imports and exports for a single year exactly balance one another. International transactions are not conducted on a cash basis, with all the accounts squared up to midnight on the 31st of December. They run on from year to year, and they comprise loans of capital, followed by payment of interest. They comprise charges for sea freight, payments for services rendered abroad, and payments for pensions enjoyed at home. All these elements, and some others, come into the account. Many of them represent transactions extending over a long period of years. In no case does accurate information exist to enable us to measure the total values involved. The Board of Trade returns deal only with a part of these transactions, and are for the most part based on information contributed by junior clerks who have no motive for accuracy. The utmost that can be said is: That an excess of imports over exports, such as this country enjoys, is *primâ facie* evidence of growing prosperity.

On this point an examination of the trade of Continental countries is very instructive. In France and Germany there is a large and growing excess of imports; in Russia and Spain it is the exports that are in excess. Is it necessary to point out that France and Germany are immensely more prosperous than either Russia or Spain?

There is, however, a remote possibility that this *primâ facie* evidence may be misleading. It is just possible that we may be paying for our excess of imports by selling our foreign securities. In other words, we may be dissipating, like spendthrifts, the capital that our fathers accumulated.

But surely the burden of proof rests upon the persons who make this astounding assumption. If it were really true that we were dissipating our capital at the rate of a hundred or two hundred millions a year, some outward evidence of the hastening decay of the nation would force itself upon us. Instead, we see on every side and in every class of society palpable evidence of rapidly-increasing wealth. The traffic on the railways, the growth of the public revenue, the increase in savings-bank deposits, the expanding

business of banks and the expanding consumption of staple commodities, the yield of the income-tax and the yield of the death duties, all tell one tale. I will quote only one fact: In the last five years the yield of the income-tax per penny in the pound has increased from 2 millions to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions. Does that look as if our capital were disappearing?

A further study of the income-tax returns enables us to form some estimate of the rate at which we are increasing our investments abroad. In 1885 the income returned as due to foreign investments was 35 millions; in 1900 this had risen to 60 millions. If we assume an average rate of interest of 5 per cent., this means an increase in our capital invested abroad of 500 millions in fifteen years. Thus, so far from dissipating our capital, we are increasing our foreign investments at the rate of about 30 millions a year.

This examination of how we pay for our imports goes to the root of Sir Guilford Molesworth's fallacies. He bases his argument for protection on the assumption that we have in this country an unlimited supply of something called 'money,' and that if we cease to buy foreign goods this 'money' will remain at home. 'When once' it is clearly understood that goods pay for goods, and have done since the world began and will do till the world ends, it becomes manifest that we cannot cease to buy foreign goods without also ceasing to sell British goods. If, for example, we cease to buy foreign wheat, we must cease to sell some British commodity. What is it to be?

Nobody, of course, can answer that question, because nobody can tell what will be the precise effect of a particular interruption to trade. All we can be certain of is, that if British importers are debarred from buying foreign corn, some British exporter will feel the pinch.

Starting from that point, it becomes possible to ask another question which protectionists ought to be able to answer.

Why corn?

What is there sacred about corn, that corn-growing alone is to be protected at the expense of all other British industries? Protectionists constantly talk as if corn-growing and agriculture were convertible terms. A more unwarrantable confusion of words it is hard to imagine. There are hundreds of farmers in the British Isles who grow no corn at all, and there are thousands who buy more than they grow. There are millions of acres of land absolutely unsuited to the production of corn. Why, then, should corn-growing alone be protected?

The answer usually given is that there is a great deal of land that is suitable for corn-growing and for nothing else, and that unless the nation is taxed to make the production of corn on this land profitable it will go out of cultivation altogether. Such tales,

told by interested persons, are always suspicious. We used to be told a few years ago that the stiff lands of Essex fell into this category, and Mr. Hunter Pringle drew a terrible picture of the black desolation that had fallen upon Essex because corn-growing no longer paid. Yet I find the following passage in the issue of *Country Life* for the 10th of January, 1903 :

Anyone who takes the trouble to make a pilgrimage through Essex will find that deplorable county presenting a very different picture from that given in the notable report made to Government by Mr. Hunter Pringle. Land which was coloured black in the map accompanying his remarks is now not only cultivated, but cultivated extensively, and in a manner to yield the most abundant crops. Where waste and desolation lay all round, the land is now smiling with orchard trees and berry-bearing bushes. In other places dairies have been established, and men are deriving a comfortable, if not a luxurious, livelihood by producing milk for London consumption.

In other parts of England a similar story can be told. Local circumstances of course differ, but everywhere rents of agricultural land are rising, and landlords are withdrawing the abatements which they previously offered. And yet the price of corn continues low.

A still more striking illustration of the advantage to farmers themselves of leaving them free to grow what they find most profitable is furnished by Denmark. This little country lives upon agriculture. Practically its only profitable industry is the export of agricultural produce. Is this the result of protection? Not in the least! Danish agriculture has been built up on an entirely free-trade basis, and not a single agricultural product is in any way protected. The splendid results achieved are due to freedom and to enterprise. The Danish farmers have been left free to make the best use they could of their somewhat poor soil and chilly climate, and their enterprise has taught them how to do it. The acreage under cultivation increases every year, and every year issues forth from this little country an increasing stream of such agricultural produce as bacon, butter, eggs, and meat.

Contrast the case of the German farmer, whose industry has been blighted by the curse of protection. He began in 1879 with a protective duty on wheat and rye of 6*d.* per cwt., and corresponding duties on other grains. This tariff was to secure prosperity for agriculture, and check the flow of labour to the towns. In 1885 the duties were increased threefold. In 1888 they were again raised, this time to 2*s.* 6*d.* per cwt., and by the Act of 1902 they were further raised to 3*s.* 3*d.* At the same time taxes of 15*s.* a cwt. have been imposed on butter, cheese, meat, and bacon, and 3*s.* a cwt. on eggs. In a word, the protected German farmer finds it every year more difficult to retain his own home market, while the unprotected Danish farmer, relying solely on his own brains and his own energy,



boldly faces the world and sells his produce at a profit hundreds of miles away from his farm.

This comparison between Germany and Denmark only confirms the conclusions which our grandfathers drew from their practical observation of the working of Corn Laws in our own country. In order to arrive at an opposite conclusion, Sir Guilford Molesworth has ignored fundamental facts and misrepresented others.

His first sin of omission is certainly remarkable as coming from a man who professes to treat economic facts in a scientific spirit. A very large part of his article is taken up with statistics of the prices of corn in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These prices are throughout treated as if they were absolute data, and as if such a phenomenon as a change in the value of money had never been known. Yet, during the period with which he deals, the country passed from a silver standard to a gold standard, with an intervening period of forced paper currency. It might even have occurred to him on *a priori* grounds that it was ridiculous to base an argument on corn prices taken over a long period, without any reference to changes in the rates of wages and the standard of living. It might also have occurred to him that wheat itself is not of unchanging value. There is good wheat and bad wheat, and a rainy harvest will—apart from any other cause—take many shillings a quarter off the selling value of the crop.

Nor does he take the most elementary precaution to compare like with like. Thus he wants to prove that a removal of some of the old import duties on corn in the year 1765 was followed by a rise in price, and he says 'after the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1765 the price of wheat rose from an average of 33s. 3d. to 48s. 4d. for the eight years succeeding their repeal.' The ordinary reader would infer from this sentence that 33s. 3d. was either the actual price at the date referred to, or was the average price for the preceding eight years. As a matter of fact this 33s. 3d. is copied from a parliamentary report and represents the average of 68 years preceding 1765. I do not wish for a moment to suggest that Sir Guilford Molesworth intended to mislead his readers. The illustration merely shows the careless way in which his piles of figures have been pitched together.

An even more serious defect in his long statistical argument is the complete ignoring of the fact that during the greater part of the eighteenth century Great Britain was an exporter and not an importer of corn. It was only when the home harvest was deficient that there was any appreciable importation of foreign corn, and in most years, down to the year 1792, the exports exceeded the imports. Under such conditions it is obvious that the question of protective duties was relatively unimportant. Yet Sir Guilford Molesworth skips merrily from one century to another and back again, as if the

nineteenth century, with its enormously increased population dependent upon manufactures for a livelihood, could possibly be compared to the eighteenth century, with a much smaller population, mainly rural, and for a large part of the century almost stationary.

On small points of fact, too, he is astoundingly inaccurate. Thus he says: 'In 1773 an endeavour was made to re-enact the Corn Laws, but prices were so high or so close to the margin of free import as to amount virtually, though not nominally, to free import.' As a matter of fact the Act referred to established an almost prohibitive duty on imported wheat until the price reached 48*s*. During the following fourteen years the yearly price was only above 48*s*. in four years, so that during the greater part of this period the heavy protective duty was fully operative.

He further ignores the fact that the trade in corn in the eighteenth century was harassed not merely by import duties but also by export bounties, and at other times by import bounties. In fact, every possible experiment in interference with the corn trade seems to have been tried, and these experiments were modified almost every year. A valuable analysis of these Corn Laws will be found in an historical survey of the customs tariffs of the United Kingdom issued as a Blue-book in 1897 (c, 8706). This analysis covers the period from the restoration of Charles the Second to the final repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. During that period the following Acts were passed:

Thirty-six Acts to regulate importation and to impose import duties.

Sixteen Acts to permit importation temporarily at low duties or free.

Three Acts to authorise the King to permit such importation when necessary.

Five Acts to suspend the operation of the Corn Law of 1815.

Three Acts to give bounties on importation.

Eight Acts to regulate exportation.

Fourteen Acts to prohibit exportation temporarily.

Three Acts to authorise the King to prohibit exportation when necessary.

Seven Acts to grant bounties on exportation.

Seven Acts to suspend bounties on exportation.

One Act to abolish bounties on exportation.

One Act to abolish export duties.

Fifteen Acts for ascertaining the average price of corn.

Two Acts to allow flour and biscuits to be substituted for wheat.

One Act to repeal the Corn Laws.

In addition to this long list of statutes there were Orders in Council and Treasury Minutes and numerous renewal Acts passed

year by year. Is this the weary road that the protectionists wish Parliament to begin to tread again?

Sir Guilford Molesworth's quotations are as misleading as his statistics. He says:—'Adam Smith predicted that "if the free importation of foreign manufactures were permitted several of the manufactures would probably suffer, and some of them perhaps go to ruin altogether." This prediction has been fulfilled.' Anyone reading this passage would naturally infer that Adam Smith was warning his countrymen against the danger of permitting the free importation of foreign manufactures. Yet the passage is taken from a chapter<sup>1</sup> entirely devoted to the eloquent advocacy of free trade in manufactures, as well as in corn. In the passage quoted Adam Smith was merely drawing a contrast between the case of a protected manufacturer and the case of a protected landlord, and was arguing that, of the two, the manufacturer would run most risk by the introduction of free trade. To use such a passage, in the way in which Sir Guilford Molesworth has used it, is a little unfair to readers who do not happen to have a copy of the *Wealth of Nations* at their elbow. Another quotation follows, which—after skilful mutilation—is made to do service in favour of the very Corn Laws which Adam Smith so strenuously condemned.

These methods of quotation are followed by Sir Guilford Molesworth even when he comes to deal with the parliamentary reports upon which he relies for his main argument. That argument is that the Corn Law of 1815 was passed with the sole object of making the country independent of foreign corn by encouraging the home growth, and that the legislature, so far from intending that the price should be raised, expected that it would be lowered. To prove this paradox he quotes from the reports of the Select Committees appointed to consider the Corn Laws in 1813 and 1814. He accurately represents the opinions of the Committee of 1813, but it was not on their report that the law was based.

The Corn Law of 1815, which was known by our grandfathers as the Corn Law *par excellence*, was a direct embodiment of the report of the Committee of 1814. The price of wheat, which had risen to a fabulous figure during the long struggle with Napoleon, came down with a run upon the overthrow of his power at the battle of Leipsic (October 1813). The average price for the year 1812 had risen to 126s. 6d.; for the year 1813 the average fell to 109s. 9d., and for 1814 to 74s. 4d. It was this fall of prices with which the Committee of 1814 was called upon to deal. It is perfectly true that the Committee, in the small fragment of their report quoted by Sir Guilford Molesworth, lay stress upon the risk of dependence on foreign corn; but that is a mere incident in their argument. The report begins by calling attention to the 'very rapid and extensive

<sup>1</sup> Book IV. ch. II.

progress of 'the agriculture of the United Kingdom within the last twenty years.' The Committee attribute this progress principally 'to the increasing population and growing opulence of the United Kingdom,' but they add 'that these causes have been incidentally but considerably aided by those events which during the continuance of the war operated to check the importations of foreign corn. The sudden removal of these impediments appears to have created among the occupiers of land a certain degree of alarm, which, if not allayed, would tend &c.' Therefore a new impediment to importation must be created. The Committee proceed to consider what that is to be, and the first question they ask themselves is 'what price is necessary to remunerate the grower of corn?' After quoting one witness who thought 72s. was high enough, they continue: 'It is the concurrent opinion of most of the other witnesses that 80s. per quarter is the lowest price which would afford to the British grower an adequate remuneration.'

Upon this report Parliament in the following year passed an Act prohibiting the importation of corn until the price had reached 80s. a quarter.

Only one conclusion is possible—that it was the intention of the legislature to keep up the price of corn to 80s. a quarter.

It is true that some of the advocates of this measure, in their speeches in the House of Commons, called God to witness that nothing was further from their thoughts than to raise the price of corn; but those protestations are followed, after a very few intermediate sentences, with an assertion that at present prices the British farmer cannot afford to grow corn. One of these pious orators, after arguing that the law could not possibly raise the price of corn, went on to quote with approval Montesquieu's contention that it was a very bad thing for the poor to be able to buy food too cheaply. A still more incautious speaker let the cat out of the bag by insisting on the debt which the country owed to the landlords: 'They made and preserved the highways; they maintained the clergy; they supported the poor, even the manufacturing poor; and they kept the soldiers' wives.'

The minority, on the other hand, bluntly denounced the measure as a claim for keeping up the rents of the landowners at the expense of the nation. It is difficult to see that any other inference is possible from the facts. Rents had been doubled, and more than doubled, during the continuance of the war, and the sudden fall of prices that followed the establishment of peace produced a panic among tenant farmers and landowners. If foreign corn were admitted freely when the price was moderate, a great deal of the inferior land that had been broken up for corn would have to go out of cultivation. There would consequently be a diminished demand for land, with a resulting fall in the incomes of the owners of land,

If, on the other hand, foreign wheat were excluded until a high price was reached, the farmer would continue to raise all the wheat he could in the expectation of obtaining that high price, and the rent of land would be maintained.

This is exactly what happened. The price for the admission of foreign wheat being fixed at 80s., farmers made their arrangements on that basis and continued to pay the inflated rents of the war period. This answered well enough, for farmers as well as for landlords, in the years of scarcity that followed the war. Prices continued high, and high rents could be paid, although labourers and artisans were starving. But bumper harvests followed, and then not even an Act of Parliament could keep up the price of corn. From all parts of the country petitions went up to Parliament complaining of the distressed state of agriculture.

In 1820 a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider these petitions, but was instructed to confine its attention to the modes of ascertaining the average price of corn. In 1821 another Committee was appointed to inquire into the 'several petitions which have been presented to the House in this session of Parliament complaining of the depressed state of the agriculture of the United Kingdom.'

The Committee reported :

It is with deep regret that they have to commence their report by stating that in their judgment the complaints of the petitioners are founded on fact, in so far as they represent that at the present price of corn the returns to the occupier of an arable farm, after allowing for the interest on his investment, are by no means adequate to the charges and outgoings, of which a considerable proportion can be paid only out of the capital and not from the profits of the tenantry.

So that six years after the passing of the Corn Law, which was to guarantee permanent prosperity to British agriculture, farmers had to meet charges and outgoings out of capital.

This Committee of 1821 was evidently not happy about the law of 1815 and suggested certain small amendments, but the report was careful to state that any reforms must be cautious, for the following reasons :

Looking to the possible contingencies of war, your committee are not insensible to the importance of securing the country from a state of dependence upon other and possibly hostile countries. Looking to the institutions of the country, in their several bearings and importance in the practice of our Constitution, they are still more anxious to preserve to the landed interest the weight, station, and ascendancy which it has enjoyed so long and used so beneficially.

'Still more anxious!'

I commend these words to Sir Guilford Molesworth's study before he next undertakes to argue that the sole object of the Corn Laws was to make this country independent of foreign corn.

In 1822 another Committee was appointed to inquire into the petitions 'complaining of the distressed state of the agriculture of the United Kingdom'; and in the same year an Act was passed amending the Act of 1815. It never came, however, into effective operation. Other amending Acts were passed in 1824, 1825, 1826, and 1827, and in the year 1828 the original Act was replaced by a new Act establishing a sliding scale of duties.

These successive tinkerings left the root evil unremoved. The country wanted foreign corn, for the simple reason that we could not raise enough from our own soil to satisfy the wants of a growing population. When there was a bumper harvest the supply of home-grown corn was almost sufficient for the consumption of the country; when the home harvest failed it was absolutely imperative to import corn from abroad.

The idea of making the country independent of foreign corn had thus proved to be a complete delusion. From 1815 onwards there was never a year in which the country did not import corn on balance. Our net import in 1828 rose to 1,334,000 quarters; in 1829 to 2,115,000 quarters; in 1830 to 2,169,000 quarters; in 1831 to 2,801,000 quarters.

The population of the United Kingdom was then 24,000,000, or not much more than half what it now is. British corn-growers had the advantage of the latest parliamentary device for the protection of agriculture, and yet it was necessary to import nearly 3,000,000 quarters of foreign wheat.

Even before this date the complete failure of the Corn Laws was beginning to dawn upon the nation, and prominent men, who had been most active in supporting them, came out openly on the other side.

Sir Guilford Molesworth makes a strong point of a letter written by Mr. Huskisson soon after the war, in which that distinguished statesman expressed an opinion in favour of the Corn Laws. It would have been well if Sir Guilford Molesworth had carried his investigations into Mr. Huskisson's opinions a little further. Speaking in the House of Commons on the 25th of March, 1830, after the country had had fifteen years' experience of the Corn Laws, Mr. Huskisson said:

If relief was granted to the operative industry of the country—to the millions of consumers—the landed interest would at once experience the good effects of the benefits which would accrue. In Birmingham alone it was ascertained that the consumption of meat had diminished by one-third. . . . It was his unalterable conviction that we could not uphold the Corn Laws now in existence, together with the taxation, and increase the national prosperity or preserve public contentment. That these laws could be repealed without affecting the landed interest, whilst the people would be relieved from their distress, he had never had any doubt whatever.

The bad harvests of 1828 to 1831 were succeeded by good harvests.

Again prices fell, and again the cry went up from the farmers that they were ruined.

In 1833 a Committee of the House of Commons was again appointed to inquire into the state of agriculture. In their report they refer frequently to the report of the Committee of 1821 and declare emphatically that the position of the farmers had grown distinctly worse in the interval. 'The difficulties alone remain unchanged, but the savings are either gone or greatly diminished, the credit failing and the resources being gradually exhausted.'

That is the picture painted by a protectionist Committee of a protectionist House of Commons, after seventeen years' experience of the Corn Laws. In view of such facts it is not surprising to find the Committee losing faith in the saving efficacy of Acts of Parliament. They concluded their report by saying that in their opinion 'hopes of melioration in the condition of the landed interest rest rather on the cautious forbearance than on the active interposition of Parliament.'

It is needless to pursue any further this examination of Sir Guilford Molesworth's peculiar treatment of the history of the Corn Laws. I will only add, as a final comment on his extraordinary theory, the following quotation from a speech by one of the minor champions of Corn Laws. Speaking in 1843 in the House of Commons on a motion to inquire into the distress of the country, Mr. Cochrane said: 'He would appeal to any man whether the average rents could bear any further reduction consistent with the existence of an aristocracy.'

Happily the country has since learnt how to reconcile the existence of an aristocracy with the well-being of the mass of the nation. It has done so by adopting the salutary principle that the interest of the consumer is the first interest that every government should consider, and that industries which cannot preserve themselves are not worth preserving. Acting upon those principles, we have bidden good-bye to the days when grown men were paid 6s. a week for trying to raise a crop of corn off unsuitable land; and though there is still plenty of poverty to be found in England, it is as nothing compared to the misery suffered by the mass of the population in the dark days of the Corn Laws.

HAROLD COX.

*Cobden Club.*

## *WASHINGTON, D.C.*

YEAR by year America creeps nearer and nearer to England by means of the accelerated speed of steamers, the shipping combine, and, above all, the influx of American thought and method. What has been in working order some time in the States is slowly but surely taking grasp of the British intellect. It may be therefore of some interest to those who have not already visited the capital of the United States to hear some slight notes of its characteristics and the manner of life there as it is to-day.

The enigmatical letters D.C. added to its address mean District of Columbia. When one hundred years ago General Washington determined on making a Federal capital and moving Congress from Philadelphia, the question of a choice of site arose. Each State was naturally desirous of being chosen, and after much discussion it was finally settled in 1791, so as to avoid jealousies, that sixty-four miles should be ceded by Maryland and Virginia, to be called the District of Columbia, and not to be represented in Congress.

Could the great President see his city now, how charmed would he be with it, for at that time it was merely unreclaimed flats and thickly wooded country!

Among the pleasant posts where the nomadic diplomat has to cast his lot, Washington is certainly one of the pleasantest, with its clear blue sky, lovely winter climate, and agreeable hospitable society.

It was planned and laid out by a Frenchman, Major L'Enfant, and it is chiefly due to his taste and to the breadth and largeness of his ideas that to-day, more than one hundred years after its foundation, it takes rank among the most beautiful cities of the world. It has been aptly called the City of Magnificent Distances; it is still growing on his plans, and when the empty spaces are filled up it will be indeed magnificent.

The main design is that of a chess-board on a gigantic scale, with straight streets crossing each other at right angles. Those running across the plan are designated by the letters of the alphabet—*vis.* K., L., and M. Street, and so forth; those running up and down are designated by numbers, as 14th, 15th, and 16th Street. These



lines run the entire length and breadth of the city and can be prolonged indefinitely. This produces blocks of houses in squares, which in itself is an ugly arrangement from its monotony, as is the case in New York, where the configuration—a long narrow strip of land—permits of nothing else to modify it.

But one hundred years ago land in the District of Columbia was both plentiful and cheap, so Major L'Enfant diagonally intersected his chess-board with avenues broken here and there by open spaces called Circles, equivalent to our 'squares.' The streets are very wide, the avenues wider still (not unlike the width of Portland Place), lined with shady trees on each side and backed by red brick houses. It is a red brick town, and, as there are no manufactory chimneys, nothing gets dirty—all is bright red, white, and green. In the middle of each circle is a statue of some hero or celebrity, at the base of which flower-beds are beautifully laid out. It is not unusual for its rich men to give a statue to ornament the town. The spring in Washington is a time of joy! The whole town becomes a garden, with its numerous beflowered circles, and many of the private houses, which all stand back from the pavement on a grass plot, also have borders of tulips, crocuses, hyacinths, and rose bushes. Standing in any one of the circles, the straight shady streets radiate as from a star. With the first fine tracery of green lacework it grows greener and greener till the town is a leafy bower. Washington is on the same parallel with Lisbon and Smyrna, and close on what at the time of the Civil War was called the Mason and Dixon line, dividing the North from the South. English travellers are always surprised at the Negroes, forgetting how far south it is. The reason of the immense gaps between buildings in the best streets, which give an unfinished, untidy impression, is that many years ago Negroes 'squatted' in what are now the choicest situations. The law regarding 'squatters' rights seems to be uncertain—at any rate, the titles are not valid under a number of years. Hence people are unwilling to buy out the Negroes. It must be owned that this is a serious blot, as next to fine residences or shops one finds a shanty overflowing with chocolate-coloured babies, or else an empty space which for years cannot be built upon.

Negroes are a distinct feature of the country and have for some people a weird charm. They like to be called the 'coloured people,' the words 'nigger' and 'blacks' being odious and painful to their feelings, though occasionally they speak of each other as 'dat ole nigger.' The greater number of servants employed in Washington are naturally Negroes employed by those who can manage and understand them; but it is not all Americans who can do so. With a few brilliant exceptions they are like grown-up children. The large Central Market is very amusing, especially at Christmas, when many wild birds are brought in on sale. All round the outside of

the building old Negresses sit, and sell eggs, flowers, holly, mistletoe, herbs, and all sorts of growing things. These fascinating old ladies come in from the country and are great fun, usually addressing their customers as 'Honey' and 'Dearie.' Unhappily, they have ceased to wear their becoming bandanna turbans and prefer dilapidated hats.

The surrounding country is very picturesque, well-wooded and hilly, watered by the splendid Potomac River, and also by a lovely little stream called Rock Creek. Curiously enough, the water of both streams is during the winter and always after heavy rain very muddy, and of a deep yellow ochre colour; very disagreeable for baths and worse for drinking purposes. It is merely gravel earth, but nevertheless very unpleasant. The great falls of the Potomac, about eighteen miles from Washington, are remarkably grand and quite worth an excursion.

On one occasion, a great cyclone having blown away the very shaky bridge, the only means of reaching the island from which the falls are seen was by a frail-looking boat. In mid-stream, when the boat containing some young people was whirling about on the swollen current, one of the party inquired of the boatman if many persons ventured in the boat. 'The last party is now drying in the inn,' was the encouraging answer, delivered with the dry humour and immovable countenance which adds so much to all American wit. This regular countryman, as he is called, is a delightful type.

Of all the squares, perhaps Lafayette Square is the most beautifully laid out; therein is to be found a specimen of every flowering shrub and tree—tulip trees, Judas trees, acacias, magnolias, as well as flower-beds. All the squares are open all round (as a London square might be), with splendid trees, no railings, and open paths leading to the four corners.

The reason given for the removal of the railings is that a romantic couple of the society of former days found themselves locked in. There was nothing for it but to climb over the fence; they were of course seen, and this act gave rise to so much merriment that henceforth all squares were opened and Love now laughs in Lafayette Square untrammelled by locks and gates.

The White House, the official residence of the President, is on the south side of the square. It is an Inigo Jones-like country-house, or what in America is known as the 'Colonial Style,' oblong, painted white, with a large high portico supported on pillars under which one drives. At the back there is a delightful oval balcony giving on the sloping garden, and a splendid view of the river and the Virginian hills, also of the great obelisk, 555 feet high, erected in memory of the founder of his country.

The White House is re-painted every year, which gives it a fresh and smiling appearance very unlike the dingy houses of Europe. It

is a small house for the President of so big a country, and had become inadequate to receive the yearly increasing crowds of citizens out of a population of seventy-five millions. There was a talk of adding wings to it, but happily a much better addition has just been effected without altering the style, which will improve matters immensely.

From the front of the White House one has a fine view across the square to 16th Street, a very wide residential street. Early in the history of the growth of the town each country sending a representative was offered by the United States Government a large plot of land on either side of 16th Street provided they would each build a suitable Legation House. The penny wise, pound foolish refused this grant for a Legation Street, and now they have all had to buy at vast expense. Germany, Austria, and Mexico have already bought houses, and Italy purchased a fine Embassy the other day, during last year. France and Russia are about to build. Happily, England usually provides a suitable residence for her representatives, and the Embassy at Washington will for many years to come hold its own with the new mansions which are yearly rising up. It was built twenty-five years ago with great judgment and foresight by Sir Edward Thornton.

Sir Edward reflected on the advisability of building a smaller house with a garden, or a large house with just a little ground round it. His knowledge of American progress proved him right, for during all this time the house has held its own in importance, and the land he bought, which was then in the country, is now the most fashionable part of the town. Connecticut Avenue is the promenade and afternoon drive of Society. At that time land cost 2s. a foot, and now fetches 36s. a foot. Society in Washington to-day contains from 800 to 1,000 persons who have to be entertained, proving how wise was Sir Edward's judgment. His house was always spoken of as '*the Legation*' and now as '*the Embassy*,' much to the surprise of other representatives. '*The Embassy*' has been mentioned on the stage, and people have been corrected by cabmen on giving the full address '*British Embassy*.' '*Don't know it.*' '*British Embassy on Connecticut Avenue.*' '*Oh, the Legation.*'

The public buildings are very fine, especially the Treasury, which is simple and severe in architecture. The White House is flanked by the Treasury on the right and an enormous building on the left which comprises War Office, Admiralty, and State Department (Foreign Office).

At the end of Pennsylvania Avenue, raised on an eminence, dominating the city, stands the Capitol, a remarkably beautiful building in the Classic style. Unfortunately, the centre and its surmounting cupola are of stucco, but the newer side wings, the

Senate Chamber on one side and the House of Representatives on the other, are of marble. In the central part the Supreme Court holds its sessions.

A curious instance of how cities almost always grow to the west is that the statue of Freedom on the top of the Capitol turns her back on the White House and the town. It was intended that the town should go eastward, so she was placed looking east. However, the holders of land demanded such preposterous prices that the building of the city went the other way, and all is, therefore, behind the Capitol instead of in front of it.

A splendid Congressional Library has lately been completed. It is enormous, and is built on the most modern principles of ventilation, heating, and labour-saving, and, as far as possible, is fire-proof.

The Washington Monument has been called 'the World's greatest cenotaph.' It is a gigantic pyramid, built of enormous blocks of white marble, and cost one million two hundred thousand dollars. Inside is a spiral staircase winding round the elevator, which takes seven minutes to carry passengers to the top, which has been floored in to make a room. There are four small windows unseen from below through which a panorama of the town and the surrounding country is visible, men and horses appearing like insects.

One striking characteristic of Washington life is the ease with which an interview can be held with the President, the members of the Cabinet, and the holders of office. How they get through their current work with all these interruptions is a mystery, but they do. It is undoubtedly better that a subject should be discussed *de vive voix* with the chief than that it should filter through many channels, to arrive, as a more or less garbled version, at head-quarters. The result bears good fruit, for things are often settled offhand which take weeks and months in another country. Also it is human nature to take more interest in a personality than in a mere name.

Washington is an immensely social centre, hospitality is unbounded, and from the first Monday in December, when Congress assembles, till the late spring, entertainments are unceasing. Very few of the inhabitants are indigenous, except such families as the Blairs, Lees, Beales, and some others—names associated with the place for several generations. Nearly everybody comes from other parts of the Union. Political, Army and Navy, or diplomatic life constantly imports men and their families into Washington, to remain usually for such time as the appointment lasts. Latterly many wealthy people who have made their fortunes elsewhere come and settle there. Every year more visitors come to the hotels, and are charmed with the winter climate and a life combining the freedom of country out-door exercise with plenty of society for the evening and the added interest of politics and acquaintance with

distinguished personages. This often results in their buying land, building magnificent houses, and so adding to the solid phalanx of Washingtonians; all of which makes it the more agreeable, as hitherto society was so constantly changing. With the new President every four years a new Cabinet is formed and nearly all the Federal appointments change. Officers of both Army and Navy never remain stationary long, nor do diplomatists.

There is a joke descriptive of the different cities, showing how people in Washington neither have root nor take root. To the question, 'How are strangers received in New York?' the answer is, 'How much have you got?' In Boston, 'How much do you know?' In Philadelphia, 'How many grandfathers have you?' In Washington, 'How do you do?' The fact of cosmopolitanism makes it far more interesting than where people are on one pattern. Western people are as different from Eastern and Northerners from Southerners as Italians and Russians or Spaniards and Germans.

In England there is still a vague notion that Americans are almost English. If that impression were thoroughly eradicated we should comprehend the American nation much better.

Every country has sent her thousands, who, while assimilating to a certain degree, do not lose the traits of their ancestors. The Dutch descendants are justly proud of Holland and naturally do not care a rap for England. Many customs in New York which are foreign to English minds are found at the Hague. The Germans are overwhelming in numbers. They abound all over the middle West. Chicago is the second biggest German city after Berlin. Even in New York there is a German theatre and several newspapers printed in German. Not only are there so many Germans in Chicago, but all street signs have to be written in several languages to enable the new-comer to understand.

The mixture of races and the give-and-take of ideas has produced the cleverness and charm of the American people. The language, most of the law, and some of the religion are what remains of our thirteen colonies, but these after all have formed the rock on which the nation has built itself up. The Episcopal Church is still the leading one, though there are many sects, and the Puritan conscience is said still to exist. The Roman Catholic Church makes immense strides, as nearly all foreign-speaking and Irish citizens are of that faith.

The scale of life in Washington has increased during the last decade and almost doubled. From the size and character of a village where everyone was known to everyone and each carriage was recognised, a luxurious town has grown up. Parties are no longer simple affairs. Nowadays, dinners are superb, French *chefs*, good wines, &c., are no longer the exception. Competent judges maintain that for the size of Society the quantity of dinner-parties is unequalled elsewhere. Certainly the number of invitations

for all is in excess of the capabilities of one evening. There are fewer balls than in other places; this arises partly from the scarcity of young men, for as there is no business in Washington the sons, once grown up, are off to the centres where they can work, and the daughters remain. It is decidedly the American Elysium for elderly people, who elsewhere give up all going out to the young. Outside the town, however, are several Golf Clubs; and what with automobiling, riding, and driving, the younger people are not to be pitied. They also have frequent young dinner-parties for themselves, and except for the lack of dancing have no cause for complaint.

When a young girl comes out she is called a 'Bud,' and, to introduce her, the parents give an afternoon tea, and invite their entire acquaintance. The friends have the charming custom of sending bouquets to the 'Bud,' and it is quite pretty to see the 'Bud' at her first party dressed in white muslin and surrounded by these trophies arranged behind her on a screen and on all available spaces. There is much sensible freedom allowed in the intercourse from the boy and girl period onwards. Walking, riding, and driving together are permissible. A young man may visit a young lady in the absence of her mother. Her absence is got over in a very ingenious way by asking at the door, 'Are the ladies receiving?' The reply probably being 'Miss Mary is in'; though Mrs. Smith may be upstairs or out. This sensible plan, being the custom of the country, saves the mother a great deal of waste of time in having to be present when she would probably rather be reading, and it gives much greater opportunity of realising character on the part of both the 'Beau and the Belle' as they are still called.

Visiting has reached a great pitch in Washington, as everyone, both great and small, has a day. If the after-dinner visit is not made personally on the at-home day, the hostess regards her guest as very impolite. Whole streets are at home on certain days, which is very convenient, as one can pop into one house after another so quickly. Nearly every day of the week from December to Lent is taken up by official receptions, which almost anybody and everybody attends once during the season. Owing to the crowds the wives of Cabinet Ministers, &c., are obliged to ask several ladies of their acquaintance to come and help them—that is, to stand about and talk to the strangers and to invite them to take tea. When invited for such purpose the lady comes very smartly dressed and without her hat, so that the stranger may see who are of the receiving party. If a hatted or bonneted lady began a conversation without an introduction, perhaps the stranger might not like it. Travellers come from all States to Washington and make it their business to call on their Senator's wife, the Congressman's wife and all the Cabinet, so that among the receiving party they probably

find people from their own town or State, and do not feel lonely. In a new country these customs are all founded on common-sense and have important reasons. American women are very quick to take hints to improve themselves. Take, for instance, a woman from the West or South, who has had no social training and who has become better off with time. She arrives at a hotel for a week and is permitted by custom to pay all these visits. She then probably for the first time sees afternoon tea, watches the manners and dress of the different ladies and looks at the pictures and different *objets d'art*, for 'most of the hostesses are exceedingly rich. She goes home to 'Idaho' with a much wider horizon than she had on arriving at Washington, and probably puts what is possible into practice at once. Supposing her husband eventually goes to Congress, it will be her turn to receive the stranger. In this land of possibilities a man may become a millionaire, a Senator, or even be elected President, and it is this which makes this wonderful people always on the look-out to improve and learn; their secret is that they are never satisfied. Though Washington is the capital of the United States, it is a place with a 'season,' for after June the heat becomes so great that every person who can leave goes away. After the first frost is considered early enough to return. By the end of June the population has grown black, for nearly every white person has left, the intervening months are so inexpressibly hot and unhealthy as to prevent any desire to remain. The thermometer is always in the nineties, and frequently goes up to 106° in the shade, with great humidity—a very depleting climate. However, since the era of bicycles, electric cars, and automobiles, the first hot weather has lost somewhat of its horror. Nowadays the poorer classes can go seven miles into the country in almost every direction for 2½d. in the open car, as well as all over the town. This means of conveyance, so quick, so clean, so cheap, has enabled the builder to wave Aladdin's lamp over the hills—and rows of houses now stand where a few years ago forest trees brought Nature almost to the confines of the city.

Three Commissioners govern the town, one always being an engineer officer. They have plans for sweeping away what is now a squalid quarter, extending from the Capitol down to the river. It is intended to make an immensely wide avenue starting from the Capitol, taking in the 'Monument' as a centre or *rond point* and leading to the proposed new bridge to Arlington Cemetery; that lovely spot made sacred by its historical association, as well as by its present use. When completed it will beautify the place enormously. These Commissioners have already saved 'Rock Creek' from the builder by laying out miles of roads for a National Park embracing a Zoological Gardens. It has been done in the cleverest possible way without spoiling the natural scenery, merely by cutting

and tidying. In the Zoo the animals' houses are built among the trees or down by the water, as is most desirable. The bears, for instance, are in natural rocky caves, while the buffalo and the deer roam about the hillside with plenty of room. The surrounding country is delightful and picturesque, and under that 'blue dome of air' everything looks dazzling and radiant and gives the feeling described as the *joie de vivre*.

When after the long afternoon the sun sets in its golden southern glory, illuminating all, and best of all painting the pure white Monument with iridescent colour, Washington is a place to dream of, and never to forget.

MAUD PAUNCEFOTE.



*MISTRESS AND MAID*

A PARTY of old-fashioned folk were discussing at lunch the other day the ever-bewildering rush of social innovation, and at last they took to wondering what things they would be able to boast of having seen in London if each of them lived to be seventy. 'I shall say that I once lived in a whole house of my own,' said one; 'I shall say that I once drove a carriage drawn by my own horses,' said another; 'I shall tell how I wrote my own letters with a pen,' said a third; 'But I shall boast that I was served by my own servants,' said the hostess: and all felt that her reminiscences would have a special value.

It seems almost certain that London will go the way of most cities on the Continent, and that its large private houses, those castles so dear to the Englishman, with all their waste of space and extravagant cost, must give way to flats. It seems probable, too, that London will improve upon the Continental practice and combine restaurants with flats. We may see that this plan has already been tried with excellent results in certain flats of the more luxurious order. But the system is extending rapidly, and there are now flats or sets of rooms, of an entirely unpretentious kind, where lunches and dinners are served in the public dining-room at a cost of from 9*d.* for lunch to 1*s.* or 1*s.* 3*d.* for dinner. The food is simple, but well cooked, and can be nicely served at a sum just over cost price. We have all heard, too, of the wonderful *traiteur* who would seem to have stepped out of the Arabian Nights, and who provides dinner, with table lin<sup>en</sup>, flowers, silver, the whole accompanied by a deft attendant, who waits, washes up, and disappears. The whole for a moderate sum. The system appears to work well, and we are assured that it affords infinite relief to the undomestic married couple, to the bachelor, or to the woman with a profession. In any case, these facts would seem to suggest that the domestic difficulty is a real one, and that many people's lives are made a burden to them by their inability to train and to keep their servants, or to make a comfortable home; let us add, by the reluctance of young girls to enter service, and their incapacity very often for domestic duties.

The writer of this paper believes that there are some very serious evils and injustices which might easily be set right in connection with domestic service, and that perhaps, on the whole, though it is a hard saying, we all of us get the servants we deserve.

To begin at the beginning, it is obvious that young people are greatly influenced in the choice of a profession by the opinion of their fellows, and it must be admitted that service is not now in favour. Domesticity, and by that word I wish to mean the care of a house, and of all things appertaining to the comfort of its inmates, is not in fashion even amongst young ladies. We must remember that fashion is not confined to one class. The girl who in London announces her intention of becoming a servant has to go through a perfect hailstorm of chaff and banter; her brothers and their friends call her 'slavey,' and suggest all manner of horrors in store for her; her sisters, on the other hand, tell her she will wear a cap, and never get a holiday or an hour out. In truth, it requires no little character and determination to take so unpopular a course. The writer remembers a most interesting debate at a large girls' club on this very question in which she took part, and how she tried to prove to the meeting that everyone at some time or other employed domestic helps, whether as washerwomen to come and help wash or as charwomen on occasions of sickness or other emergency. The debate clearly showed that it was not a want of liberty that was complained of so much as the loss of social status, and a sort of feeling that domestic work was not of so high and honourable a kind as bookfolding, dressmaking, jam-making, or any of the other trades by which girls earn a starvation wage. The meeting was brought to a close by the reading of Stevenson's verses to his old nurse, and there seemed to be a dawning sense that to be a good nurse to a little child, to cook, and manage the expenditure of a family on food, were, after all, difficult and honourable professions, which perhaps exacted higher qualities than the making one part of a pin, or a life spent on button-holes.

The writer, however, felt that to raise the consideration in which servants were held, and to secure a good start in the profession, were first steps to be taken towards a better state of things. It is the first start which is so difficult and which destroys the chances of so many girls, and disgusts others with their work. The first start is nearly always made in a tradesman's family, where the girl is not expected to have any special knowledge, but is to help a little with everything. Such homes may be, and often are, among the most comfortable in service, if the mistress is a good-hearted, sensible woman who knows how to train her little maid. There is a sense of home, especially if there are children, often sadly wanting in larger establishments. But, on the other hand, the temptation to overwork the young servant, to make her do all, while the mistress

does nothing, is a serious one, and there is often wanting that touch of sympathy which helps a young girl in her first year away from home in a strange family. It is very much like being at school, only there is less playtime. Many girls detest the eating alone, and their meals doubtless become strange affairs of queer and ill-digested food; but here, again, in many families the little nurse dines with the children and her mistress, and gets a further sense of being at home.

It would be well if mistresses could realise how very often the beginnings of a young servant have been in such situations as these, and how the change to a well-appointed, well-ordered house is an overwhelming one, and one which the 'between girl,' the kitchenmaid or young housemaid, does not always find to her advantage.

This brings us to one of the great evils which beset domestic service as it is organised to-day. There can be little doubt that the under servants, the young apprentices we may call them, are not considered as they should be, and have far too much given them to do. They are often ill fed, with insufficient time for meals; their work is never done. The writer believes this evil to exist, more especially in the large middle-class house which keeps 'between' girls, or young kitchenmaids and under-housemaids. The manners of the servants' hall in very large establishments have become the fashion in numberless houses which were never intended for such artificialities, manners which may be in place in his Grace's establishments, in the counties, but are entirely out of reason in an ordinary London house in a London street. The upper servants practically do no work—they expect to eat and live apart—the whole work of the house is often left to an unfortunate 'tweeny' girl who naturally becomes overworked and anæmic. The writer knows of one unfortunate little maid called home to see a dying father, who, on her return after a three days' absence, found that every plate, dish, cup or saucer, pot or pan which had been used in the kitchen in her absence, had been piled round the scullery in all their malodorous grease for her to wash. She sat up half the night to get through the odious business. Such a girl will probably, besides her own definite work which is hers of right before breakfast, have to make early tea and serve it, for all the upper servants, wherever they may choose to take it; besides laying the fires, she will have to deposit a match box and a few choice sticks of wood before the principal grates, in order to keep up the fiction that the upper servants 'see to' the fires in the sitting-rooms. The kitchenmaid has often to cook two dinners, for the 'Room,' for the 'Hall,' besides very often cooking the lunch for the dining-room, in all cases helping the cook to do so. Such artificial arrangements give double work, and it is obvious that, unless in a very large house with a large staff, they throw a vast amount of unnecessary work upon the youngest members of the

household. We may remember Mr. Weller's friend, Mr. Muzzle, and his explanation of why the young servants dined in the 'washus'—'the juniors is always so very savage.' But Mr. Muzzle had not invented a separate table with different meals for the upper and under servants. Now these habits get known and frighten young servants, who are willing enough to work for their employers, but who resent the arbitrary behaviour of the upper servants. It is, of course, asking a great deal of every mistress of a household that she should know what goes on in her own house; but a little good sense and kindly feeling would in the long run be respected by the entire household, and would put an end to a condition of things which bears very hardly upon the young servant. A very stiff examination paper might be set to mistresses of households thus:

(1) Given three staircases above stairs, one oak, one stone, and one ordinary wood. What servant cleans which staircase? and if there are steps to the cellar who cleans these?

(2) Who lays tea in the housekeeper's room?

(3) Who cleans the cook's boots?

The number of conundrums might be indefinitely extended, and few householders could satisfy the examiners. The answers would depend on the number of servants kept, whether there are men servants, whether the house is in town or country. In old days the upper servants took a fair share of the work themselves; now it is all left to the juniors, who have not yet learned their business, are always in a muddle, are too often overworked, and do not get proper leisure for their meals. I say nothing of the overcrowding which the increase of servants in a small house involves. If the mistress will make each servant understand that she will tolerate no injustice, if she will define the duties of each servant after careful consideration, and let every servant feel that all may find in her a friend, and establish personal relations with them individually, she can easily arrange for a comfortable dinner in common, and, without undue interference, can yet see that one and all get a reasonable share of comfort and leisure.

But there is a more serious matter behind. The question of character. Is an employer bound to give a character of a servant, and how should he give it, and how often should he give it? It is commonly assumed that every employer gives a character as a matter of course, but it is not so. One of the best known of the London Registry Offices recently took a test case into court, with the result that it appears that the employer is not so bound; it is certain that some employers consistently refuse to give characters at all, and that others are exceedingly careless and negligent of the interests of the servant. If we consider the matter, the whole system of character-giving is a piece of most delicate machinery: the character is usually in the air, and is often lost altogether, or changed

and damaged in transference. Characters, as we all know, are most often given by word of mouth from one person to another, in private, and are privileged. Let us suppose a case in which a servant has a satisfactory character of three years ; she leaves for no fault, and her employer gives a good character of the three years to another lady, who engages her. The servant leaves her new situation at the end of her month, from no fault very likely ; perhaps she does not like new ways ; perhaps she does not agree well with the servants, but she leaves. Now there is a tradition of service that the servant carries out of her situation at her month the character she took in. But in the present case where is that character ? obviously in the air ; she is completely at the mercy of her employer of a month, who if she is vexed may not unlikely allow her vexation to appear in her rehearsal of the character. Nor is that all ; the servant might conceivably go back to her old employer and ask for a second character. This she sometimes gets, but one may very often hear employers say that they make it a rule never to give a second character. In such a case, therefore, which is of every-day occurrence, the servant loses a good character and is very seriously injured. Let us take another case. Let us suppose that in the month something serious has taken place, which should be mentioned in any character, yet very often the employer, to save annoyance to herself, will give the character she received, and say nothing about the just cause of complaint that she may have. In this case the injustice is to the public. Then there are the cases of employers who would gladly befriend their servants, but who have gone abroad, gone to India perhaps, or the colonies, and who have forgotten to leave the character of a servant in some obtainable form. Then do we not all know of the employer who, when written to for a character, answers in the hastiest of notes, answers one question and quietly ignores the others ? What conclusion to draw is a constantly recurring puzzle. Now it seems to the writer that in other countries they have a more businesslike and satisfactory system. The young man or woman intending service buys a book—let us call it a ‘service book,’ in which his name, birthplace, parentage, are entered. There may then very likely come a recommendation from the schoolmaster, and so he or she gets his first situation. At every change the character is written in the book and visaed by the consul, who affixes a stamp. It is thus possible to see the ‘ensemble’ of some years of service, and if the record is good it ensures work to every industrious man or woman ; the characters are more serious and more carefully set down than is commonly the case with us, and the system prevents hasty statements, as ‘Frau Buchholtz’ has told us in her inimitable way. The writer has now one such book before her, and is greatly struck with the simplicity of the plan and the value to employer and employed of such careful testimony. The system is in vogue in

Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and probably in many other countries.

We know that in all classes in England there is a horror of organisation, or interference with the liberty of the subject, and it is possible that objections might be raised to the 'service book' even if it could be bought at the nearest post office, and the character stamp affixed by the post-master. We are inclined to think that the best servants would welcome the innovation, which would inevitably bring the rank and file into line. Such a system would greatly facilitate the opening of public bureaux where employers and employed could register their wants, instead of as now employing expensive registry offices and advertising in the public prints. It is commonly supposed that these are safeguards, but the little 'service book' would be a far more efficient safeguard, and would, we believe, greatly assist the modern housewife as well as the modern servant. The writer has been urged to put together these suggestions by the complaints of many servants as to the unsatisfactory nature of their position; she believes that they would welcome the service book; but, book or no book, is it beyond the skill of the law to give some kind of sanction to the domestic contracts on which the comfort and happiness of every household depend, and so to guarantee that justice shall be done to the large and ever-growing class of domestic servants, who, as a class, render most admirable and efficient service to our commonwealth? It is quite impossible to exaggerate the heedlessness, the careless indifference with which characters of human beings are tossed about and flung to chance as it were. Can nothing be done to compel an employer to give a character to the man or woman who has served him, and eaten his bread? We must remember that the credit, happiness, nay the very chance of an honest livelihood, depends for thousands of our fellow-subjects upon the momentous question, character or no character?

E. B. HARRISON.

## *A WORKING MAN'S VIEW OF TRADE- UNIONS*

THERE is no phase of the present-day industrial problem which is so fraught with possibilities for good or ill to the working classes as the attitude of the trade-unions towards labour questions. Not that the unions are numerically so strong as to warrant this conclusion ; on the contrary their membership forms but a comparatively small fraction of those who live by labour ; but, being practically the only aggressive influence, they can, and do to all intents and purposes, dominate the industrial relations of the employed with their employers in this country.<sup>1</sup>

It may be asked why the non-unionists with such a preponderating majority submit to be ruled in this high-handed and autocratic way by such a comparative few in point of numbers.

The answer is not far to seek. For, although the British workman on this point—as in matters political—is strangely apathetic, there are other and more potent influences at work than indifference, which affect the general question. For instance, we have in this country, in both urban and suburban communities, considerable bodies of working men and women who are engaged in the smaller industries ; whose numbers in each occupation are too few to admit of their being effectively banded together in union ; who have nevertheless been able to obtain and maintain a fair rate of wages in the aggregate. And it is certainly not surprising to find that many of these work-people, whose continuity of employment depends in a great measure on the prosperity of the other trades, are more inclined to curse than to bless the trade-unions when a strike or lock-out in the larger industries leads to dislocation in their own business, with its consequent diminution in work and wages. There is also another example which leads us practically to the same conclusion. There are, as is well known, scattered throughout rural England, large numbers of villages and small towns, many of them miles remote from the screech of the locomotive, where the necessary work of the hamlet or district is carried on in small workshops and factories ;

<sup>1</sup> To give the proportions roughly, there are about seven non-unionists to one unionist workman.

many of these works employ but two or three men, while others would be called capitalist employers by the economists, inasmuch as they provide both the money and the labour for their own single-handed business. Much of this work is done under the old conditions, as it has been for many a long generation; the same tools and appliances and methods of work, having been handed down from father to son, are still followed and deemed sufficient, without raising a single disquieting thought that they are falling behind the times.\*

The men who take part in these occupations, both masters and workmen, pursue the even tenor of their way unmindful alike of either trade organisations on the workman's part, or the mad race for money-getting which is characteristic of the employers in the large towns. Each knows in his own sphere, and they are not wide apart, that the reward of the day's labour will bring in sufficient for the day's requirements, and even that, with a little abstinence, it will permit of some saving for the proverbial rainy day. What wonder then that these men—and their number in the aggregate is considerable—should regard with indifference, not to say positive aversion, any effort made by trade-union agitators to draw them away from their almost idyllic mode of life? They know full well, those of them who read, that after all the industrial upheavals of the last half-century the workman's life in the towns, as a workman, has not been made better or brighter or more full of hope than their own. They have gathered from their reading, if not from actual observation, that the advent of so much machinery, and consequent subdivision of labour, in the large workshops and factories, have not tended so markedly to the social amelioration of the masses of the people as they should have done, were the machines but used as the helpmate and not the master of the workman. They are convinced that the machines and the subdivision of labour have, between them, robbed the craftsman of half the pleasure and pride he formerly had in the exercise of his calling; and well-nigh deprived him of all incentive to exertion except such as he must needs give to keep his place and earn his money. Further, they believe that the workman in the big towns, if he does his duty, must give an equivalent return in labour for his enhanced wages; they are sure that his life is much more intense than their own; and that his manly vitality will be sooner used up, even if his life is not really shortened, by the keener struggle for existence which he must undergo. And when, as it frequently happens, through pressure of circumstances any of these artisans or labourers are forced into the large towns, there is little need for wonder that they fight shy of, and turn a deaf ear to, the blandishments of the

\* It is no unusual occurrence in a walk through the villages to come across a sawpit, with its pair of sawyers cutting timber into boards, exactly as in mediæval times.



promulgators of trade-unionism. Another thorn in the side of the unionists which rankles deeply is the considerable body of town bred and reared workmen with whom they have to deal who, while not in positive opposition, refrain from participation in either the conduct or membership of the societies; not because they do not approve of many of the objects of the associations, but because they do not care for the indiscriminate methods used in putting them into practice. It is an often-remarked and regrettable fact that the abstention of these men is a direct loss to trade-unionism and also to the cause of industrial progress; as their example and teaching would raise the discussion of trade questions to a higher level, as well as tend to restrain the more hot-headed partisans of the societies from proceeding to extreme measures without due consideration, and only then for an adequate cause. As the trade-unions are at present conducted, they will not join, to be swept forward whether they will or not by the careless irresponsibles who too often form the rank and file of the union forces. Still, the majority of these men, as I have known, will not in a time of stress desert their comrades, but loyally abstain from work in their support, even though they do not agree with them as regards the matters in dispute; and this, even, at considerable loss and deprivation to themselves and their families, *esprit de corps* impelling them to this sacrifice. Then, again, there are the drunken and improvident, to whom the payment of the necessary contributions acts as a bar to their inclusion in the ranks of the societies; they will not, however they are tried, exercise the requisite self-denial to enable them to afford the money. Everything else may go by the board, but their self-indulgence must not be curtailed, even for the benefit of their wives and children, not to speak of their fellow-men, they still believing, with unreasoning faith and cheerful optimism, that they will come out all right in the end. Another undesirable type which has to be reckoned with is the man who plays for his own hand alone; a man with so little compunction in his nature that he does not care who sinks if only he swims. This egregious egotist, who hides behind the hedge while the conflict is in progress, is always among the first to claim a share in the spoils after the victory is won.

With such a heterogeneous body of unorganised labour to contend with as is here depicted, the general reader will see some of the difficulties the trade-unions must encounter when trying to extend their borders, and also estimate how far open dislike, diffidence, and carelessness on the part of the non-unionists contribute to make the unions, though in so decided a minority, withal so powerful as an effective militant industrial combination. Looked at from the friendly society aspect, the unions are worthy of all commendation, and have proved of immense service to the members.

But we will not dilate on this point, as it is with their attributes as trade organisations for the betterment of working rules and wages that we are at present more closely concerned.

The general principles of trade-unionism—with which I have had a practical acquaintance for over thirty years, first as a unionist, and in after years as a non-unionist artisan—were in their inception eminently calculated to help forward the social and material progress of the working classes. That they have failed so signally in winning the adherence of the workers in a much more marked degree than they have yet achieved, is deplored alike by thoughtful workmen and students of social economy. Nor can this failure to extend their sphere of influence be attributed to want of definiteness in the rules of the societies; they are as plain as a pikestaff as regards both rights and duties. There is no room for ambiguity on this point. And although there is not, as has been lately argued, in words, any rule to restrain the diligence of the members as workmen, it is clear that as an organisation they have not resolutely discountenanced the 'go easy' practice, but rather sought to palliate the proceeding. This laxity on the part of the unions, in not urging upon their followers to give of their best in this connection, is eating the heart out of our industrial life, and is, in view of the increasing intensity of foreign competition, deplorable in the extreme, as is also the mistaken notion that by limiting the output the work will go further round indefinitely, and thus provide labour and wages for an increased number of workmen. It is, to my mind, a distinct falling away from the best influences of the mediæval guilds, as they are exemplified in the fine morality of the inscription on the banner of the glovers of Perth: 'The perfect honour of a craft or beauty of a trade is not in wealth but in moral worth, whereby virtue gains renowne.'

Though the trade-unionists have been generally held responsible for this degeneracy in British labour, the suggestions I wish to make with the view of raising the status of the societies are also in a great measure applicable to the non-unionists.

One of the first alterations I should press forward, were I still a trade-unionist, would be the removal of the club-rooms from the licensed public houses in every instance; and this reform I should advocate in season and out of season until I had carried my point. That there would be little difficulty in effecting this transference will be agreed; as in every town which had a sufficient working population to permit of the establishment of a branch society, there would be rooms in connection with either church, chapel, mechanics institute, or workmen's club, which would be suitable and available for club-rooms; while in some of the large towns there are trades' halls, with committee-rooms and a lecture hall, for aggregate meetings of the trades. This reform once established would clear away an objection of many workmen as regards the place and manner

of conducting the affairs of the societies. That this is not a fanciful objection, or the view of an extreme faddist, may be brought to the test by picturing to the imagination the discussion in the public-house club-room, with its inevitable concomitants of pipe and glass, of questions of such vital importance to both employers and workmen as a projected strike or other serious dislocation of trade. How can a question so momentous to a working man as the stoppage of his work and wages be debated, with the calm deliberation essential before arriving at a decision, amidst an atmosphere reeking with the fumes of drink and tobacco? Again, is it probable that the condition of the auditors, who will in the end decide by their votes the question at issue, will be sufficiently clear to enable them to give a deliberately formed and sensible decision? Another objection which should have great weight with the older workmen who are fathers of families is the effect that the temptations and associations of the public house are likely to have on the young and impressionable members of their order. Clearly, it is a vital question to the cause of good government in the unions to uplift the deliberation and decision of important trade matters out of the category of topics which are only deemed suitable for the talk of a 'free-and-easy.'

Having cleared away the 'free-and-easy' character from the societies' meetings, it will be necessary to reorganise the methods of conducting the business. Men who are fitted by education and training to take a practical and common-sense view of questions which more immediately concern their own trades should be selected as leaders. They ought also to have a good general knowledge of trade matters as they affect the welfare of their own country; and also an eye to discern the effects of foreign competition in its bearing on proposed changes in rates of wages and conditions of labour. As leaders, they must be men who, believing in the wastefulness and barbarity of strikes, will not resort to this expedient until after all the resources of conciliation and arbitration have been tried and failed; men who recognise that by strikes and lock-outs both masters and workmen in a busy time, reckless of the consequences of their action, frequently hand over to our foreign rivals work which is never regained. And if, after all, it has not been possible to avert the threatened dislocation of labour, they should be men who will unceasingly watch for the right moment for ending the dispute; not forgetting that strikes are a two-edged weapon with which both sides can play, and that the 'money-bags' of the employer—stored-up labour if you will—have at times, when the struggle has been a protracted one, prevailed over the bare cupboard of the workman. It is hardly necessary to say they should be men who are familiar with every phase of the labour question, not only from the labourer's standpoint, but from the point of view, as well, of the employer; and also the effect any proposed changes will be likely to have upon

the consumer, who must in the end bear the brunt of it. It would be futile to expect that masters and workmen will, even under the best possible arrangements, be content to 'bury the hatchet'; but it is possible, with less mutual distrust, to establish more cordial relations between the two. And this desirable consummation the leaders of trade-unions can help forward through a policy of tactful forbearance if they will; and, without trenching on any law of their constitution or derogation of dignity, uplift their cause in public esteem.

There is another phase of the question which calls for special comment in connection with the administration of the societies. It has been a subject of complaint for years that men who are not competent workmen in their trades can, with comparative ease, join the ranks of a trade-union; although it is expressly enjoined by rule that candidates for admission shall be 'in good health, be good workmen, of steady habits, and good moral character'; and were this rule carried out in its integrity it would have an excellent effect in raising the tone of the societies. But the contrary is too often the case, the zeal of the members to obtain recruits leading them to propose men for membership with whose qualifications they have only a superficial acquaintance. And when, after the probationary period, the men come before the members for initiation, the necessary questions of eligibility are gone through in a most perfunctory way. Now, this is obviously not as it should be, nor in the best interest of the societies; as the fact of a man being a trade-unionist lends an air of approval to his character as a workman, and proves often his passport to employment as an efficient craftsman. Whereas under the prevailing conditions he frequently turns out a failure as a workman, and a continual source of complaint to the employers, as well as an element of weakness to the societies, inasmuch as his incompetence leads to a pretty constant drain on the union funds in out-of-work donation. That this is a matter which ought to be taken into consideration by the General Federation of Trade-Unions, with a view to amendment, will be agreed; as, independent of any opinion on the part of the employers, it is a weak link in the chain that holds the organisations together, and one which can only be strengthened by the elimination of the undesirables; and, in future, only electing men who will by their labour add to its prestige.

But the most helpful method, to my mind, for raising the status of the trade-unions is education; not only book-learning, but the wisdom which can only be gained by experience. There is not anything more likely to benefit the workman in the future than better scholastic and workshop training. If he is made more competent and reliable, he will be able to command increased wages, and his work will be better worth the money to his employer.

Although, as a workman, I am sorry to make the admission, still, I must in candour—for it is not creditable to the English working classes, considering the facilities we have had during the last thirty years—say that we are poorly educated. That we are careless as regards the value of education, even as a help to winning an easier and a better livelihood, will probably account for this remissness. Within my own recollection—and I am not an old man—if the parents of a son or daughter belonging to my class sent them to school much beyond the half-time period, it was at once presumed they were intending to make them either a school master or mistress, or at least a book-keeper or clerk. And this idea has not even yet died out, for many parents cannot see that it is requisite to give their sons a good education to fit them to take positions as foremen in the mechanical trades, although such a berth would bring them better pay and more regular employment.

There will be little doubt that the trade-unionists—the aristocracy of labour—could do much to awaken the workers to a sense of their responsibilities on this point. Let them, as the advance guard of the industrial army, see to it that their own children during school-age attend the classes regularly, and that they are being taught a thoroughly good and comprehensive elementary education, such a training as will assist them in the work of their life, and conduce to their entertainment when at leisure; leaving until their minds are more matured the further advanced subjects of study, and particularly those of a technical or scientific nature to an age when they can be understood and their usefulness appreciated. By this plan of procedure much valuable time which is now wasted in the attempt to teach abstruse subjects could be utilised in preparing such an educational foundation as would carry any subsequent additions to the store of learning. That the trade-unions, equally with the co-operative societies, could establish an educational propaganda to help forward this advanced work will be generally conceded. This could be done by starting classes in connection with the club-rooms where there are at least a dozen members; and further, by lectures and discussions on trade and other cognate questions. The classes should be staffed by practical and well-educated men, workmen for choice, and be strictly confined to the instruction of the members in the technicalities of their special trades, and the elucidation of the many little workshop difficulties which no one can explain so clearly and well as an actual craftsman. There should also be classes for geometry, freehand, mechanical and architectural drawing, as the case might require. The lectures need not necessarily be of a dry uninviting nature, but such as would tend to inspire the youths and young men to a noble endeavour to improve their position; while the discussions would help to broaden their views and elevate their general character. The lectures would,

of course, be delivered in convenient centres for the attendance of the members of several branches; and this gathering of the clans would be beneficial in cultivating a spirit of emulation and comradeship in the societies. As regards the cost: that the money would be well spent, if the work was carried out in the spirit proposed, there cannot be two opinions, though it need not be excessive or prohibitory on that account. The most costly item would be the teacher's fees, and as the tuition should be of the best, the teachers would require to be paid well. And, in truth, the best in this connection would be the cheapest, as I can show from the experience of a workman friend of my own. He was a journeyman joiner employed in a village workshop, and being of an inquiring mind, with an ambition to lift himself above the common ruck, he, with a view to improving himself, entered as a student the School of Art in a neighbouring manufacturing town. He took up three subjects for study, geometry, freehand, and architectural drawing; 'pegging away,' to use the expressive phrase of President Lincoln, for three evenings a week for a whole year, and, when the examinations came round, he sat for his three subjects and passed in them all, receiving a prize for geometry. With a view to extending his studies and bringing into practical use his recently acquired knowledge, he entered himself for a second term at the school. Being, as I have said, of a practical turn of mind, he wished to apply his geometry to some of the problems of his trade. There is one piece of work that every joiner with any ambition is anxious to master, that is, making the twisted parts of a continued staircase handrail. My friend knew that the 'lines' for this job were got out on a geometrical plan, and naturally wished to apply his geometry to this useful purpose. He was but a young man, though with good ideas for his years, but the application of his knowledge was beyond him without assistance, so he asked first the assistant-master and afterwards the headmaster to explain the matter. But the problem was a sealed book to both of them. They were first-class teachers of art, but they were not practical men who could apply their knowledge to practical purposes, and thus proved the rock on which my friend was stranded. He got his information in the end from an old rule-of-thumb workman; but the moral of it is that our technical teachers, if not actual workmen, must have spent some time in the shops, and gained sufficient actual knowledge of workshop practice to apply their learning to solve the problems of everyday work; otherwise they will only prove blind leaders of the blind, as in my friend's experience.

That there are not any insuperable difficulties to prevent such improvements in trade-union tactics as I have detailed from being put into practice is obvious. That there is a distinct need for trade-union institutes, with such a curriculum as I have indicated, spread

over the country in order to keep our workmen abreast with the wants of the times, is made manifest every day. We are being taunted day after day, and told that we are not doing our duty. Let us stop this, and provide facilities where our workmen in battalions may study and learn, what some of us have found out already, that the sweat of the brow can be lessened by the co-operation of hand and brain; and further, where we may be taught, that it is those qualities which are fostered by education, sound judgment, self-reliance, promptness, and shrewdness, which are in most demand, rather than great powers of physical endurance.

As I have already said, the most serious difficulty to surmount is the cost, and while this might be met by fees from the students, I firmly believe it would be a policy that would pay were the societies to make a grant from the union funds for the purpose; anyhow, the expense need not be prohibitive, and would prove a mere flea-bite compared with the disbursements for some labour conflicts of recent years.

Trade-unions have done good work in the past, and by taking part in the training of our young men as suggested, can achieve greater success in the future; while, by making drastic changes in the management as indicated, we shall do much towards reducing labour troubles with their attendant industrial anarchy to a minimum. Further, the unions can be made more popular and influential among the working classes by making them more free; the unionists and non-unionists being allowed to work together, without unnecessary friction, would tend to remove some of the acerbities which exist between employers and employed. Finally, we ought not to forget, even when we have attained all the education we desire, that it is upon the strenuous industrial life, each man giving of his best for the best wages—that the greatness of our industries has been built up, and by which it will be maintained in the coming years.

JAMES G. HUTCHINSON.

## *THE PRESENT POSITION OF WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY*

WE have of late had very definite proof that wireless telegraphy is not by way of standing still; indeed, so rapid is its rate of progress that any remarks one may make as to its position can only be taken as applying at the moment. Mr. Marconi's recent transatlantic achievement cannot fail to attract general admiration, and there should be no stinting of congratulation here. He has now fully established the possibility of sending clearly understood signals across the Atlantic. These complimentary messages are an advance well worthy of a year's work on the doubtful, or at any rate doubted, S signals at the end of 1901. Five years ago no one could have foreseen that Marconi would have made such advances; and only ten years have elapsed since the first experiments were made in the application of Hertzian waves to telegraphy. Marconi's work only covers six years, and the young Anglo-Italian has not been daunted or deterred by difficulties or adverse criticism. All great inventions have taken time to become matured and developed; but with energy and dogged determination, such as appear to exist here, the desired goal should be ultimately reached.

It would in these days be rash to set any limit to the extension of electrical science, and the scientific possibility of to-day becomes the every-day routine of to-morrow. The period of partial failure is almost bound to occur with any great invention; but it may certainly be said that wireless telegraphy has passed the laboratory stage.

That there are difficulties to be overcome, it would be folly to deny. The main requirements of an efficient system of telegraphy are: (a) Certainty of transmission and reception; (b) accuracy; (c) speed; (d) secrecy. The last condition is largely met in present-day cable practice by the employment of codes, cipher and otherwise. From a strategic standpoint, however, the prudence of solely relying upon their non-decipherment may be doubted. Experience has shown the advisability of laying all-British cables for the express purpose of avoiding this risk. It may also be questioned whether



any existing system of wireless telegraphy could successfully cope with a code if it is to meet the other conditions named. It would seem, too, that a cable may always be conceded superiority as a secret messenger to any system which launches forth signals into space without any guiding line to ensure against straying on the road.<sup>1</sup> Though it may not be very easy to read from tuned receivers without knowing the 'pitch' in advance, laborious trials could presumably effect this end, if the inducement be sufficiently strong. It seems, however, that a more serious and frequent failing of the new telegraphy may be under conditions (a) and (b), owing to non-security against interference. The chance of a message being rendered unintelligible by a third party is not a pleasing prospect to anyone in the habit of using the telegraph. Cables can be cut and, if cut, they can be 'tapped'; but here we have a distinct violation of the law under normal conditions, besides attracting too much attention to be worth the attempt. On the other hand, as things stand at present—with no one holding a monopoly of the atmosphere for telegraphic purposes—there does not appear to be anything to prevent the use of electric waves more or less in the vicinity of a 'wireless' apparatus sufficiently powerful to entirely upset its equilibrium. This would be a comparatively simple matter and need not be observable, even if a meteorological disturbance were not equal to the occasion. This brings us to the broad question of patent rights. The most important exclusive privilege in connection with wireless telegraphy would certainly be that of sole rights for the use of the æther of the atmosphere; and if no one can secure this on the ground of being first in the field, it would seem that the prospect of a perfect jumble of ætheric circuits is considerable. This all points to serious disturbance to the eminently useful ship-to-ship and ship-to-shore wireless systems; and, from the public point of view, the sooner we get our wireless telegraphy under single—or at any rate responsible—control and subject to proper regulations, the better. The proposed international agreements may tend to meet this end; and the early reservation by Government—or by definite parties under Government licence—of the various prominent points along our coast would also be advisable.

Let us turn now to condition (c). Here we have some discrepancy of evidence, though the working speed of cables is fairly well known and can be readily checked. The working speed of a modern

<sup>1</sup> Certainly the method of transmission in the wireless system contains the elements of novelty. That is clearly indicated by the *Times* correspondent at Halifax where he says:—'The lay observer has, however, ample proof of the great strength of the current used, in the lightning-flash which accompanies each movement of the operator's hand and in the sharp and continued concussion that follows, only to be compared to the rapid firing of a Maxim gun.'

This makes one wonder what will be the effect of a constant stream of very powerful Hertzian waves wafted into the atmosphere.

Atlantic cable with all the latest apparatus, including the duplex system, closely approaches one hundred words per minute, and is practically only limited by the size of the conductor and its insulator to meet the estimated traffic requirements. Thus it is not unusual to get a cablegram through from the London Stock Exchange to Wall Street within a minute; again, to send a message to, and obtain a reply from, New York in the course of ten minutes is a matter of everyday occurrence. The speed by the Marconi system is said to be practically unaffected by the intervening distance between the transmitter and receiver. On the other hand it appears to be at present a comparatively slow-working affair, even when compared with a cable of great length such as an Atlantic line.<sup>2</sup> This inferiority in speed points to the necessity of a large number of circuits between given spots, if the ætheric system is to form an active commercial competitor with our cables; and it remains to be seen whether a multiplication of wireless instruments between given spots will interfere with their independent working.

But just as the strength of a chain is that of its weakest link, so really the message-carrying capacity, or service, of a telegraph system is largely governed by its working arrangements with connecting systems. These usually take time to develop and improve. They depend very much upon local conditions; but the long-standing service afforded by most of the cable companies is now brought to a fairly high state of efficiency. Circumstances over which the cable companies have no control prevent the connecting service between London and this end of the Atlantic cables (as well as of the Eastern lines) being all that could be desired; but on the other side the connections in the United States and British North America are admirable from a commercial point of view. The Marconi Company are said to have entered into arrangements for a good 'feeding' system on that side; but so far they do not appear to have been able to induce the Post Office to enter into similar working arrangements over here such as they (the Post Office) have already with the cable companies. Possibly this is due to the fact that the officials of the Telegraph Department do not consider the system has proved itself to be sufficiently reliable as yet for regular service purposes; and certainly the general public and the lay press who readily criticise this conservative attitude are forgetful sometimes that they are not in a position to judge of the soundness or otherwise of the policy adopted, for the reason that they do not know or understand what constitutes an efficient telegraph service, and what are the nature of the requirements. Neither do they appear to remember that our existing telegraph facilities are not altogether wanting; and that in these circumstances it is better to

<sup>2</sup> Here, again, however, it must be remembered that the speed on the Atlantic cable was at first considerably below the speed Mr. Marconi already claims.

be behindhand than 'too previous' in taking up a new system—thereby availing ourselves of the experience of others. On the other hand, the proverbial slowness which our country has shown in recognising great inventions is certainly noticeable here, in contrast with the line taken by the Canadian Government in the matter. We are reminded of what took place in regard to the establishment of the first Dover-Calais telegraph. On the 23rd of July, 1845, the brothers Brett addressed themselves to Sir Robert Peel, as Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, relative to a proposal of theirs for establishing a general system of oceanic telegraphic communication. They were referred to the Admiralty, Foreign Office, &c., and gradually became immersed in a departmental correspondence—more academic than useful—in which they were passed backwards and forwards from one Government office to another. It was a considerable time before landing rights were granted for the first Channel line (ultimately laid in 1850), though the French showed enthusiasm from the first. In the case of the new telegraphy our Post Office have, it is alleged, refused to receive messages for subsequent transmission by the Marconi system. They have not, however, defended their State monopoly to the extent of confiscation, as the French Government have in the case of another ætheric system near Cherbourg—where, indeed, it is only experimental work that is being conducted! One thing is *quite* certain, however, and that is that the working arrangements which the Marconi Company have entered into on the other side of their transatlantic system will be of little avail without similar agreements with the Post Office over here.

But probably none of these difficulties are insurmountable; and all may be overcome by anyone showing the undaunted, indomitable perseverance that Mr. Marconi has in solving various problems one by one. Marconi has age, too, on his side; he is only twenty-seven. Thus, curiously enough, he has effected transatlantic wireless telegraphy at a period of life within a few months of that at which the late Sir Charles Bright laid the first Atlantic cable. The incredulity in, and the opposition to, the Atlantic cable was, as most of us know, very considerable. Men of science, engineers, and sailors were all prejudiced against the line. Moreover, scores of difficult problems had to be surmounted before the complete success of to-day was ultimately achieved. So, too, in the new telegraphy; and when once the requirements of an efficient service are shown to be sufficiently met, so soon will such a means be in immediate demand for commercial purposes.

Though we may have a little time to wait for this condition of things, the enormous utility of the ætheric system for maritime and meteorological purposes is already beyond question.

For all normal navigation purposes, for signalling for pilots, for

notification between ships of their positions, &c., the ætheric telegraphy should be invaluable, and prove a boon and a blessing to the shipping fraternity. It should also prove of incalculable benefit to ships in distress, for avoiding collisions in a fog, and also for the issue of weather reports some time in advance of what is at present possible. There will no doubt come a time, too, when before starting on a sea voyage, we shall have to decide between a boat in telegraphic touch with the world, or one on which we can ensure leaving the world behind us. Already we hear talk of a mid-Atlantic newspaper and of one vessel having actually taken 40*l.* for despatch of messages by the Marconi system. The flashing of time signals has also been suggested. In a strategic sense it would seem as though the new method of rapid communication would be especially applicable to ballooning; and the writer has already pointed to the ætheric system as especially adaptable for putting all our coast stations into communication with one another, and, moreover, with various inland centres and military stations. So far as lightship and rock-lighthouse communication is concerned, considering the length of time that has elapsed since this method was recommended for the purpose by a Committee appointed to consider and report on the whole subject, it is to be hoped that this work has been largely effected by now.

In the midst of all these fields for ætheric telegraphy, one may perhaps stop to wonder whether ten years hence the air will still be fresh in the early morning before the usual contamination has taken place. Shall we still be able to enjoy our pre-prandial ride, or will the air be prejudicially charged with ærograms?

Turning once more to the question of between-country telegraphy, what is now required is an extension of our telegraphic facilities in all directions, partly for national and strategic reasons, and partly for commercial use. As regards the former need, it is suggested that all parts of the Empire should be in direct telegraphic touch with each other, and that at least one circuit should be all-British in character. As regards the latter need, healthy competition for producing an immediate reduction of rates is the main consideration. It is comparatively unimportant who effects this, provided that it is successfully effected; and if the ætheric system can show itself to be equal to the occasion, so much the better, for—partly on account of the much lower initial outlay involved—we have evidence that wireless telegraphy is at any rate likely to be cheap and enterprising.

The main object of this article is to establish the great service which can be performed by ætheric telegraphy in connection with purely social messages such as have received no encouragement from the cable companies until the moment—possibly a coincidence—when wireless telegraphy began to be at all ‘dangerous,’ and then

only by a proposed 'social code.' This is a class of message—as well as some commercial messages—which should be transmitted at 'deferred rates,' as proposed by Sir Edward Sassoon and others (including the writer) to the Cable Communications Committee. By deferred rates is meant: rates suitable for messages of a non-urgent—indeed, comparatively unimportant—character, such as can be held over till night if necessary. The scope for messages of this class is open to wide extension, as the writer pointed out in a recent address to the London Chamber of Commerce. If, after attracting their customers, the Marconi Company adhere to the low rates they have already announced, they should indeed receive a wide measure of support.

But with the present condition of between-country telegraphy increased facilities will, in the main, merely increase the demand; and there is nothing in the scientific advancement of ætheric telegraphy such as justifies the parting with valuable investments in cable stocks. So far from the annihilation of the cable companies being imminent, and our cables becoming obsolete, it would be as ill-advised to sell out of cable shares as it was of those who passed gas shares into wiser pockets on the introduction of the electric light in the early eighties. The threatened competition of wireless telegraphy bids nothing but good for the general public by 'waking up' the cable companies and forcing them to reduce their rates, just as the electric light was the means of producing the incandescent gas mantle. It is questionable whether any of the improvements which have of late years taken place in gas-lighting would ever have been known but for the introduction of electricity for lighting purposes. At the same time it would be absurd to imagine that such an effect spells disaster for these companies. Improvements in our cable service, in the way of reduced rates, &c., have only been accomplished as a rule at the instance of competition; but as often as not the companies have in the long run benefited, though they have not been sufficiently far-seeing or courageous to reduce the rates until practically bound to. The panic-stricken country widow owning cable shares has unfortunately already parted with her property. This is largely due to the inflamed statements in certain portions of the lay press which are untempered by a proper acquaintance with the subject, or its problems. A recent newspaper article foretold not only the immediate sale of all the cables at the price of old iron, but announced that the Atlantic Mail Service would shortly be rendered unnecessary, and might at once be abolished. It would seem that those interested in either system are not able to treat the existing state of things in a temperate spirit. Consciously or otherwise, exaggeration is liable to creep in, and especially by unofficial repetition at the hands of the Press. One of the difficulties the public have to contend with, in fact, is

that of obtaining reliable information on which an opinion may be formed; for in nearly every newspaper reference to wireless telegraphy we see signs of an inspired brief, by the system being definitely 'written up' or 'written down.'

It seems a vast pity that this should be so. It should surely be possible to appoint a jury of independent experts to test the value of the new telegraphy and give a report for the benefit alike of the Government and the people. Such a jury need not necessarily be composed of gentlemen whose connection with ætheric methods has lacked expansion either through insufficient personal belief or insufficient public support:

Even apart from purely mercenary considerations, there is perhaps a tendency for those connected with the present methods of telegraphy to view unfavourably any new system, and to rather conclude that it is unequal to the object aimed at. Though such experts have the advantage of being fully acquainted with the requirements, they do not always recognise that these can be satisfactorily met in different ways—off the somewhat beaten track that they are used to and know so well.

CHARLES BRIGHT.

## THE BEGINNING OF TOYNBEE HALL

### A REMINISCENCE

'How did the idea of a University Settlement arise?' 'What was the beginning?' are questions so often asked by Americans, Frenchmen, Belgians, or the younger generation of earnest English people, that it seems worth while to reply in print, and to turn one's mind back to those early days of effort and loneliness before so many bore the burden and shared the anxiety. The fear is that in putting pen to paper on matters which are so closely bound up with our own lives, the sin of egotism will be committed, or that a social plant, which is still growing, may be damaged, as even weeds are if their roots are looked at. And yet in the tale which has to be told there is so much that is gladdening and strengthening to those who are fighting apparently forlorn causes that I venture to tell it in the belief that to some our experiences will give hope.

In the year 1869, Mr. Edward Dennison took up his abode in East London. He did not stay long nor accomplish much, but as he breathed the air of the people he absorbed something of their sufferings, saw things from their standpoint, and, as his letters in his memoirs show, made pregnant suggestions for social remedies. He was the first settler, and was followed by the late Mr. Edmund Hollond, to whom my husband and I owe our life in Whitechapel. He was ever on the look-out for men and women who cared for the people, and hearing that we wished to come eastward, wrote to Dr. Jackson, then Bishop of London, when the living of St. Jude's fell vacant in the autumn of 1872, and asked that it might be offered to Mr. Barnett, who was at that time working as curate at St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, with Mr. Fremantle, now the Dean of Ripon. I have the Bishop's letter, wise, kind, and fatherly, the letter of a general sending a young captain to a difficult outpost. 'Do not hurry in your decision,' he wrote; 'it is the worst parish in my diocese, inhabited mainly by a criminal population, and one which has, I fear, been much corrupted by doles.'

How well I remember the day Mr. Barnett and I first came to see it!—a sulky sort of drizzle filled the atmosphere; the streets, dirty and ill-kept, were crowded with vicious and bedraggled people,

neglected children, and overdriven cattle. The whole parish was a network of courts and alleys, many houses being let out in single furnished rooms for 8*d.* a night—a bad system, which lent itself to every form of evil, to thriftless habits, to untidiness, to loss of self-respect, to unruly living, to vicious courses.

We did not 'hurry in our decision,' but just before Christmas, 1872, Mr. Barnett became vicar. A month later we were married, and took up our lives' work on the 6th of March, 1873, accompanied by our friend Edward Leonard, who joined us 'to do what he could'; his 'could' being ultimately the establishment of the Whitechapel committee of the Charity Organisation Society, and a change in the lives and ideals of a large number of young people, whom he gathered round him to hear of the Christ he worshipped.

It would sound like exaggeration if I told my memories of those times. The previous vicar had had a long and disabling illness, and all was out of order. The church, unserved either by curate, choir, or officials, was empty, dirty, unwarmed. Once the platform of popular preachers, Mr. Hugh Allen and Mr. (now Bishop) Thornton, it had had huge galleries built to accommodate the crowds who came from all parts of London to hear them—galleries which blocked the light, and made the subsequent emptiness additionally oppressive. The schools were closed, the school-rooms all but devoid of furniture, the parish organisation *nil*; no mothers' meeting, no Sunday school, no communicants' class, no library, no guilds, no music, no classes, nothing alive. Around this barren, empty shell surged the people, here to-day, gone to-morrow. Thieves and worse, receivers of stolen goods, hawkers, casual dock labourers, every sort of unskilled low-class cadger congregated in the parish. There was an Irish quarter and a Jew quarter, while whole streets were given over to the hangers-on of a vicious population, people whose conduct was brutal, whose ideal was idleness, whose habits were disgusting, and among whom goodness was laughed at, the honest man and the right-living woman being scorned as impractical. Robberies, assaults, and fights in the streets were frequent; and to me, a born coward, it grew into a matter of distress when we became sufficiently well known in the parish for our presence to stop, or at least to moderate, a fight; for then it seemed a duty to join the crowd, and not to follow one's nervous instincts and pass by on the other side. I recall one breakfast being disturbed by three fights outside the Vicarage. We each went to one, and the third was hindered by a hawker friend who had turned verger, and who fetched the distant policeman, though he evidently remained doubtful as to the value of interference.

We began our work very quietly and simply: opened the church (the first congregation was made up of six or seven old women, all expecting doles for coming), restarted the schools, began Bible



Classes, established relief committees, organised parish machinery, and tried to canterise, if not to cure, the deep cancer of dependence which was embedded in all our parishioners alike, lowering the best among them and degrading the worst. At all hours, on all days, and with every possible pretext, the people came and begged. To them we were nothing but the source from which to obtain tickets, money, or food; and so confident were they that help would be forthcoming that they would allow themselves to get into circumstances of suffering or distress easily foreseen, and then send round to *demand* assistance.

I can still recall my emotions when summoned to a sick woman in Castle Alley, an alley long since pulled down, where the houses, three storeys high, were hardly six feet apart; the sanitary accommodation pits in the cellars; and the whole place only fit for the condemnation it got directly Cross's Act was passed. This Alley, by the way, was in part the cause of Cross's Act, so great an impression did it make on Lord Cross, then Sir Richard Cross, when Mr. Barnett induced him to come down and see it one hot summer's day.

In this stinking alley, in a tiny, dirty room, all the windows broken and stuffed up, lay the woman who had sent for me. There were no bed-clothes; she lay on a sacking covered with rags.

'I do not know you,' said I, 'but I hear you want to see me.'

'No, ma'am!' replied a fat, beer-sodden woman by the side of the bed, producing a wee, new-born baby; 'we don't know yer, but 'ere's the babby, and in course she wants clothes and the mother comforts like. So we jist sent round to the church.'

This was a compliment to the organisation which represented Christ, but one which showed how sunken was the character which could not make even the simplest provision for an event which must have been expected for months, and which even the poorest among the respectable counts sacred.

The refusal of the demanded doles made the people very angry. Once the Vicarage windows were broken; once we were stoned by an angry crowd, who also hurled curses at us as we walked down a criminal-haunted street, and howled out, as a climax of their wrongs, 'And it's us as pays 'em.' But we lived all this down, and as the years went by, reaped a harvest of love and gratitude which is one of the gladdest possessions of our lives, and is quite disproportionate to the service we have rendered. But that is the end of the story, and I must go back to the beginning.

In a parish, which occupies only 109,500 square yards and was inhabited by 8,000 persons, we were confronted by some of the hardest problems of city life. The housing of the people, the superfluity of unskilled labour, the enforcement of resented education, the liberty of the criminal classes to congregate and create a low public opinion, the administration of the Poor Law, the amusements of the ignorant,

the hindrances to local government (in a neighbourhood devoid of the leisured and cultured), the difficulty of uniting the unskilled men and women in trade unions, the necessity for stricter Factory Acts, the joylessness of the masses, the hopelessness of the young—all represented difficult problems, each waiting for a solution and made more complicated by the apathy of the poor, who were content with an unrighteous contentment, and patient with a Godless patience. These were not the questions to be replied to by doles, nor could the problems be solved by kind acts to individuals, nor by the healing of the suffering, which was but the symptom of the disease.

In those days these difficulties were being dealt with mainly by good kind women, generally elderly; few men, with the exception of the clergy and noted philanthropists, such as Lord Shaftesbury, were interested in the welfare of the poor, and economists rarely joined close experience with their theories.

'If men, cultivated, young, thinking men, could only know of those things they would be altered,' I used to say, with girlish faith in human good-will—a faith which years has not shaken; and in the spring of 1875 we went to Oxford, partly to tell about the poor, partly to enjoy 'eights week' with a group of young friends. Our party was planned by Miss Toynbee, whom I had met when at school, and whose brother Arnold was then an undergraduate at Balliol. Our days were filled by the hospitality with which Oxford still rejoices its guests; but in the evenings we used to drop quietly down the river with two or three earnest men, or sit long and late in our lodgings in the Turl, and discuss the mighty problems of poverty and the people. How vividly Canon Barnett and I can recall each and all of that first group of 'thinking men,' so ready to take up enthusiasms in their boyish strength—Arnold Toynbee, Arthur Hoare, Leonard Montefiore, Alfred Milner, Philip Gell, John Falk, G. E. Underhill, Ralph Whitehead, Lewis Nettleship! Some of these are still here and caring for the people, but others have passed behind the veil, where perhaps earth's sufferings are explicable.

We used to ask each undergraduate as he developed interest to come and stay in Whitechapel, and see for himself. And they came, some to spend a few weeks, some for the long vacation, while others, as they left the University and began their life's work, took lodgings in East London, and felt all the fascination of its strong pulse of life, hearing, as those who listen always may, the hushed unceasing moans underlying the cry which ever and anon makes itself heard by an unheeding public.

From that visit to Oxford in the 'eights week' of 1875 date many visits to both the Universities. Rarely a term passed without our going to Oxford, where the men who had been down to East London introduced us to others who might do as they had done.

Sometimes we stayed with Dr. Jowett, the immortal Master of Balliol, sometimes we were the guests of the undergraduates, who would get up meetings in their rooms, and arrange innumerable breakfasts, teas, river excursions, and other opportunities for introducing the subject of the duty of the cultured to the poor and degraded.

No organisation was started, no committee, society, nor club founded. We met men, told them of the needs of the out-of-sight poor; many came to see Whitechapel and stayed to help it. And so eight years went by—our Oxford friends laughingly terming my husband the ‘unpaid professor of social philosophy.’

In June 1883 we were told by Mr. Moore Smith that some men at St. John's College at Cambridge were wishful to do something for the poor, but that they were not quite prepared to start an ordinary College Mission. Mr. Barnett was asked to suggest some other possible and more excellent way. The letter came as we were leaving for Oxford, and was slipped with others in my husband's pocket. Soon something went wrong with the engine and delayed the train so long that the passengers were allowed to get out. We seated ourselves on the railway bank, just then glorified by masses of large ox-eyed daisies, and there he wrote a letter suggesting that men might hire a house, where they could come for short or long periods, and, living in an industrial quarter, learn to ‘sup sorrow with the poor.’ The letter pointed out that close personal knowledge of individuals among the poor must precede wise legislation for remedying their needs, and that as English local government was based on the assumption of a leisured cultivated class, it was necessary to provide it artificially in those regions where the line of leisure was drawn just above sleeping hours, and where the education ended at thirteen years of age and with the three R's.

That letter founded Toynbee Hall. Insomnia had sapped my health for a long time, and later, in the autumn of that year, we were sent to Eaux Bonnes for me to try a water cure. During that period the Cambridge letter was expanded into a paper, which my husband read at a College meeting at St. John's College, Oxford, in November of the same year, where, to quote the Bishop of Stepney's words, ‘there were present a number of men who have since become well known. Mr. Arthur Acland, Mr. Michael Sadler, Mr. Anthony Hawkins, better known as “Anthony Hope,” Mr. Spender of the *Westminster Gazette*, and myself.’ Mr. Arthur Sidgwick was also present, and it is largely due to his practical vigour that the idea of University Settlements in the industrial working-class quarters of large towns fell not only on sympathetic ears, but was guided until it came to fruition. Soon after the meeting, a small but earnest committee was formed; later it grew in size and importance, money was obtained on debenture bonds, and a head

sought who would turn the idea into a fact. Here was the difficulty. Such men as had been pictured in the paper which Mr. Knowles had published in this Review of February, 1884,<sup>1</sup> are not met with every day; and no inquiries seemed to discover the wanted man, who would be called upon to give all and expect nothing.

Mr. Barnett and I had spent eleven years of life and work in Whitechapel. We were weary. My health stores were limited and often exhausted, and family circumstances had given us larger means and opportunities for travel. We were therefore desirous to turn our backs on the strain, the pain, the passion, and the poverty of East London, at least for a year or two, and take repose after work which had both aged and weakened us. But no other man was to be found who would and could do the work; and, if this child-thought was not to die, it looked as if we must undertake to try to rear it.

We went to the Mediterranean to consider the matter, and solemnly, on a Sunday morning, made our decision. How well I recall the scene as we sat at the end of the quaint harbour-pier at Mentone, the blue waves dancing at our feet, everything around scintillating with light and movement in contrast with the dull and dulling squalor of the neighbourhood which had been our home for eleven years, and which our new decision would make our home for another indefinite spell of labour and effort. 'God help us!' we said to each other; and then we telegraphed home to obtain the refusal of the big Industrial School next to St. Jude's Vicarage, which had recently been vacated, and which we thought to be a good site for the first Settlement, and returned to try to live up to the standard which we had unwittingly set for ourselves in describing in the article the unknown man who was wanted for Warden.

The rest of the story is soon told. The committee did the work, bought the land, engaged the architect (Mr. Elijah Hoole), raised the money, and interested more and more men, who came for varying periods either to live, to visit, or to see what was being done.

On the 10th of March, 1883, Arnold Toynbee had died. He had been our beloved and faithful friend ever since, as a lad of eighteen, his own mind then being chiefly concerned with military interests and ideals, he had heard, with the close interest of one treading untrodden paths, facts about the toiling ignorant multitude, whose lives were stunted by labour, clouded by poverty and degraded by ignorance. He had frequently been to see us at St. Jude's, staying sometimes a few nights, oftener tempting us to go a day or two with him into the country; and ever wooing us with persistent hospitality to Oxford. Once, in 1879, he had taken rooms over the Charity Organisation office in Commercial Road, hoping to spend part of the long vacation, learning of the people; but his health, often weakly, could not

<sup>1</sup> 'The Universities of the Poor' by Samuel A. Barnett.

stand the noise of the traffic, the sullenness of the aspect, nor the pain which stands waiting at every corner; and at the end of some two or three weeks he gave up the plan and left East London, never to return excepting as our welcome guest. His share of the movement was at Oxford, where with a subtle force of personality he attracted original or earnest minds of all degrees, and turned their thoughts or faces towards the East End and its problems. The personality of Arnold Toynbee was remarkable. To use Lord Milner's words in his recent *Reminiscence*, 'No man has ever had for me the same fascination or made me realise the secret of prophetic power—the kind of influence exercised in all ages by the men of religious and moral inspiration.' Through him many men came to work with us, while others were stirred by the meetings held in Oxford or by the pamphlet called the 'Bitter Cry,' which, in spite of its exaggerations, aroused people to think of the poor; by the stimulating teaching of Professor T. H. Green, and by the constant kindly sympathy of the late Master of Balliol, who once startled some of his hearers, who had not plumbed the depths of his wide wise sympathy, by publicly advising all young men, whatever their career, 'to make some of their friends among the poor.'

The 10th of March, 1884, was a Sunday, and on the afternoon of that day Balliol chapel was filled with a splendid body of men who had come together from all parts of England in loving memory of Arnold Toynbee, on the anniversary of his death. Professor Jowett had asked my husband to preach to them, and they listened, separating almost silently at the chapel porch, filled, one could almost feel, by the aspiration to copy him in caring much, if not doing much, for those who had fallen by the way or were 'ignorant of our glorious gains.'

We had often chatted, those of us who were busy planning the new Settlement, as to what to call it. We did not mean the name to be descriptive; it should, we thought, be free from every possible savour of a Mission, and yet it should, in itself, be suggestive of a noble aim. As I sat on that Sunday afternoon in the chapel, one of the few women among the crowd of strong-brained, straight-living men assembled in reverent affection for one man, the thought flashed to me, 'Let us call the Settlement Toynbee Hall.' To Mr. Bolton King, the honorary secretary of the committee, had come the same idea, and it, finding favour with the committee, was so decided, and our new Settlement received its name before a brick was laid or the plans concluded.

On the 1st of July, 1884, the workmen began to pull down the old Industrial School, and to adapt such of it as was possible for the new uses; and on Christmas Eve, 1884, the first settlers, Mr. H. D. Leigh, of Corpus, and Mr. C. H. Grinling, of Hertford, slept in Toynbee Hall, quickly followed by thirteen residents, most of whom had been

living in the neighbourhood of Whitechapel, some for a considerable length of time, either singly or in groups, one party inhabiting a small disused public-house, others in model dwellings or in lodgings, habitations unsuitable both for their own welfare as well as the needs of those whom they would serve. Those men had, as our fellow workers, become settlers before the Settlement scheme was conceived, and as such were conversant with the questions in the air. It was an advantage, also, that they were of different ages, friends of more than one University generation, and linked together by a common friendship to us.

The present Dean of Ripon had for many years lent his house at No. 3 Ship Street for our use, and so had enabled us to spend some consecutive weeks of each summer at Oxford; and during those years we had learnt to know the flower of the University, counting, as boy friends, some men who have since become world-widely known; some who have done the finest work and 'scorned to blot it with a name;' and others who, as civil servants, lawyers, doctors, country gentlemen, business men, have in the more humdrum walks of life carried into practice the same spirit of thoughtful sympathy which first brought them to inquire concerning those less endowed and deprived of life's joys, or those who, handicapped by birth, training, and environment, had fallen by the way.

As to what Toynbee Hall has done and now is doing, it is difficult for anyone, and impossible for me, to speak. Perhaps I cannot be expected to see the wood for the trees. Those who have cared to come and see for themselves what is being done, to stay in the house and join in its work, know that Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, is a place where twenty University men live in order to work for, to teach, and to learn of the poor. And for eighteen years the succession of residents has never failed. Men of varied opinions and many views, both political and religious, have lived harmoniously together, some staying as long as fifteen years, others remaining shorter periods. All have left behind them marks of their residence; sometimes in the policy of the local Boards, of which they have become members; or in relation to the Student Residences, to the Antiquarian, Natural History, or Travelling Clubs which individuals among them have founded; or by busying themselves with Boys' or Men's Clubs, classes, debates, conferences, discussions. Their activities have been unceasing and manifold, but looking over many years and many men, it seems to my inferior womanly mind that the best work has been done by those men who have cared most deeply for individuals among the poor. Out of such deep care has grown intimate knowledge of their lives and industrial position, and from knowledge has come improvement in laws, conditions or administration. It is such care that has awakened in the people the desire to seek what is best. It is the care of those who, loving God, have taught others to know Him. It is the care of those

who, pursuing knowledge and rejoicing in learning have spread it among the ignorant more effectively than books, classes, or lectures could have done. It is the care for the degraded which alone arouses them to care for themselves. It is the care for the sickly, the weak, the oppressed, the rich, the powerful, the happy, the teacher and taught, the employed and the employer, which enables introduction to be made and interpretation of each other to be offered and accepted. From this seed of deep individual care has grown a large crop of friendship, and many flowers of graceful acts.

It is the duty of Toynbee Hall, situated as it is at the gate of East London, to play the part of a skilful host and introduce the East to the West; but all the guests must be intimate friends, or there will be social blunders. To quote some words out of this year's Report, just written by Canon Barnett, Toynbee Hall is 'an association of persons, with different opinions and different tastes; its unity is that of variety; its methods are spiritual rather than material; it aims at permeation rather than at conversion; and its trust is in friends linked to friends rather than in organisation.'

It was a crowded meeting of the Universities Settlements Association that was held in Balliol Hall in March 1892, it being known that Professor Jowett, who had recently been dangerously ill, would take the chair. He spoke falteringly (for he was still weakly) and once there came an awful pause that paled the hearers who loved him, in fear for his well-being. He told something of his own connection with the movement; of how he had twice stayed with us in Whitechapel, and had seen men's efforts to lift this dead weight of ignorance and pain. He referred to Arnold Toynbee, one of 'the purest minded of men,' and one who 'troubled himself greatly over the unequal positions of mankind.' He told of the force of friendship which was to him sacred, and 'some of which should be offered to the poor.' He dwelt on his own hopes for Toynbee Hall, of its uses to Oxford, as well as to Whitechapel; and he spoke also of us and our work, which he said were the foundation of it all; but those words were conceived by his friendship for and his faith in us, and hardly represented the facts. They left out of sight what the Master of Balliol could only imperfectly know—the countless acts of kindness, the silent gifts of patient service, and the unobtrusive lives of many men; their reverence before weakness and poverty, their patience with misunderstanding, their faith in the power of the best, their tenderness to children and their boldness against vice. These are the foundations on which Toynbee Hall has been built, and on which it stands aiming to raise the ideals of human life, and to strengthen faith in God Almighty, whose Christian name is Love.

HENRIETTA O. BARNETT.

## *THE DISADVANTAGES OF EDUCATION*

EDUCATION, after having been more or less neglected for a long time in Great Britain, has now become an all-powerful panacea in the eyes of the British public and of the British politician. As the alchemists of the dark ages expected to be able to turn any base metal into gold with the help of the philosopher's stone, even so the politicians of the present day expect education to work wonders in Great Britain and to benefit the nation most marvellously in every direction. And, as in the Middle Ages unenlightened princes often subjected their entire States to the fantastic experiments of astrologers and alchemists, half crack-brained mystics not entirely innocent of fraud, half nebulous scientists full of extravagant superstitions, in the hope of benefiting their people thereby, even so the patient British nation is to be experimented upon by the schoolmaster at the bidding of the politician, and education is to work wonders in every way. The stagnation of British commerce is to be converted into commercial triumphs by commercial education. Our former industrial supremacy is to return at the hand of technical education, improved military education is to endow us with capable officers—in fact, the whole nation will have to put its nose in a book. But may not the nation become shortsighted, in the literal and in the metaphorical sense, from too much study, and may not the promised blessings of the schoolmaster's activity prove largely an illusion? At present it seems as if we were going to fall from the Scylla of under-education into the perhaps more dangerous Charybdis of over-education.

Whilst educational enthusiasts in and out of politics are strenuously advocating the 'training' of leaders of men in every field of human activity, it is useful to consider occasionally the limitations of education, and to remember how few of the leaders of men have been 'trained' to their leadership by third parties either in schools or otherwise.

It is an old experience that the most prominent men in nearly every province of human activity have been amateurs, and that is one of the reasons why amateurs, and not professionals, are selected to rule our great public departments. Our great administrators have nearly all been amateurs and autodidacts. To take a few of the



best known examples : Cromwell was a farmer, Warren Hastings and Clive were clerks, Mr. Chamberlain was brought up for trade, Lord Goschen for commerce, and Lord Cromer for the army. Other countries have had the same experience with self-taught amateurs. Prince Bismarck was brought up for law, failed twice to pass his examination, became a country squire, and drifted without any training into the Prussian diplomatic service and the cabinet, and founded the German Empire. George Washington was a surveyor, Benjamin Franklin a printer, Abraham Lincoln a lumberman, M. de Witte a railway official.

In a less exalted sphere we meet with the same phenomenon. Sir William Herschell was a musician, Faraday a bookbinder, Scott a lawyer's clerk, Murat a student of theology, Ney a notary's clerk, Arkwright, the inventor of the spinning machine and the first cotton manufacturer, a barber, Spinoza a glass-blower, Adam Smith a clergyman, Lord Armstrong an attorney, Herbert Spencer an engineer, Pasteur, the father of modern medicine and chirurgy, a chemist, Edison a news vendor ; George Stephenson and most of the great inventors and creators of industry of his time were ordinary working men.

When we look round we find not only that many leaders of men were devoid of a highly specialised training in that particular branch of human activity in which they excel, that they were self-taught amateurs, but that many of the ablest politicians and of the most successful business men have not even had the advantage of a fair general education. Abraham Lincoln had learned at school only the three R's, and those very incompletely, President Garfield worked with a boatman when only ten years old, President Jackson was a saddler and never spelled correctly, President Benjamin Harrison started life as a farmer, and President Andrew Johnson, a former tailor, visited no school, and learned reading only from his wife. George Peabody started work when only eleven years old, the late Sir Edward Harland was apprenticed at the age of fifteen years, Andrew Carnegie began his commercial career when twelve years old as a factory hand, Charles Schwab, president of the United States Steel Corporation, drove a coach as a boy, and then became a stake-driver at an iron works. Josiah Wedgwood started work when only eleven years old ; Arkwright, the father of our cotton industry, was never at school, Edison was engaged in selling papers when twelve years of age, and Sir Hiram Maxim was with a carriage builder when he was fourteen. 'Commodore' Cornelius Vanderbilt, the railway king, who left more than a hundred million dollars, started as a ferryman at a tender age ; the founder of the wealth of the Astors was a butcher's boy, Baron Amsel Mayer von Rothschild a pedlar, Alfred Krupp a smith, Rockefeller, the head of the Standard Oil Trust, a clerk. All these most successful men were autodidacts.

People well acquainted with the City can name a goodly number of millionaires who occasionally drop an 'h,' the only evidence left of an arduous career from the bottom rung of the ladder.

Why have so few eminently successful men been school-trained? Because the acceptance of ready-made opinions kills the original thinking power and unbiassed resourcefulness of the mind, and paramount success cannot be achieved by docile scholars and imitators, but only by pioneers. Besides, the independent spirits who are predestined for future greatness are usually impatient of the restraint of schools, and of their formal and largely impractical tuition, and wish to be free to follow their own instincts towards success.

In view of these numerous well-known instances of greatness achieved by men unaided, but also unspoiled by education, who taught themselves what they found necessary to learn, which instances might be multiplied *ad infinitum*, it is only natural to find a strong opposition to education among the unlearned men whose native shrewd common-sense has not been affected by the reading of books. But even the learned begin to waver and to ask themselves whether the much-vaunted benefits of learning have not been largely over-estimated, and whether the undoubted advantages of education are not more than counterbalanced by corresponding disadvantages.

The doubts as to the advantages of education have been considerably strengthened by our experiences in the South African war. Many observers have been struck by the curious phenomenon that our most highly educated officers had on the whole so little success against the Boer officers, who were not only quite unlearned in the science of war, but also mostly uneducated, and sometimes grossly ignorant in elementary knowledge, peasants who had perhaps not even heard the names of Frederick the Great, Napoleon, and Moltke, whose every battle our erudite officers had at their fingers' ends.

The highest military school in Great Britain is the Staff College. The officers who have succeeded in passing through that institution are considered to be the most intellectual, and are marked out for future employment in the most responsible positions. They are our most scientific soldiers and represent the flower of learning in the army. Consequently it might be expected that our most distinguished generals should be Staff College men. However, if we look through the Army List, it appears that our most successful officers in the Boer war—Lord Roberts, Lord Kitchener, Sir John French, Sir George White, Sir Archibald Hunter, Sir Ian Hamilton, Lord Dundonald, Sir Hector Macdonald, and General Baden-Powell—have not passed the Staff College. On the other hand, we find that the late General Colley, who lost Majuba, was a prominent military scientist and Staff College professor, and that General Gatacre, who

was defeated at Stormberg, and Generals Kelly-Kenny, Hildyard, Hart, and Barton, who also took part in the South African war, though not with conspicuous success, have the much-coveted P.S.C. (passed Staff College) printed before their names. In the South African war it came to pass, as some crusty old colonels had prophesied, that the officers who were brimful of scientific military knowledge, and who could talk so learnedly on strategy and tactics, achieved nothing on the field of battle. Those who achieved something had not been 'trained' to generalship in the Staff College, and had not had their natural thinking power, their common-sense, crowded out of existence by the absorption of a huge store of book-learning.

After some of our initial defeats a distinguished general was sent out, and it was reported that wherever he went a large library of military works, strategical, tactical, and historical, went with him. He and his library went to Africa to save the situation, but not many months after that distinguished scientific general returned in disgrace to England, together with his library. His imposing book knowledge, with which he could talk down any mere fighting officer, had availed him nothing in the field.

Our 'highly trained' professional intelligence officers proved also of very little value until they had unlearned in Africa what they had been taught at home, whilst quite unlearned Transvaal peasants made splendid intelligence officers. On the other hand, 'Colonel' Wools-Sampson, by far our best intelligence officer, was a civilian.

Our politicians have unfortunately not yet learned the lessons of the South African war. Instead of investigating why the unlearned peasant officers defeated so often the flower of our military scientists, who were fortified with the most profound military education, and who had a most extensive knowledge of the battles, the strategy and tactics of all periods, from the time of Hannibal onwards, a committee of gentlemen innocent of war was deputed to inquire into the education of our officers. Naturally enough their verdict was condemnatory of the present system, and various suggestions were made by it how to improve the education of our officers. Lord Kitchener, General French, Christian de Wet, and Louis Botha, fighting officers who are no doubt the most competent judges of the qualifications required in an officer for war, were, unfortunately, not asked for their opinion on such a vital matter. It would have been interesting to learn how much or how little weight practical authorities of unrivalled weight, such as these, attach to school education of officers as practised in Great Britain, and what, according to their opinion, the effect of that school education is upon their common-sense.

In view of these few examples, which are universally known, and many more which are less familiar, it is not to be wondered at that thoughtful men begin to question the efficacy of education altogether.

Hence the danger seems impending that after a spell of over-education the swing of the pendulum should bring us back again to under-education. Consequently it seems opportune to consider what the object of education should be, what the advantages and the disadvantages of education are, how the disadvantages of education are caused, and how they may be obviated, so that only the advantages of education should remain.

The object of education has been laid down by the great thinkers of all times. King Solomon recommends education in order 'to give subtilty to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion' (Prov. i. 3), and though he frequently recommends knowledge, he considers it as subsidiary to understanding, and wisely emphasises 'Wisdom is the principal thing, therefore get wisdom, and with all thy getting get understanding' (Prov. iv. 7).

The advantages of a proper education are too generally known to be enlarged upon, consequently we may turn at once to the disadvantages inherent to education.

No great thinker believes in the indiscriminate and uncritical acquisition, the mere storage of dead book-knowledge, to the confusion of the intellect, a result which is usually arrived at by the cramming in preparation for examinations, as practised by our present-day education. Learning by rote was probably in former ages as popular among schoolmasters as it is now, because it shows quickest some tangible results of education. Aware of this danger Solomon urges again and again in his proverbs 'Get wisdom,' 'Get understanding,' 'Get discretion.' He evidently thought an actively working and intelligent brain more valuable than one filled with knowledge.

No doubt the object of education should be to enlighten the understanding, cultivate the taste, correct the temper, form the manners and habits of youth, and, especially, to fit them for usefulness in their future stations by preparing them for the battle of life. Is this object attained to any degree by our present education, or does it chiefly endow us with a show of motley knowledge, mostly useless in after life, to the detriment of our natural thinking powers and of our common-sense?

The danger inherent to the possession of a store of undigested knowledge is that it shackles, stifles, and often kills the free working of the brain. That great danger of education has been clear to many great men, from Solomon onwards, who have given the matter a thought. Of the numerous epigrams which have been coined to warn against the danger of substituting a dead weight of undigested and therefore useless knowledge for an active unprejudiced and clear brain, endowed with common-sense, I should like to mention only two: Goethe's 'The greater the knowledge the greater the doubt,' and Hazlitt's 'The most learned are often the most narrow-minded

men.' The truth of these sayings is absolutely clear to every one; only this truth, though instinctively felt, has not sufficiently been taken to heart by those who direct the education of the nation.

It has been truly said 'Knowledge is power,' but knowledge in itself is not power, only *applied* knowledge is power. Knowledge is like money, not valuable in itself, but only valuable for what it will buy. Knowledge is like a strong weapon, but the best weapon is useless to a man who does not know how to wield it. Knowledge is an elementary power, but the power of the Niagara, or of steam, or of electricity, would be useless to mankind unless intelligence directs that power to some practical purpose. The Chinese knew magnetic iron long before the Europeans knew it. To them it was a piece of iron and nothing more. Handled by European intelligence, magnetic iron became a useful power in the compass, which gave Europe the rule of the seas. The Chinese knew also gunpowder before the Europeans knew it, but to them it was only a plaything used in fireworks. A man who has read endless treatises on boxing, and who has studied the fights of all great boxers, gets knocked out whilst he is reflecting how Jackson or Fitzsimmons would have behaved. The officer whose mind is soaked in military literature and who can tell why Napoleon won the battle of Austerlitz and why Frederick the Great lost the battle of Hochkirch has lost in nine cases out of ten his common-sense, the buoyancy, resourcefulness and impartiality of mind with which a less erudite officer would tackle a difficult question.

A learned officer whose intelligence has been swallowed up by his military studies will not immediately fit his tactics to the case in point, as his free common-sense would suggest, but tries often to make the case in point fit the theories which he has imbibed, or the historical precedents and parallels, which his memory, not his judgment, suggests to him. An example: On the 15th of December, 1899, General Buller telegraphed to Lord Lansdowne from Chieveley Camp:

. . . My view is that I ought to let Ladysmith go and keep good position for the defence of South Natal, and let time help us. . . . The best thing I can suggest is that I should keep defensive position and fight it out in a country better suited to our tactics.

Instead of looking at the position of the enemy and his tactics with an unbiassed mind, and fitting his tactics to the ground and circumstances, General Buller evidently wished to fit the ground and circumstances to his unsuitable book tactics and proposed to retire to South Natal in the vain hope that the enemy would oblige him by following after, and thus enable him to fight there according to the book. Other generals complained that the Boers 'bolted' before an attack with the bayonet could be 'brought home.' They seemed to consider that the Boers did not play the game squarely in deviating from the tactics taught in the text-books.

Amongst statesmen also we find that, on the whole, the comparatively unlearned have a great advantage over the very learned and bookish. Our two most capable living statesmen, Lord Cromer and Mr. Chamberlain, were brought up for the army and for business respectively. They are hard workers and practical men, singularly free from useless book learning, and have never been known to rely for an argument on a text-book or a professorial dictum. Their learning has been chiefly derived from intelligent observation in practical life, and they have fortunately not had time for lengthy theoretical studies. Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, was a great scholar. His mind was a perfect encyclopædia of classical and other knowledge. He could look at every question from so many sides and could enlarge on its countless minor aspects and possibilities with such a wonderful brilliancy and intellectual subtlety that after considering all the arguments which might be raised for or against, he did at the end often no longer know himself what side to take. He illustrated Bacon's saying, that it is not so important to know what might be said as what ought to be done. Mr. Gladstone's unwieldy store of book knowledge was a millstone round his neck, and disqualified him from being a statesman of the first rank. Instead of looking at essentials, his kaleidoscopic mind became involved and entangled by the spinning out of his topic, and after straying through a confusing maze of arguments, he was apt to let slip the thread and to lose himself in trifles.

Of English statesmen of the second rank, few are more thoroughly forgotten than those of the greatest and most subtle intellect, and of nearly unequalled learning, such as Edward Gibbon, Macaulay, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Robert Lowe, and the late Duke of Argyll. They are hardly remembered as statesmen.

Compared with the men named above, the two greatest statesmen of modern times, Bismarck and Abraham Lincoln, might be called uncultured. Bismarck was comparatively unlearned and certainly not bookish. In fact, he expressed more than once his contempt of political and of economical theorists, and relied solely on his broad untrammelled common-sense, taking no notice of professorial theories and protestations. Unhampered by the superfluous knowledge and the æsthetic feelings of a Gladstone, and quite free from the theories of political scientists and political economists, he brushed the hair-splitting arguments of over-culture aside, kept his eyes steadfastly on the main issue, and rapidly led his country from triumph to triumph, to greatness, unity, and wealth. Again, that great statesman Abraham Lincoln, the former lumberman, brought the sturdy practical sober common-sense and the fearless determination which he had acquired in his intercourse with nature from the backwoods into office, and saved America from disruption.

No bookish men of science would have been able to replace either Bismarck or Lincoln.

Of our rulers, unpolished Henry the Eighth, Queen Elizabeth, and Cromwell are among the greatest. On the other hand, of our polished rulers, James the First, 'the wisest fool in Christendom,' and Charles the Second, 'who never said a foolish thing, and never did a wise one,' confirm that people who have filled themselves with undigested learning can talk most wisely in drawing upon their store, but cannot act wisely in applying their accumulated knowledge to practical issues, because with them knowledge has taken the place of common-sense.

What applies to military matters and to business of state applies with equal force to trade and commerce. None of our successful generals in the South African war have passed through the Staff College, and no business man of the first rank in Great Britain, America, or Germany has, as far as is known, come from commercial high schools. On the contrary, it seems that Mr. Carnegie's advice to 'start young and broom in hand' is most excellent counsel. While great fortunes and great industries have almost invariably been created by uneducated men, parvenus unembarrassed with learning, who taught themselves what they found necessary to know, we find on the other hand that those men who have made commercial science, political economy, their study, have not shown any success in business and have remained theorists. Most political economists have had to live on their pen. Mr. Cobden went bankrupt in business. It is true that Ricardo was well off, but he was a stockbroker by trade, and with him political economy was only a hobby, not a serious pursuit. It is strange how few business men of the first rank have a good word to say of political economy.

If we look at the masses of the people we find that, owing to education, nearly everybody can read, and does read copiously. Every labourer and his wife read regularly their paper, free public libraries are to be found everywhere, the best books can be bought at sixpence or less a volume, and there is hardly a family, howsoever poor it may be, without a library of much-read books. It might be assumed that with the opening of the intellectual world of books, the intellect of the people would also have been opened correspondingly, and that the people should be more enlightened. However, it seems very doubtful whether that is the case. Perhaps at no time have uncritical credulousness and crass superstition been greater. Perhaps at no time have swindlers, quacks, and charlatans of all kinds found a larger and more gullible *clientèle*. Cheiromancy and clairvoyance flourish everywhere and find countless patrons, from titled ladies to mill-hands. The belief in ghosts is strong, and spiritualism is fashionable. Millions believe in the faith cure and similar extraordinary gospels. The wildest schemes floated on the

Stock Exchange find the millions of the public ready, and the thousands are raked in by missing-word competitions, bucket-shops, and other transparent frauds. Throughout the country we have large parties of convinced vaccinationists and anti-vaccinationists, of Imperialists and of Little Englanders, of Free-traders and of Protectionists, &c. However, if the average much-reading voter is asked why he is a convinced supporter of one or the other movement, he will not be able to adduce any intelligent reasons for his 'convinced' attitude from his enlightened common-sense, notwithstanding his copious readings. As a matter of fact, he has had his belief drummed into his brain, which has been dulled by over-reading. His common-sense and his intellect have been smothered in paper and printer's ink. He does not reason, but believes and follows blindly.

The average man reads not for information, but for amusement. Divorces, murders, cricket, betting, &c., are the most popular items, as a glance at the evening papers, or a visit to the public libraries, will show, and popular magazines and books are filled with extravagant stories of the love and murder type, which only serve to distort the people's ideas of life, and may also be responsible for the creation of the hooligan. Even the short story begins to tire the flaccid brain and the staled palate of the multitude. Its place is rapidly being taken by papers of the *Scraps*, *Bits*, and *Chips* style.

In spite of the universal education of the people the stage is steadily degenerating. The masses are no longer able to follow a drama, notwithstanding universal education, and can only concentrate their minds sufficiently to follow performances of the *Scraps* style, composed of comic songs, ballets, acrobatic feats, and buffoonery. The brain of the people has evidently not been sharpened, but been dulled and softened, by too much reading.

Public opinion is ready-made by the newspapers, and is assimilated without criticism by their readers. Common-sense is getting more and more uncommon, and is being rapidly replaced by a useless store of miscellaneous odds and ends of information. In fact, the mind of the multitude is beginning to resemble the contents of a number of *Tit-Bits*, with its scrappy heterogeneous and incoherent information. In consequence of this passive state of the public brain, any movement which is undertaken by people disposing of a sufficient store of money has a good chance of success. Whatever the gospel may be, if there is money enough to drum it loudly and continuously into the public ear, the public is sure to adopt it. For a nation whose policy is based upon the will of the masses, and for a Government which often waits for a lead from the electorate before acting, a state of affairs which supplants the native common-sense and the judgment of the people by a confused mass of useless unassimilated knowledge seems distinctly dangerous.



It might be objected that common-sense is not a subject that can be taught in schools, like writing or languages. That is true to some extent, but common-sense can either be developed and strengthened in schools, or can be neglected and stifled. The tendency of schools constantly to provide for the scholar authoritative ready-made opinions which he has to learn by heart, and which he need not trouble to question or investigate, is no doubt fatal to his common-sense. Instead of exercising and stimulating the power of judgment and criticism in the tender brain, and encouraging it to work independently, schools work almost exclusively upon the memory, which has to assimilate a bewildering heterogeneous mass of chiefly ornamental facts and data, which more often than not prove utterly useless in after-life.

Instead of filling the pupil's head with knowledge regardless of his judgment, schools should, before all, awaken the mental initiative and invigorate the independent thinking power of their pupils, and encourage them to use their common-sense, in order to give 'subtlety to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion.' However, instead of thus equipping their pupils for life, they cram the youthful brains so choke-full with chiefly ornamental, and therefore futile, knowledge, that their common-sense becomes stunted. Of what use is a smattering of history, botany, and a few words of French to a workman's daughter who, from lack of common-sense, cannot cook or cannot keep house for a future husband, or bring up her children sensibly? Of what use are the vague hazy memories of science, which he has been taught, to a working-man who ruins his trade and loses his employment because he believes in the 'scientific' restriction of labour, who goes idly on strike at the advice of a loud-mouthed agitator, or who thoughtlessly gambles his money away, owing to the lack of that common-sense which has been stifled at school, and which has been replaced by a smattering of vain book knowledge? Again, of what use are the higher studies to the merchant, the doctor, the solicitor, the engineer, &c., if, owing to stifled common-sense, they can make as little use of their learning as did our highly trained officers in South Africa?

As the possession of knowledge without understanding is not only useless, but as its acquisition also deprives the learners of much valuable time which might more advantageously have been employed in a different way, it is quite clear that the schools should first of all try to develop the native intelligence, the common-sense, of their pupils, instead of ignoring its presence and weakening its force. Furthermore, schoolmasters should constantly bear in mind that knowledge can only be usefully acquired in proportion to the common-sense possessed by the learner, that learning must be subordinate to understanding, and that, though common-sense can make excellent use of knowledge, knowledge can never replace

common-sense. Tuition should, therefore, always look to the intellectual power of the scholar, as the engineer looks to the pressure gauge, and regulate accordingly the rate of progress in learning, instead of mechanically filling the learner's brain to the full capacity of the memory, and thereby crowding out the common-sense.

A thorough investigation of the art of teaching is needed, and such an investigation may show the necessity of abandoning altogether competitive examinations of the present type, which rather go to show the strength of the pupil's memory than the far more important soundness of his judgment.

However, more will be required than strengthening the judgment of the pupil and regulating the quantity of learning to be taught by the assimilative, not the retentive, power of the individual. It will be the duty of our statesmen to discover whether the present practice of education and the topics taught are most conducive to fit the youth of the nation for their future stations in practical life. To the solution of that most important question every true patriot, and especially every practical man, can materially contribute, for it is essentially a practical man's question, and not an educationalist's, as has hitherto been usually assumed.

That our present education, primary, secondary, and tertiary, is on the whole so little practical that it treats the critical faculties of the pupil with sublime disregard, that it consequently tends to deprive the nation of its common-sense, and thereby not fits but unfits the youth of the nation for practical life, cannot be wondered at. The reason is that our whole educational system is unfortunately schoolmaster-made.

No doubt the fittest educators for any walk of life are those men who have achieved conspicuous success in it. Lord Kitchener would probably be able to train officers of distinction, Sir Edward Clarke would probably be able to educate lawyers of prominence, and Mr. Carnegie would very likely raise successful business men. Not schools but great men have always been the trainers of great men whenever great men have not trained themselves unaided. In proof of this I would cite the pupils of Plato, the schools of the great Italian painters during the Renaissance, the excellent officers trained by Frederick the Great, Napoleon, and Nelson. Successful men are most competent to teach others how to attain success. Schoolmasters are most competent to train schoolmasters. Therefore unless a wholesome influence from outside supplies the leaven and brings on practical reforms, primary education will remain what it is, classical education will continue to be forced on young men to whom it is absolutely useless in after-life, and tertiary education will not be brought up to the practical requirements of the nation.

It is unlikely that the services of Mr. Carnegie will be secured by a commercial academy, or those of Lord Kitchener by the Staff

College, and it is equally unlikely that able soldiers, chemists, engineers, business men, &c., will throw away their unlimited chances in exchange for a tedious professorship that gives them a precarious, or at the best a moderate, income, and a mediocre position. But, even assuming that first-class practical men could be secured for teaching practical matters, they would be too much wrapped up in teaching to keep up to date in practice, and they would soon fall behind in their teaching. Besides, a practical man rapidly becomes professorial when he is put in the lecturer's chair. A Virchow, a Treves, or a Marconi could probably teach a few intelligent, self-chosen assistants, more in the laboratory during a month, without taking any trouble, and without interrupting his work, than he could teach an audience in two years by carefully prepared lectures.

The triumphs of German science and industry are unjustly attributed to the numerous universities and technical and other schools which exist in Germany. Those institutions have been instrumental in turning out an immense host of professors, medical men, lawyers, &c., of medium ability, of whom the vast majority is only partly occupied or unoccupied. Men of great ability are raised not by the superficial education of the many, but by the intensive culture of the few, and Germany's successes in science and industry are traceable to the intensive, not the extensive tuition, that has been provided by her. The ability of the best German scientists, engineers, soldiers, &c., has wisely been utilised towards intensive education. Moltke was at the same time the commander of the army and the chief of the staff, and in his latter quality he trained the staff officers in the art of organisation and of war, especially those who showed most talent, such as his successor, von Waldersee, who acted for a long time as his assistant. Germany's successes in chemistry are directly traceable to Justus von Liebig and his assistants in the laboratory, her electrical paramountcy was created by W. von Siemens and his pupils. In fact, most of the leading men of science and industry in Germany were trained by a few very able men of the type of Moltke, Liebig, and Siemens, whose assistants they have been.

Schoolmasters are too far removed from the turmoil of the world to be able to train young men and fit them for the battle of life if left to themselves. The training of the young cannot safely be left to the unguided schoolmaster. To improve education the practical men of the nation, the men who do things and who can take a comprehensive view of the requirements of education, manufacturers, merchants, bankers, lawyers, doctors, officers, &c., must take an active part, not only a sympathetic interest, in education and assist in the mapping out of an up-to-date educational programme of real practical utility.

The shortcomings of the schools are not of modern date. As long as human records exist schools have had a distinctly conservative strain in their character. The schools of Judea and Egypt were ecclesiastical—that is to say, conservative—and the earliest and mediæval Christian schools were monastic. From mediæval monastic times the present schools have faithfully preserved their classic programme and their exaggerated veneration of the *studia humaniora*. They have preserved their somewhat monastic character and programme, partly owing to the dead weight of tradition, which has ever been very powerful in schools, partly owing to the influence of clergymen upon education. No doubt the blending of ecclesiastical and scholastic influences has greatly improved the morals of the nation, and has made it high-minded; but these influences, which have been excellent for the ideal equipment of Great Britain, have not worked as satisfactorily for the practical and scientific advancement of the country. Generally speaking, clergymen cannot be considered to be the fittest exponents of science.

With few exceptions, schoolmasters of every type form an extremely conservative self-centred and somewhat self-important body. Speaking always with the voice of authority to their classes, they tend to become autocratic in their views, and, having themselves studied the classics, they believe the study of the classics to be the best preparation for any and every career. *Abeunt studia in mores*.

New ideas have hardly ever come from schools. On the contrary, schools have ever proved reactionary and inimical to new ideas. Great minds have ever been persecuted owing to the narrow-mindedness and the jealousy of the schools from Socrates onwards. Galileo, Columbus, and many other great discoverers were imprisoned and treated like criminals with the approval, and largely at the instigation, of schools of science because their discoveries threatened the tenets of accepted learning. Even the heavy artillery of theology has been advanced by the universities of the Middle Ages, and also of later days, against geological and astronomical discoveries. Newton and Darwin were laughed at by the faculties, and in Roman Catholic universities Darwin is still ostracised, according to report. Kant became a professor only when he was forty-six years old, after fifteen years' lecturing; Schopenhauer never became a professor owing to the jealousy of the universities. Liebig and Pasteur were jeered at by the profession, vaccination and homœopathy had to fight for decades against the envy of the medical schools. David Strauss and Renan were compelled to leave their universities; Beethoven and Wagner were persecuted by the schools of music, and were treated like madmen because they did not conform with musical traditions. Millet was neglected by the Salon in Paris, and Whistler snubbed by the Royal Academy in London. The inventions of Edison, Marconi, Röntgen, Koch, could not be explained away by modern science

schools, but their discoveries have been greeted by the universities with personal attacks full of animosity, and these men have been pictured as the commercially successful exploiters of other people's ideas. A late correspondence in the *Times* with regard to the discoveries of Mr. Marconi is typical in that respect.

Wherever we look we find the schools somewhat inclined towards reaction. That being their character, not only in Great Britain, but everywhere, it seems clear that it would be unreasonable to expect that the schools should reform themselves. Therefore reforms must come from outside unless education is to remain what it is—an elaborate sham, with science in its mouth, but in reality a course of cramming, destructive of common-sense.

To improve education, education may have to be individualised; that is to say, the present uniformity of the schools may have to give way to schools catering directly for the practical needs of the various classes of the population. Why should a number of pupils who wish to follow different occupations, which require the most diversified qualifications of mind and body, and of knowledge, and therefore also a diversified course of preparatory study, all be classed together, treated alike, and be compelled to learn the same subjects? Already pupils are enabled to some extent to choose subjects for instruction, but specialisation has not by any means been carried far enough. In future we shall very likely not so much require schools which exclusively aim at mechanically cramming their pupils for certain examinations, which are for show but otherwise of doubtful value, but we shall require intelligently worked institutions which cater directly for boys who intend to become lawyers, or doctors, or business men, &c. The various classes of the community are bound to feel, in course of time, the absolute necessity of a more practical and more directly useful tuition for their children, they are bound to recognise the absolute futility of measuring ability by examinations, which show only the retentive, not the intellectual, capacity of the brain, and the commercial instinct of schoolmasters will supply the demand for individualised schools of a more practical type adapted to give a thorough businesslike preparation to their pupils.

Why should a boy who is interested in a certain science or pursuit be forced to waste a number of precious years in studying various subjects which are distinctly unsympathetic to him, and to receive at the same time during all these years but a scant and superficial tuition in the one subject which he ardently wishes to study, and to which he would like to devote his life?

A modest beginning to provide competent and efficient tuition in special subjects is already being made by practical men in a tentative way. Certain trades—as, for instance, the gunmakers in Sheffield—have established technical schools of their own, which are doing excellent work, and which, on the whole, should prove more com-

petent and more businesslike than technical schools established by outside agencies, such as the government, corporations, or universities. Let us hope that the spirit of combination which seems to be growing, though somewhat slowly, within the community, will in due course dot the whole country with technical schools founded and supervised by the various industries themselves, and planted under the very eye of these industries in their business centre. The application of science to industry will then become a very powerful factor and an established fact where it is now only a pious wish. Let us hope, besides, that the direct active interest in education, which practical men are beginning to take, will cause in course of time the mapping out of specialised school programmes by competent experts for all schools from elementary schools to universities throughout the country; for, after all, practical men, not tradition-bound schoolmasters and well-meaning clergymen, can determine the practical requirements of education.

O. ELTZBACHER.

## WHO WAS CAIN'S WIFE?

THIS well-known question has been propounded so frequently, that when it is now mentioned in support of views as to the population of the world and of the creation of mankind, there is a tendency to turn it off with a light scoff, as though it were a question that was unanswerable. Nevertheless, the writer ventures to bring it forward once more because he believes that the answer to this question affords a strong, but not a solitary, proof of the truth of the theory of evolution as indicating the method pursued by the Creator.

Not the only proof certainly, but one taken from that record which alone presents, or claims to present, the truth as to the Creation and man's place therein.

The view to which the theory of evolution and natural selection inclines is, that what is recorded in these Scriptures as the creative act of the latter part of the sixth day, was not the actual beginning of the existence of the human animal upon the earth; that this origin is rather to be found in the record of the earlier work of the sixth day, where we read :

And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature [Hebrew, "animal living form"] after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth [Hebrew, "living thing"] after his kind: and it was so. . . . and God saw that it was good.'

The vision thus recorded details what to the seer was the first appearance of animal life on the dry land. All the forms of life which he saw, all the animal species and varieties, were perfect after their kind, and man as the human animal was among them, sharing their common earth origin under the creative action of God.

The later part of the sixth day vision tells how a man was made distinct from the other animals, but it does not say that all the human animals were similarly acted upon. And the natural inference is that from that time there were co-existing a specially modified strain of the human race, and all the varieties of the human species, which a long process of natural selection had evolved under the guiding creative power of God.

Premising then that, subject to certain literary reservations of secondary importance, the book called Genesis, in which this narrative of the creation is found, represents the actual truth, the writer claims that its real explanation is to be found in the theory of evolution.

There is no doubt but that the narrative as we have it in the Hebrew consists of a compilation of various traditional material. Critics, as we know, have recognised three main strands of this cord that connects man with his Maker. They have arbitrarily called them the Priest's Code, the Elohist Narrative, and the Jehovistic Narrative. But as the streams which go to form a mighty river are themselves but aggregations of brooks and brooklets, so each of these main sources in all probability depends for its material on many and various traditions concerning one and the same event. Such, at least, must be the case with regard to the facts which are recorded as being within the reach of human experience. But it may be said, events there are in this book recorded which are beyond the reach of any such. How could any man see or know what happened before man was created? Whence, then, this tradition?

It is not the intention of the writer to define what is meant by Inspiration. But the result of inspiration as regards such matters as these is, to the individual man, what is called revelation; and the answer to the above questions is that the record of these pre-human events is and has been obtained by means of tradition of such revelation. That such is the case is borne out by the peculiar manner in which this revelation is here presented to us. It is in the form of a series of visions—visions which the seer has taken care to explain came to him at night time (וַיִּהְיֶה עֶרֶב וַיִּהְיֶה בֹקֶר, and it was evening and it was morning, a first, second, and third &c. day). When in the Hebrew it is desired to specialise the daytime the phrase used means from the morning to the evening (סִבְרָה עַד עֶרֶב) (Heb. Exod. xviii. 13; Job iv. 20), and as in the phrase in question this order is reversed, it can only be to emphasise the period of time to which allusion is made as that which passed between the evening and the morning, *i.e.* the night. In these night visions the seer beheld or had revealed to him the progressive order of the creation. This he describes as such would appear comprehensible to his mind and to the minds of his audience. But although he for this reason colours the revelation with the appearance of successive separate acts of creation, such appearance is in reality only due to the way in which he interpreted or related what he saw. Moreover we must recollect that the object of the Giver of the vision was emphatically dogmatic, and intended to show the real origin of all things, not necessarily the method of the creative operations. It is only when the result is carefully studied with a view to try and discover the *How?* of creation, that glimpses of the method or methods employed are obtained. Such effort at discovery was naturally entirely absent from the mind of the seer or seers whose records we have in the Bible.

Their object was rather to discover, and the object of God rather to reveal, the *Why?* of creation.

But the marvellous thing is that when the revelation to the one is compared with the discovery (equally a revelation) of the other,



they are found to harmonise. And in spite of supposed disagreements as to a few minor details, the mutual truths support and assist each other. *De minimis non curat lex*, and the apparent differences are too insignificant to affect the main fact. The revelation which is thus shown makes clear the great truth that creation has not proceeded by leaps, but has been gradual and progressive, from the lowest to the highest, from the general chaotic nothing through the varying types of animal life to man. But many of the grades and links in the chain have been lost sight of, leaving only embryological evidence of their existence.

Science views the vital process best as represented by a photographic negative of a great tree from which the main trunk has to a large extent been smudged or blurred away, leaving the root fast bedded in the earth, and only the terminal or peripheral portions of the branches, which have started from the trunk at different parts, still left. The trunk will represent the archetypical or typical modifications evolved in living matter, and the branches will stand for the different species of living forms with their varieties. These all represent what we call higher or lower forms of life according as they have sprung originally from the inferior or superior portions of the main trunk. Thus we may have, as representing what we call the protozoa, the suckers which arise directly from the root, or perhaps the twigs which spring from the trunk at the instant that it leaves the ground; while we believe that the very ultimate subdivisions of the trunk itself at its highest part represent the tribes and families of the human animal. As the seer of the vision would describe this tree, these ultimate peripheral divisions of the branches, the animal species, appeared to him in the early part of the sixth vision of the series he describes.

All he sees appears originally to him to spring from the earth, 'And the earth brought forth,' &c., and as the final earth production he mentions 'living ones of the earth,' 'beasts' as our versions have it. But they were not only 'beasts' as we now understand the word, for there was among them a living being, who, though as yet only animal, was capable of higher development into something ultra-animal. This appears if we study the original account of the work of the sixth day as it is called, of what the seer beholds in the sixth vision. This is not announced as an act of creation, specially so called. A different word is used to express the intention. It is not 'בָּרָא = to create' as in the earlier verses, but 'עָשָׂה = to make,' and that further modified in its meaning by the use of the preposition 'in,' 'into,' or 'as' in connection with the following words.

Thus, exactly translated, the words mean, 'Let us make a man in (into or as) our image, in (into or as) our likeness.' Human beings were not to be created, they were part of the already existing animal kingdom. But one of these animals was to be taken and 'made in or into' the likeness of God, a veritable conversion. Although this

act did not imply the creation of another animal, still in reality it was a creative act, and the result is thus thereafter recorded: 'And God proceeded to create (וַיַּבְרָא) *the man*,' &c., and the narrative informs us in what the act consisted. A living being was taken, and a special form of vital force was inspired into him. No longer does he live simply in virtue of the animal vital force (נֶפֶשׁ), but now he has also the Divine vital force (נִשְׁמָה) (Heb. Genesis, ii, 7), and thus *the man* appears, animal in mere outward form, however beautiful, but also possessed of spiritual vitality far transcending the mere material vital force of the other living forms which the seer beheld.

Thus The Man became the 'Ben Elohim,' the son of God, and thus in the after narrative he and his descendants are distinguished from the other human animals which are there called the 'Beni Adam,' the sons of the earth.

There has arisen in some minds a confusion at this point. No doubt exists as to the meaning of the Hebrew words בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים (Beni Elohim) being the 'sons of God.' But as the name of the first man is given as being Adam, in order to impress his material, earthy, and natural origin upon him, the words בְּנֵי אָדָם (Beni Adam) have been too readily accepted as meaning the sons of Adam, whereas they really mean the sons of the earth, the earth-born, the human animal.

By this act of inspiration the man, as we have seen, became possessed of pre-eminent vitality. The result of this could only be to enhance what powers he already possessed in virtue of the perfection (for God saw that it was good) of his animal nature.

Of these powers that which was the ultimate effort of the material forces to which he owed his development, was mental power. It was not until the animal, by gradual process of evolution, gave evidence of the possession of mental powers, capable of appreciating and understanding the gift, that the Creator bestowed the final factor—the spiritual life.

This mental power then would, in common with his other powers, receive a benefit by the increased vital stimulation. The man thus endowed would be a real *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* as regarded his relatives with only earth-born powers. So far as the world around was concerned, he and his descendants would own undoubted sway, and so the record shows him to do, telling as it does of his high-handed method of taking all that he chose of the daughters of the earth (Genesis vi. 2).

But with the gift there entered in another element in his development, and that a disturbing one.

At this point in his history man was still not the perfect image of Himself which the Creator intended him to be. He was as the young David with an untried sword. He had yet to face the facts of his nature, and among these facts was a question which had to be answered. Which side of him, which nature, the animal or the spiritual, was to be the motive, guiding, ruling power of the ego?

Was he, so to speak, 'to sit tight,' to remain stationary, to make

no use of his new weapon? In that case where was the gain? Of course it was not so intended. The weapon was to be used, and its proper uses thoroughly learnt, and its powers not slighted or abused.

But he is unaccustomed to his new weapon; he finds that a rival weapon presents itself more naturally to his hand. This is an old friend, one to which long ages of use have habituated him and his. He must use one or the other if he is not to remain stationary; the Goliaths of life must be overcome either with the splendid weapon of his animal nature, or with the still more beautiful one, the Word of God. And this 'Word,' this sword untried as yet, could only be used in one way, that is, as the supreme power in his existence, and must be abandoned, must fall from his hand, if he still preferred his old weapon, the power of his animal life. Thus at the outset, it will be seen, the further progress of the man must be a question of strife, and each individual had to decide for himself whether he would accept the glorious power and use it well, or whether he would let it fall from him. For the inferior or animal nature would constantly be exerting itself to obtain the supremacy, and such exertion means constant strife. Again, in either case he would still have the struggle for existence with the outside world, but in the one he would have to back him the co-ordination of his twofold nature, and in the other would necessarily more and more fall back to the condition of those who were his merely animal relatives and of the earth, earthy. Then he would finally fail to attain that perfection, that likeness to his Creator which was the ultimate object of that Creator's efforts.

The Bible narrative, looking upon mankind and the world from this standpoint, proceeds to record the history of the progress of the race. Not many words are therein devoted to the early history thereof. The narrative relates two or three salient facts which have an evident effect or influence in this struggle; and the evidence on which the evolutionist must rely is rather such as incidentally is met with in the more dramatic portions of the narratives, called by critics the Jehovistic and Elohistie. The history, for instance, of Cain himself affords in this incidental manner evidence of the existence of other human beings besides the Adamic family. Of whom was he, before the birth of Adam's third child, Seth, so afraid that they would take his life? What was the land of Nod or Wandering, and who gave it that name? Against whom was he protected by the Divine mark?

But perhaps the passage most pregnant for our purpose is that found at the beginning of Chapter VI.:

And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them,

(2) That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they *were* fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.

(3) And the LORD said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years.

(4) There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when

the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare *children* to them, the same *became* mighty men which *were* of old, men of renown.

It is here that we find a definite distinction made between two races, the sons of God and the sons of Adam, or earth-born, and their distinction emphasised by the record of their intermarrying. Here also is shown the result of such intermarriage, 'mighty men and men of renown.' Certainly, if careful selection of the parents with a view to this result had been made, no more likely choice could have been. The dams representing the perfection of the human animal form, and the sires equally beautiful in form, with, in addition, higher powers of intelligence, because of their spiritual vital force, derived direct from the Creator. What wonder that the children were mighty! In this passage there is a significant comment on the passing events which are recorded—the way the great Creator regarded the general trend to evil of the human animals and of those sons of God who preferred to trust rather to their animal than to their spiritual power. The A.V. scarcely does this clause justice; and the alternative reading given in the R.V. margin indicates a doubt as to the rendering given in that text. Literally translated, the clause to which allusion is made reads as follows: 'But, said Jehovah, my spirit shall not always strive with mankind in their going astray. This is flesh.'

The words 'going astray' sufficiently indicate the view taken by the Deity, and the attribution of the error to the action of the 'flesh' also indicates the existence of another agency.

The words, 'There were giants in the earth in those days,' are also misleading and not a fair rendering. To translate and point the word נפילים 'Nephilim' as giants (following the LXX) obliterates the connection of this with the preceding sentence. The Hebrew word can only come from one of two Hebrew root-words. The one (נפל) means 'to fall,' and in that case Nephilim would mean 'the fallen ones.' But the other root from which it can be derived (פלה or פלח) means 'to separate,' 'to distinguish,' 'to consecrate,' 'to be great or extraordinary,' and this meaning lends itself well to the general sense of the passage, which would thus read as a whole:

And it came to pass that mankind increased on the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them. And the sons of God beheld the daughters of mankind, that they were beautiful, so they took to themselves wives of all that they chose. But, said Jehovah, My spirit shall not always strive with mankind in their going astray, this is flesh. And their days were an hundred and twenty years. There were in those days the consecrated ones (נפילים) on the earth, you even after the sons of God went in unto the daughters of man, and these bore unto them heroes that were of old, men of renown.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This rendering involves some slight alteration of the Massoretic punctuation. Thus verse 3:

וַיֵּאמֶר יְהוָה לֹא יִדְּרֹן רִחִי בָאָדָם לְעֹלָם בְּשָׁנָם הוּא בָּשָׂר

Thus putting the main stop of the clause on 'astray' (בְּשָׁנָם) instead of on 'ever' (לְעֹלָם).

The meaning given in this passage to the word נִפְלִיִּים (Niphlim) = consecrated ones, is borne out by the use of the same word in another verbal form in the fourth Psalm, verse 3 :

בִּי־הַפֶּלֶא יְהוָה חָסִיד לֹ

'For Jehovah hath consecrated the godly man to Himself.' See also Exod. xxxiii. 16: 'We shall be separated' (נִפְלִינִי); Psalm cxxxix. 14: 'I have been wonderfully made' ('distinguished').

Here then in definite words we have the answer to the question which forms the title to this paper.

Cain, as descended from the man into whom God breathed the spiritual life, was one of the Beni Elohim or sons of God. He took him a wife from among the daughters of the earth-born. In all probability Seth did the same. If this were not the case, if there were on the face of the world none other human beings than the Adamic family, then these men must have married their sisters, and this does not seem consistent with the teachings of the law given in later ages. Moreover, as a definite physiological fact, such in-breeding would have been far from producing the progeny described; rather would it have resulted in physical degeneration. The real difference between the families, say of Seth and Cain, which thus would grow up, would be that the wife or wives and children of the one would be under the influence of the Spirit of God, would in their struggle for existence use the better weapon; while the family of such a man as Cain would tend to develop earthwards. That there was really such distinction is shown by the special fact being mentioned in the passage above quoted, that even in those days there were beings separated, consecrated, or distinguished, from the general ruck of mankind that went astray.<sup>2</sup> Thus it will be seen that science in putting forward the theory of evolution and natural selection as the means whereby the Creator has been, and is still working, is not without support from the Scriptures which claim to be His Word.

This paper is concerned with but one small point bearing on the question, but a study of these Scriptures brings out clearly that the object of the Creator in creating most certainly may have been, and apparently is even now being carried by this process of evolution and selection, here called consecration, the ultimate effect of which will be, as Paul points out, the attainment of mankind 'to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.'

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<sup>2</sup> The word only occurs once more as meaning 'giants.' This is in Numbers xiii. 33, and there it should be rendered 'wonderful men.' Quite another word is generally used in the Hebrew scriptures for 'giant.'

## LAST MONTH

THE most vivid impression which the month of January has left behind it in most minds is that of the magnificent ceremonial which was witnessed at Delhi on the first day of the new year. To the outer world this spectacle must have been somewhat bewildering. No other Empire, no other nation, could have presented its counterpart. In the most striking fashion it differentiates the throne of King Edward from that of any other Sovereign. We hear a great deal about the Emperor of Russia, the vastness of the territory over which he reigns, and the innumerable hosts of whom he is the lord; but not even the Czar at the height of his glory could draw together such a gathering as that which surrounded the Viceroy at the great Durbar. Intelligent foreigners cannot have failed to be struck by this gorgeous scene, so remarkable in itself, but so much more remarkable in all that it symbolises. To the people of these islands, however, the spectacle was not merely striking and magnificent, but profoundly suggestive. It brought back, as in a lightning flash, those long years of Indian history in which the British Raj has grown from small things to great, until the throne at Delhi, even if it stood alone and had no connection with any other Empire, would still represent one of the greatest of the world's States. It is to be feared that Indian history is not taught as fully and carefully as it should be in our schools. Yet the lessons to be drawn from it are at least as significant and important as any that can be gathered from the historical domain. They show what the dominant qualities of the Anglo-Saxon race are, and how they can be best applied. All are able to do justice to the unflinching determination, the resolute perseverance, in face of overwhelming difficulties, which enabled a handful of British merchants to lay the foundations of the Empire of to-day. That they also illustrate most wonderfully the militant courage of our race need not be said. Courage, happily, is not the monopoly of any nationality. But that which they teach most emphatically is the power of the Englishman to govern alien races successfully by a free use of their own traditions and ideas. The story of the Delhi Durbar as it was told in the *Times*, for instance, at the beginning of last month, is a story that might have been cut

from the pages of the *Arabian Nights* or of some other Oriental chronicle. The opulent magnificence of the stage and the scenery on which the historical drama was played out is something wholly foreign to our national tastes. Barbaric pomp seems to have been the key-note of the ceremonial. Gilded thrones, gorgeous dresses, flashing jewels of priceless value, huge elephants with trappings such as the Great Mogul never saw, contributed to the splendour of the scene. It is impossible for the stay-at-home Englishman to realise these Eastern splendours. All that he knows is that they are something absolutely alien from the spirit of the West and of modern civilisation. But to the Oriental mind all these things have their deep significance, and whilst one readily subscribes to the doctrine that the real foundations of our Eastern Empire are, and for ever must be, based upon our sense of justice, it is impossible to forget that it is precisely because Englishmen have known how to assimilate Eastern ideas and traditions, and how to use them at the right time with good effect, that they have succeeded where everybody else had failed, and have made the English Raj in India a wonderful and substantial reality.

But along with this reflection comes another that is almost whimsical. It is the thought of the immeasurable contrast between the ways by which we hold and rule India, and those by means of which we maintain our Empire in other directions. Think of the contrast between Lord Curzon on the throne at Delhi, surrounded by splendours that outvie the glories of Belshazzar on his throne, and the English Ambassador in his modest villa at Washington; and think of the mean little thoroughfare called Downing Street, which has to keep its hand upon both these extremes, and to guide both in the right direction. I suppose that at this moment there is no position under the English Crown which is equal in real importance to that of our Ambassador to the United States. No one can tell to how large a degree the man who holds that post has in his grasp the future of liberty and civilisation throughout the world. Yet he has to go about his business with no more of pomp or circumstance than that which accompanies a merchant on his way to the City. And in his performance of his duties he has not only to lay aside all those pomps and vanities which, from time immemorial, have been substantial realities in Eastern statecraft, but to remember by day and by night that his intelligence is perpetually being pitted against that of the most acute, and at the same time the most sensitive, nation in the world. We have long been taught to respect and fear the subtlety of the East, and, whenever we have forgotten to do so, we have suffered loss. But I think that even Lord Curzon would admit that his task among the hundred feudatory Princes of India, and all the perplexing divisions of race and creed and caste, are not so great as those of the man who has to sail on an

even keel in the always troubled waters of American politics. One need not enlarge the picture further, but certainly nothing is better calculated to enable the Englishman to realise the unparalleled immensity of the Empire to which he belongs, and the titanic task which is laid upon those whose duty it is to carry forward the destinies of that Empire, than such a contrast as that at which I have hinted between the throne at Delhi and the Embassy at Washington.

That the Durbar passed over with complete success must be a matter of satisfaction to everybody. To those of us, indeed, who can recall the dark days of 1857, when it was only by the self-sacrificing valour of a handful of heroes that India was saved to the British Crown, there is something almost wonderful in the peace and loyalty which now pervades the land, from Cape Comorin to Cashmir. We have better reason to be proud of the present state of India than of anything else that we have achieved during the last half-century. But amid the loud demonstrations of loyalty with which the great theatre at Delhi rang on New Year's Day, it is well to be mindful of the fact that the fee, the only fee, which enables us to hold the gorgeous East, is a stern and unbending determination to deal justly by its peoples. The high-minded statesmen who have in turn occupied the throne of the Viceroy have, I think, in no single instance been unmindful of this fact. Not seldom, from the days of 'Clemency' Canning onwards, they have had to face unpopularity at home, because of their determination to do their duty by India. If it had been otherwise, the Durbar of last month would hardly have been the thing it was. As it is, in the King's message to the Indian people, and in Lord Curzon's excellent speech, we have fresh and happy assurance of the fact that the Indian Government is more than ever resolved that India shall be governed for the benefit of its own races. So long as this resolution guides this country in its dealings with our great tributary empire, we may fairly rest secure in the allegiance and loyalty of the three hundred millions who acknowledge King Edward's sway. But if that determination should ever fail us, the precious jewel of India will be lost to the Crown of England.

Amid all the ceremonial splendours of the Durbar, two incidents stand out in special prominence. The first was the signal honour paid to the scant remnants of the men who stood on our side at the time of the great Mutiny—the survivors of Delhi, and Lucknow, and Cawnpore, and of many a scattered station, where, during the hot months of 1857, a few isolated Englishmen, with a handful of loyal natives, kept the flag of England flying in face of a sea of enemies. Nothing could be more pathetic than the account given by the correspondents of the appearance of these brave veterans as they marched into the arena at the Durbar, to witness a scene which gave



them the assurance that they had not fought and bled for naught. The other incident is the presence of the Duke of Connaught at the ceremonial. The King could have chosen no one in his own family who was better qualified to represent him at the august ceremonial. The Duke of Connaught knows India well, and during his official residence there he made himself generally beloved. Striking proofs of his popularity were given at the Durbar, both by natives and Britons. Like the keen soldier that he is, when the Duke quitted Delhi, it was not to indulge in the gaities of the capital, but to visit those spots on the frontier which have in recent years been the scene of hard fighting. There can be no doubt that his visit to India will prove of real benefit in many ways.

But one must come back from the shining Orient to gloomy prosaic Downing Street, where the difficulties in the way of the Government are not lessening, nor its prospects improving. Perhaps it would be unfair to say that, like Alexander Selkirk, 'we dwell in the midst of alarms'; but certainly every new month has brought us of late some new cause for apprehension. In December it was Venezuela, and the extraordinary action of the Government in binding us hand and foot to Germany in an enterprise which might at any moment have involved us in difficulties with the American people. At the beginning of this month we had a new scare connected with Russia and the Dardanelles. Some months ago it was generally known that Russia had applied to the Porte for permission to send certain unarmed gunboats through the Bosphorus into the Black Sea—a clear violation of the provisions of the Treaty of Paris. A Conservative free-lance asked a question in Parliament on the subject last Session, but got no intelligible answer. A few weeks ago, however, the Foreign Office allowed it to be made known that the British Government had made a formal protest against the action of Russia. Lord Lansdowne was entirely within his rights in doing so. Whatever may be the merits of the Treaty of Paris, with its subsequent modifications, it is at least one of the great documents upon which the policy of the European States has been based during the last fifty years; and nothing could be more dangerous than for Europe to acquiesce in its violation by any single Power. But if Lord Lansdowne expected to get any outside support for his protest, he was doomed to disappointment. The Press of Vienna, notoriously inspired from Berlin, made haste to explain that the Treaty of Paris did not affect German interests, and that its violation called for no action on the part of the German Government. Co-operation with England in Venezuela clearly does not imply German co-operation in any other part of the world. Yet one may remark in passing that when Lord Lansdowne made his ill-starred agreement with Germany over Venezuela, by which we gave so much more than we took, he must have been fully aware of the

action of Russia in the matter of the Dardanelles. The incident after a temporary flutter in the Press, has been allowed to pass, and Russia is understood to have got her gunboats safely through the Bosphorus. The chief importance of the affair is, of course, the fresh light which it throws upon the determination of the Russian Government to observe no treaty or agreement which conflicts with what it regards as its own interests. I called attention last month to the remarkable document in which this doctrine was set forth by the Russian Foreign Office with respect to Asiatic affairs. Curiously enough, neither Ministers nor the newspapers have taken any notice of that document, and we shall probably have to wait for half a year before Lord Lansdowne acknowledges its existence. In the meantime, his protest on the question of the Dardanelles leaves us in the usual unpleasant predicament after a passage at arms with the Ministry at St. Petersburg. We have asserted a principle and claimed a right. Russia has accomplished a fact. The reader can readily form his own opinion as to the country which has come off best in this encounter.

The unpleasant impression made by the agreement with Germany on the subject of Venezuela has hardly subsided during the past month. It is true that the situation has to a certain extent been relieved by the acquiescence of President Castro in the proposal that the questions in dispute shall be submitted to arbitration. What form the arbitration is to take is not yet clear. The litigants themselves have conditionally agreed that The Hague tribunal shall deal with the matter, since the President of the United States has formally refused the office of arbitrator. But there is still the possibility that the difficulty will be removed before the dispute reaches the arbitration court. This would be the happiest termination of the incident. But no solution, however satisfactory, can remove from the public mind the deep impression which was made when the policy of the Foreign Office was first revealed to us. The supporters of Mr. Balfour's Administration have been loudest in condemnation of Lord Lansdowne's blunder. They resent even more strongly than the ordinary Liberal does, the action of the Government in committing us to an absurd alliance with Germany. That Ministers took this step before they had consulted the Cabinet at Washington is not to be believed. But whatever may be the truth on this point, the facts of the case show that they fell into two grave blunders of the most serious kind—blunders which go far to discredit their capacity for the management of our foreign affairs. The first was their miscalculation of the state of public opinion in the United States. They allowed themselves to be hoodwinked by the irresponsible journalists who assured them that American feeling was so completely on the side of England that there would be no opposition to any steps that this country might take for the coercion

of Venezuela. They had a rude awakening when the Jingo Press of New York took up the easy cry that the Monroe doctrine was imperilled, and insisted that Great Britain and Germany should stay their hands. How it was that they did not foresee this it is impossible to understand. The greatest danger which Europe has to face in its diplomatic relations with the United States lies in the fact that the strongest of Ministers or Cabinets at Washington becomes, in certain circumstances, nothing more than a puppet tossed about on the waves of public opinion. Lord Lansdowne does not seem to have understood this elementary fact, and accordingly he set his foot in a trap from which he had the narrowest of escapes. His second blunder was in under-estimating the strength of the anti-German feeling among his own following. That feeling may be without substantial reason; it may be based upon the blackest ignorance or the most besotted prejudice; but it exists, and no far-sighted statesman could have failed to take it into his account. The outburst of almost passionate indignation with which the German agreement was received by the Tory party and its journals ought not to have been a surprise to the Foreign Secretary and his colleagues. That it was, and that they suddenly found themselves face to face with a storm to which they were compelled to yield, says little for their knowledge of the mind of the country or their capacity for dealing with public affairs. It is probable that we shall 'scrape through' the Venezuelan business in a more or less unsatisfactory manner. But the Government will emerge from it seriously damaged in reputation; for no Ministry can involve the country in such humiliations as have already been imposed upon us in this wretched dispute without having to suffer for its heedless folly.

The bombardment of the fort of San Carlos by the German men-of-war is one of those incidents that any intelligent person might have foreseen as probable, and from which the gravest complications may arise. Why the *Panther* fired upon the fort is not clearly apparent; though the latest German version is that the first firing was from the fortress upon the vessel. But in any case the incident has made a deep impression upon the American public, and has not increased the favour with which the United States Government and Press regard the present situation. Fortunately, so far as this country is concerned, we seem to have regained the confidence and good will of our, excitable kinsmen across the water, and even the yellow journals draw a clear line of distinction between our mode of proceeding towards Venezuela and that of Germany. But we are committed to an alliance with the latter country in Venezuelan waters, and until we are free of that alliance we shall not be secure against the possibility of difficulties of the most serious kind with the United States.

But if Great Britain, by accident rather than statesmanship, seems likely to be extricated from those difficulties, the case of Germany

is different. Early in the month it was announced that the German Ambassador at Washington had obtained leave of absence from his post on the ground of ill-health. Immediately afterwards the gossips of the Press conveyed to us the information that Dr. Von Holleben's illness was wholly diplomatic in its character. He had been recalled from his post in something like disgrace. His manner of quitting Washington did much to confirm this report. He did not trouble himself to pay a farewell call upon the President, and he refused to allow any ceremonial to attend his embarkation on the vessel which bore him back to the Fatherland. The charges brought against him by the newspaper correspondents are of a threefold character. He is said to have given offence to the German Emperor, first, by his failure to inform him as to the real state of American feeling on the Venezuelan question, and secondly, by his want of success in an attempt to estrange the United States from Great Britain. These two charges are followed by a third, dealing with the miserable intrigue which was concocted twelve months ago at Washington for the purpose of discrediting Lord Pauncefoot. In that intrigue it is generally understood that Dr. Von Holleben had a leading part. If this is indeed the case, the deposed Ambassador can hardly expect either the sympathy or the respect of the British public. But the charges made against him with regard to his conduct towards his own master are of a more practical and serious character. So far as his failure to inform his Majesty of the true state of American feeling on the subject of Venezuela, he only failed as Lord Lansdowne did, and as did the correspondents of the London Press. These gentlemen were all in the same boat with Dr. Von Holleben. As to the other business in which he failed, his attempt to bring about an estrangement between the United States and Great Britain by which Germany was to profit, it is difficult to believe that the charge can be well founded. No one can blame the Emperor William for his desire to cultivate good relations with the Great Republic. But if in order to secure the friendship of the United States he deliberately plotted to deprive us of her good will, the discovery of his Machiavelian policy would reveal him to us as a dangerous foe whom it would be our duty to meet and to oppose at every possible point. Whatever the supporters of the Government may think about the dangers of an alliance with Germany, it is to be hoped that they will require better proof than has yet been forthcoming, before they accept this particular reason for the recall of Dr. Von Holleben as being authentic.

Whatever may be the truth as to this alleged plot for supplanting Great Britain in the favour of the United States, there is no doubt as to the desperate anxiety of the German Emperor to stand well with the American people. There is no need to recall the efforts he has made during the last twelve months in this direction, the most

important being the visit of Prince Henry to New York and Washington. He has had the mortification of seeing for how little all his effusive proffers of friendship counted when a question of politics like that of Venezuela came upon the carpet. Yet he still persists in his ardent courtship. The successor of the unfortunate Dr. Von Holleben is a certain Baron Von Sternberg, who is already favourably known at the Washington Embassy, who is English by birth and by maternal blood, and who has lived long enough in the United States to be able to understand the modes of thought of the people, and the influences by which the policy of American Cabinets is affected. This gentleman, in defiance of diplomatic precedent, but most assuredly not without the sanction of his august master, on the eve of starting for his new post took an American newspaper correspondent in Berlin into his confidence, and practically gave him a message for delivery to the people of the United States. It was a message not only of the most affectionate but of the most flattering character. It told how the Emperor 'thoroughly appreciated the capabilities of the Americans, their fair and brilliant women, their genius, their liveliness of disposition, the ease with which they do immense things,' and so forth. It told how it was to be the Ambassador's business to extend the friendship between the two countries, and incidentally it paid homage to the sacrosanct character of the Monroe doctrine. If fine words and sugared compliments are relished by the public of the United States, then clearly Baron Von Sternberg is likely to prove a more successful Minister than his predecessor.

In domestic politics the question of the Education Act still holds the first place. It is not usual when a great administrative measure has been placed upon the Statute Book that the controversy which attended its passage through Parliament continues to be carried on. But the Education Act is in many respects exceptional. So far as it is possible to judge, it does not really satisfy anybody. One need only refer to Mr. Lathbury's paper in the January number of this Review in order to show how far it is from satisfying an important section of the Church party. A thousand witnesses bear testimony to the bitterness of Nonconformist hostility to it. The County Councils, though prepared to do their duty under its provisions, have in many cases, notably in that of the Council for the West Riding, not concealed their strong dislike of the measure, and their belief that it will work badly and must, in the very nature of things, have a short life. Curiously enough, the most cordial acceptance of the measure, now that it is an accepted fact, has fallen from the lips of Lord Spencer. Lord Spencer's patriotism is of the finest temper, and this is not the first occasion on which he has striven to find the soul of good in things which, from the political point of view, are to him evil. But it may be questioned whether he is so fully competent to form

an opinion as to the prospects and possibilities of the measure as are the experts in educational management and local government by whom it has been condemned. It is clear therefore that the continuance of controversy regarding it is not a matter which can cause surprise. There is another reason why the disputation is maintained. In the approaching Session the most difficult of all the cases involved in the problem of national education—that of London—will have to be tackled. Already the teachers of London have passed a strong resolution insisting that the control of the London schools should be placed in the hands of a central authority specially elected for the purpose. The choice seems to lie between this course and that of transferring the educational control of the metropolis to the County Council, already staggering under the load of its multifarious duties. A belief prevails that it is the latter course which is favoured by Ministers. The question will undoubtedly be fought out in Parliament, and fought out to the bitter end. No one can wonder in these circumstances that those who opposed the original measure, and who still detest it, are resolved to keep alive the controversy which has raged ever since the Government provisions were first made known. Ministers can only blame themselves for the position in which they are placed. If they had followed the wise example of the Government of 1870, and, taking all parties into their confidence, had arrived at a compromise satisfactory to all but the extreme sections on either side, they might have carried a measure which the overwhelming majority of the nation would have accepted, and which would have given us a permanent and efficient scheme of national education. As it is, they have chosen to take a different course, with the result that they have satisfied few, and have aroused the bitter anger and hostility of numbers in both the rival educational camps. A great opportunity has been lost, and no man can say if we shall ever again have another like it.

Mr. Chamberlain has been spending a busy month in South Africa, and so far as persons at a distance can judge, he has accomplished good work on behalf of the Empire. Wherever he has gone he has been received with enthusiasm; nowhere does that enthusiasm seem to have been greater than at Pretoria and Johannesburg. At both places he has been hospitably entertained, whilst at both he has wisely taken advantage of his visit in order to enter into personal conferences with the leading citizens of both nationalities. It is satisfactory to know that he has been able to bear public testimony to the good feeling which has been shown by the representative burghers with whom he has come in contact. But the chief measure of business he had to settle in the Transvaal was of a strictly practical character. It was the amount of the contribution to be exacted from the country, in other words, from the mines, towards the cost of the late war, and the amount of the loan that is

to be raised for reproductive works in the colony. The final solution arrived at, announced by Mr. Chamberlain himself in a speech at Johannesburg, may not be an ideal one, but it is probably the best that it was possible for him to secure. The contribution of the new colonies to the cost of the war is fixed at the sum of 30 millions, to be payable in three annual instalments, the first of which the mine-owners propose to pay at once. The loan guaranteed by this country for reproductive purposes, chiefly the purchase and extension of the railway system, amounts to 35 millions. Most Englishmen will probably feel that the contribution of the conquered country to the cost of the war is disappointing. It is certainly very different from the prospects held out to us in former days. On the other hand, it is clear that the people of the Transvaal of both races do not regard the loan of 35 millions as being in any degree liberal.

The truth is that Mr. Chamberlain was compelled, in the very nature of things, to make a compromise. To have laid the new colonies under the burden of an enormous tribute would have been a most unwise and suicidal policy. On the other hand, it is absolutely necessary that the people of the Transvaal should feel the burden of responsibility for their own future, and should learn to rely upon themselves rather than upon the Imperial exchequer for the development of their resources. Upon the whole, therefore, Mr. Chamberlain seems to have done well, and is to be congratulated upon the result he has secured. The question of labour for the mines is not yet settled. It was rumoured, indeed, that Mr. Chamberlain had been induced to agree to the importation of Chinese labour, but to this rumour he gave an indignant denial, and pointed to the urgent necessity of bringing the black population of the country into its industrial life. How this is to be done is one of the hardest problems that our statesmen have now to face.

The Admiralty Memorandum on the training of officers for the fleet, which was made public at the end of the old year, has attracted much attention and has been received, upon the whole, with great favour. That it is an effort in the direction of 'efficiency' cannot be doubted. Its first effect will be to put an end to the grievances from which the engineering staff in the Navy have long been suffering. Now that a battleship is neither more nor less than a complicated piece of machinery carrying scores of engines of all descriptions in its womb, the attempt to keep the engineers themselves, the scientific branch of the staff, in a position of marked inferiority to the fighting staff has become manifestly absurd. The engineers are in all respects qualified to take their place on an equality with the other branches of the Service, and the prejudices of other departments can no longer be allowed to prevent them from doing so. This object at least will be attained by the new system inaugurated under Lord Selborne. But the scheme aims at something much

wider than this. It will revolutionise the whole system of the training of naval officers, and though experience alone can test its merits, there is every reason to hope that it will prove successful. Upon one point only does it seem open to question. This is in its extension and confirmation of the system of nomination. Surely the Navy, of all the public Services, ought to be that which is most democratic in its constitution. The nation which pays so heavily for the maintenance of its fleet has a right to insist that the way into the naval Service shall be kept open as far as possible to all classes in the community. Open competition, subject of course to all necessary checks as regards health and personal character, is in the long run that which is most likely to secure for us the best results, and it is to be hoped that in this matter at least the scheme may yet be amended. In the meantime, as I have said, it distinctly makes for increased efficiency in the most important branch of our defensive Services.

Efficiency was the theme and burden of the most important political utterance of the month. This was Lord Rosebery's speech to a great gathering of Liberals at Plymouth. Lord Rosebery once more disappointed the Tory Press by the boldness with which he attacked the present Government for its shortcomings, and the earnestness with which he defended the principles of historic Liberalism. He made it clear that he is not to be deterred by the sneers of the Tadpoles and Tapers of the official Opposition from the task which he has set himself, that of opening up for Liberals of all sections a line upon which they can unite, and upon which in due time they will be able to secure the confidence not only of the electors of the United Kingdom but of that wider constituency, our fellow-countrymen in the Colonies. But his watchword throughout his speech was 'efficiency.' Once more he pointed out the hopeless confusion into which our military system had been plunged, confusion which has only been made worse confounded by Mr. Brodrick's abortive attempts at reform, and he repeated his declaration that to Lord Kitchener, as the one man fitted for such a position, should be entrusted the great task of creating a proper system of Army administration in Pall Mall, in place of that which has failed so signally. Once more, as a matter of course, he had to face the criticisms of those who refuse to open their eyes to the fact that the time for tinkering has gone by, and that nothing less than a bold scheme of root-and-branch reconstruction can now meet the emergency by which we are confronted. Possibly there are some who do not share his robust faith in the ability and the moral courage of Lord Kitchener. But those who do, and they are, I imagine, a majority of the nation, can hardly fail to agree with him as to the remedy which he proposes for the existing evils. One has only to imagine what would happen in like circumstances in Berlin. If,



as by common consent all agree, Lord Kitchener is our greatest living soldier, would the German Emperor have hesitated to assign to him the most important military work which has now to be performed? Let those acquainted with the history of the German Staff answer the question. No one underrates the importance of the post of Commander-in-Chief in India. But to pretend that it is of greater importance than that of Secretary for War would be absurd. In Lord Kitchener, Lord Rosebery and many others believe that we have the ideal man who is needed in Pall Mall at the present hour; and though all the vested interests that are trying to stave off any real reform of our military system may continue to clamour against a step which would mean the destruction of so much that is evil in the organisation of the Army, there is no doubt that Lord Rosebery's pregnant suggestion will in due time bear fruit. At all events, we may reasonably believe that, if it should ever fall to his lot to form a new Administration, Lord Kitchener will be invited to take part in it as the head of the national army.

The 'Irish Land Conference,' which was formed last autumn for the purpose of bringing together the representatives of landlords and tenants with a view to the discovery of some method of finally settling the land question upon amicable and mutually satisfactory terms, ended its proceedings and issued its report early in the month. It is a remarkable and far-reaching document, and it is not surprising that as yet the commentaries upon it have been few and far between. That it has certain features which ought to commend it to the favour of the public cannot be denied. Of these by far the most important is the fact that it represents a genuine attempt on the part of the two great hostile bodies in Ireland to come to terms on the basis of a friendly settlement. It was Mr. George Wyndham who first officially threw out the suggestion that it was only in this way that the vexed problem of Irish land could be settled. In the next place, the report of the Conference has been received with warm approval not only by the tenants but by the representatives of the landlord class. It is said that, when the document was signed, one of the Irish Nationalist leaders exclaimed, 'For the first time in my life I can cry "God save the King."' We are promised that if the proposed scheme should be adopted, there will be an end of agrarian trouble in Ireland and it will be possible to reduce the Irish Constabulary by one-half. On the other hand, if the scheme should be rejected we are openly threatened with a renewal of agitation on a scale never known before. This being the case, the proposals of the Land Conference are not lightly to be dismissed. But when we come to examine them in detail it is impossible not to see that their chief merit in the eyes of landlords and tenants alike lies in the fact that they provide a remedy for existing evils at the expense of the Imperial Exchequer. Briefly stated the recommendations of the Conference are that the

holdings should be bought wherever possible by mutual agreement between owners and tenants, and, where that is impossible, by compulsory State purchase; that the landlords should be bought out at a figure which will give them their present net income from their estates, mansion-houses, demesnes, and sporting rights being reserved to them, and that the tenants should be able to obtain full ownership after a certain term of years by the annual payment of a sum of money representing a reduction on their present rents of not less than fifteen and not more than twenty-five per cent. The State is to be called upon to guarantee the payments to the landlords, and to provide whatever sum may be required to make up the difference between the payments due to the owners and the contributions of the tenants. It is not surprising that such a scheme as this should have found favour in the eyes of those for whose benefit it is intended. In what light it will be viewed by the British taxpayer when its full significance and cost are explained to him remains to be seen. So far no official calculation has been made of the amount of the contribution that would have to be levied upon the Treasury before effect could be given to the proposed scheme, but one unofficial estimate fixes the amount at fifty millions. One begins to wonder whether there is to be any limit to the demands upon the pocket of the unhappy British taxpayer.

The election for the Newmarket division of Cambridgeshire came as an unwelcome surprise to Ministers and their supporters. The late Colonel McCalmont was returned at the last election by a majority of more than a thousand votes. The Liberal candidate on that occasion, as on this, was Mr. Rose. In 1900 the calumny that every vote given to a Liberal was one given to the Boers was used against Mr. Rose in the most cruel and unscrupulous fashion. It was used against him in spite of the fact that he was known to be altogether opposed to 'pro-Boer' sentiments, and that he had lost two sons on the South African battlefields. In the recent election he had his revenge. He was returned by more than five hundred votes over his Conservative opponent. It is true that the latter was placed at a disadvantage during the contest, owing to his illness, and it is equally true that Mr. Rose is a popular favourite in the Newmarket district. But he was personally just as popular in 1900 when he met with a severe defeat. There can be no doubt that his victory was due in part to the opposition to the Education Act, and in part to the reaction of the public from the disgraceful and cowardly tactics pursued against him at the previous election. It is worthy of note that, like most of the Liberal candidates who have been successful in recent elections, Mr. Rose belongs to the wing of the party which regards Lord Rosebery as its leader.

The result of the election for the West Derby division of Liverpool was strikingly different. Here the Conservative candidate,

Mr. Rutherford, was elected, by a reduced majority it is true, but still by one of a very substantial kind. His opponent, Mr. Holt, belongs to a family long identified with Liberal principles; but in spite of his personal popularity he failed to make any impression upon the electorate. This seems to have been due in part to the broadly democratic nature of Mr. Rutherford's Conservatism, and to his identification of himself with the Anti-Ritualist party, and in part to Mr. Holt's refusal to move from the platform of official Liberalism. It is difficult to draw any clear moral from the result of a contest in which neither of the candidates fully represented the principles of the parties to which they belonged.

One curious electoral episode has been that connected with the representation of London University. The sitting member, Sir Michael Foster, is not only an eminent scientific man, but a gentleman universally respected for his high personal character. Apparently, however, he has a constitutional difficulty in making up his mind on any given question. Many months ago he expressed a wish to retire from Parliament, and finally, not approving of the Education Act, he declared his resolve to do so at the end of last Session. When this was made known three candidates were brought forward to contest the seat which was presumably about to be vacated. One of these was an independent scientific candidate, the others represented respectively the Liberal and the Liberal Unionist parties. Their Committees set to work in the usual manner, and all the preparations had been made for the election when a hitch occurred. Sir Michael Foster did not resign, and instead of doing so it was announced on his behalf that he proposed to solve the difficulty by changing his seat from the Ministerial to the Opposition benches. A hot controversy arose, and it was pointed out that when a member of Parliament changed sides in this fashion it was his duty to consult his constituents. Sir Michael Foster so far acquiesced in this view that he took a sort of *plébiscite* by post-card in order to learn whether his constituents wished him to resign or not. The result of this experiment satisfied him that there was no general wish on the part of the electors of the University of London for his retirement. Accordingly he remains member, though in future he will sit on the Liberal instead of the Conservative benches. It is an amusing story that could only be told of a University constituency.

Affairs in Morocco have during the past month been very disquieting. The Sultan has more than once suffered defeat at the hands of the Pretender who has sprung up so mysteriously and whose very identity is a secret. It has been necessary to bring the British residents in the interior of the country down to the coast. There has even been fighting in the neighbourhood of Tangier, almost within sight of the guns of Gibraltar. All this keeps alive the anxiety as to the future of Morocco in the Foreign Offices of

the European States. Happily there seems to be every wish on the part of the great Powers to avoid any step that might lead to unwelcome complications. In Russia, the Emperor has appointed a commission to inquire into the question of local administration, with a view to the removal of the prevailing discontent among the masses. In China the censors, with unusual boldness, have addressed a minute to the Dowager Empress advising her to abdicate in favour of the Emperor, and pointing out in unmistakable terms some of the blunders of which she has been recently guilty. We are not yet told how the headstrong ruler has received this blunt remonstrance. In Germany public opinion has been much exercised by the presence of the Emperor at a lecture given by Professor Delitzsch on what is known as the 'higher Biblical criticism,' at which opinions abhorrent to the orthodox were expressed. The Reichstag has been the scene of stormy and important debates in which both the home and the foreign policy of the Government have been strenuously attacked by different parties. But the most significant feature of these debates has been the freedom with which the speeches and actions of the Emperor have been criticised by the representatives of the Social Democrats. The old restraints have been laid aside, and the Emperor, no longer regarded as the voice of all Germany, has been treated as though he were nothing more than a party leader. It is what might have been expected. If monarchs choose to make themselves the champions of any particular policy they cannot hope to escape altogether the attacks of the opponents of that policy. What the Emperor William's reply to the almost savage criticism of the Reichstag will be it is too soon to say. Already, however, Count Ballestrem, the President of that body, has had to resign his high office, because an indiscreet attempt to prevent the free discussion of one of the Emperor's speeches has cast doubts upon his impartiality. In the United States President Roosevelt has had the courage to face the passionate indignation of the whole South by appointing a negro as port-collector at Charleston, whilst he has punished a small town which had persecuted a black postmistress by closing the post-office. In Saxony the lamentable scandal of the elopement of the Crown Princess with the tutor of her sons has naturally eclipsed every other topic. It is one of those disasters which almost forbid comment. In our own country one of the important events of the month has been the appointment of Dr. Davidson, Bishop of Winchester, to succeed Dr. Temple in the Archbishopric of Canterbury. The choice of Dr. Davidson for this high office was none the less welcome because it had been generally foreseen. The trial of Mr. Lynch, the member for the borough of Galway, on a charge of high treason, has ended in his conviction and in his being sentenced to death. Of his guilt there cannot be any possible doubt. He served in the Boer army against our forces, and

on more than one occasion took a prominent part in the resistance to our arms. Having done this, he had the effrontery to allow himself to be elected as member for Galway, and came over to this country from his safe exile in Paris, in order to take his seat and the oath of allegiance! No Government worthy of the name could treat such conduct with indifference—not even with the indifference of contempt. Mr. Lynch brought his fate upon his own head; and though the death penalty will undoubtedly be commuted, his trial ought to do good service by reminding the more loose-thinking section of the public that high treason is in this, as in every civilised country, the gravest offence known to the law.

The death-list of the month is longer than usual. It includes the names of Sagasta, the eminent Spanish statesman; of Cardinal Parocchi, in whom the world believed that it saw the destined successor to the present Pope; of Lord Pirbright, the Bishop of St. Albans, the Dean of St. Davids, Mr. H. T. Wells, R.A., Mr. Augustus Hare, the well-known traveller and writer, and Mr. Quintin Hogg, the genuine and unselfish philanthropist to whom London is indebted for its noble polytechnic system. Perhaps more remarkable than any of these names is that of M. de Blowitz, for thirty years the Paris correspondent of the *Times*, a man who, with many weaknesses, foibles, and follies, was at the same time one of the most capable publicists and one of the most entertaining writers in Europe.

WEMYSS REID.

ERRATUM.—*Mr* 'Introduction to the Temple Bible' at the foot of pages 37 and 38 of Mr. Cassels' article on 'The Ripon Episode' in the January issue, *read* 'Contentio Veritatis.'

*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake  
to return unaccepted MSS*

THE  
NINETEENTH  
CENTURY  
*AND AFTER*



No. CCCXIII—MARCH 1903

*THE AGITATION AGAINST ENGLAND'S  
POWER*

I

WE frequently notice in everyday life that particularly fortunate persons who have succeeded in accomplishing something special become a thorn in the eye of their less favoured neighbours, and have to bear much ill-will and malice on this account, frequently without any provocation on their part. We see the same in the political life of nations. When in the course of historical events, through geographical conditions and exceptional ethnical endowments, one nation has distinguished itself above others, this very distinction and more elevated standpoint is sure to provoke the envy and malice of surrounding nations. So long as these neighbour States are weak or not in a position to check the rapid progress and growing power

of their rival, they look on with cold indifference, sometimes even with platonic admiration ; but as they themselves begin to grow in political importance, their envy and hatred against the rival who has got the start of them grow apace. They mean not only to overtake him, but at any price to surpass, overthrow, and utterly annihilate him. Whether the other who reached the goal under more favourable auspices has always been mindful of the interests of those following in his track, whether he was at all inclined to be malicious, is not so much the question here. The facts we have to consider are these : N.N. is great and mighty ; he must be humbled and brought low, no matter whether it profits his rivals or not, no matter whether the sacred interests of humanity will be furthered by it or hindered.

The phenomenon here described is actually displayed before our eyes, as we witness the storm which has lately burst over England, and which rages with exceptional vehemence and persistency all along the line of the Asiatic continent. Wherever we look, the three great European Powers, Russia, France, and Germany, stand armed and ready for the attack. No means are left untried, no sacrifice is thought too great to strike the opponent, to attack him in his moral and material position, and the greatest efforts are made to bring him to ruin. This is in every respect a remarkable phenomenon, and of comparatively recent date, for although prosperity, power, and greatness have at all times called forth envy and ill-will, it is only lately, during the last ten years, that the storm has actually broken out. Fifty years ago England was still an object of admiration and emulation, a State whose successful operations in old, decrepit Asia were looked upon with pride, who was praised and extolled as the standard-bearer of Western culture. Did not Prince Bismarck, who was not particularly enamoured of England, say : ' If England were to lose all her great thinkers and intellectual heroes, that which she has done for India would make her name immortal for ever ' ? Prominent Frenchmen and many others have expressed themselves in a similar manner. We have but to read what is said on this subject by Garcin de Tassy, Barthélemy St. Hilaire, Baron Hübner, and others. Never or very rarely had the shrill voice of hatred and contempt made itself heard, and the present sudden revolution and sharp contrast must surprise even those who take into account the ambition and rivalry of the different Governments wrestling for supremacy, and in whose eyes any means which lead to the attainment of this object are justifiable. Fifty years ago England's rivals were not in a position to put forth the sting of their envy, even if they had one. Germany was then only a geographical conception, and had neither the means nor the desire to cast longing glances away from Central Europe on to the Far East. Theoretical speculations on scientific grounds were the only things which made the German mind at all interested in the doings of the old world. In France,

Napoleon the Third made it his chief care to be on good terms with the arch-enemy of his great uncle on the other side of the Channel. The French contemplated the consolidation of their power in Algiers, and were content as long as England did not interfere with the expansion-politics of the Empire in Indo-China. We have even seen the French and English colours marching together against China or to block the way to the Bosphorus for the Northern Colossus. As for Russia, although her plans for the autocracy in Asia were quite formed, she hesitated to come forward, and only advanced stealthily and with great caution, for the road was not yet clear, the means not all at hand, and, in order not to rouse suspicion, kept quiet, and let many an insult pass by unnoticed.

## II

The ways and the means by which the change of scene has been effected are extremely interesting to note, and we begin with the Czar's dominions as being decidedly the greatest and most formidable opponent of British power in India. When in the Crimea the wings of the Russian eagle had been clipped and his flight weakened (but only in appearance) we see how the Neva-politics on the one hand contemplated a passage through the Kirghiz-steppe to the Khanates, and on the other, by the overthrow of Sheikh Shamil and the final conquest of the Caucasus, meditated a nearer advance towards Persia and the northern frontiers of Anatolia. In both these objects their intention was not so much the annihilation of the already languishing and internally rotten Asiatic dominions, but rather to have a chance of throttling the British leopard who was growing suspicious of the secret dealings of the Russians. As long as the lances of the Cossacks were only seen from time to time in the far background, they took all manner of trouble at St. Petersburg to pacify John Bull by assurances of friendship and protestations of innocence, and even by small kindly actions to lull him to sleep. They sang lullabies which would have frightened anyone else, but were strangely pleasing to the English ear. In the long run, however, this game of hide and seek could not be kept up without having its effect upon the hard-skinned optimism of the English. Every step which Russia took southward was responded to by a more or less forward movement in a northern direction. The incorporation of the Central Asiatic Khanates was followed by the English taking possession of Beluchistan, and the extension of the Pishin-line till close to the gates of Kandahar; and when the Russians had made an end of subjugating the Turkomans, and finished the construction of the Transcaspian railway, the English were compelled to uphold the suzerain relationships between Afghanistan and India by considerable sacrifices in subsidies and arms, and to make the so-called *buffer* between the



Suleiman range and the Oxus as sure as they could. For many years, ever since 1880, this problem has been running on always under the mask of a feigned friendship, but the opponents keep a watchful eye upon one another, and endeavour to hide their movements behind honeyed speeches. Even now this comedy goes on incessantly. St. Petersburg and London are to all appearances bosom friends; on the shores of the Neva and the Thames the songs of peace are for ever being sung to new tunes, but in the frontier districts of the two rival States this *dulce jubileum* is but faintly discernible, for since Russia has extended its railway-net as far as Kushk, ten geographical miles distant from Herat, thereby securing this important station on the way to India, and also keeping a permanent garrison stationed at Fort Murgabski on the Pamir, the English have pushed on in a north-western direction towards the Persian frontiers and are about to construct a railway from Quetta *via* Nushki to Persia, ostensibly to promote the commerce between India and Turkestan, but more correctly to cut off the way the Russians have planned from Khorasan to Bender Abbas on the Persian Gulf.

Evidently, therefore, the relations between the two rival Powers in the interior of Asia are somewhat different from what the official reports would have us believe. Both are on the *qui vive*, both are arming, and both are waiting for the moment when a collision between their relative interests will bring about the long-dreaded catastrophe. The only difference between the two is, that whereas England has completed her possessions in India, has conquered all she wants, and is now chiefly engaged in protecting and securing her acquisitions, Russia has not yet reached the goal of her ambition, and by making Afghanistan the highway on her way to the south tries to induce and to hasten an encounter with her formidable rival.

Official Russia emphatically denies such a state of affairs, and all the evidences brought to bear upon the matter are simply discredited. But facts are more eloquent than any amount of solemn denials and diplomatic documents. All that has recently been brought to light of Russian activity on the southern frontiers of their Central Asiatic possessions tells in favour of our assertion. In the first place we would refer to the *flanking-movement* in Persia, by which Russian politics, in a comparatively short time, have made astonishing progress; and, not content with their exceptional position in the northern portion of Iran, they now cast hungry glances southward, and seem determined at any price to establish themselves on the Persian Gulf. So far this movement has not been manifested by any official action. It was principally Russian newspapers which, with rare effrontery, declared that Russia had the right to occupy a harbour on the Persian Gulf, and announced *urbi et orbi* that the Government of St. Petersburg, considering the great sacrifices which Persia had cost it, could under no

conditions whatever permit any Power but Russia to exercise any influence in the land of the Shah; also that Russia, for the furtherance of her political-economic interests, could no longer do without an outlet in the southern sea, and that her power henceforth should extend not only over the northern but also over the southern portion of Iran. To accentuate this necessity an intercourse was forcibly established some years ago by means of the steamer *Korniloff*, and although from a business point of view this undertaking is *nil* and without value—for the import is limited to wooden cases for packing dates, and to kerosene, while the export is hardly worth mentioning—the government continues to subsidise this line Odessa-Bender-Bushir, simply and solely to keep a *pièl à terre* there and to be able to show *ad oculos* the existence of Russian commercial interests on the Persian Gulf. As already stated, so far this new departure has not assumed a diplomatic character of any importance as between London and St. Petersburg. In London and in Calcutta they have closed *one* eye, but the *other* has all the more keenly watched the movements of the Russians, and the ground is duly prepared. In case the gentlemen on the Neva should make their intentions publicly known, it may, to judge from the parliamentary speech of the English Minister, come to a very serious controversy between the two governments. Objectively, England is perfectly right in trying to prevent the establishment of any other Power on the Indian Ocean. Since the deposition of the Portuguese and the Dutch, England has been sole ruler in the Persian Gulf; she gave the stimulus to trade and traffic, and put a stop to the piratic encroachments of the Arab coasters, at the cost of much bloodshed and money; with the Persian south coast as starting-point, she established commercial relations with the neighbouring provinces of Persia; and all this was done to make sure her position in the north-west of India. Is it likely, then, that England will remain indifferent when her rival and bitter adversary makes her appearance on these waters, and will quietly sit down and watch the Russians make their preparations?

Can those of my readers who know something of the brisk commercial intercourse between India and South Persia and Mesopotamia, who estimate the influence of British culture in these parts at its right value, and who are aware of the contemplated construction of an overland route from India *via* Beluchistan in connection with the Bagdad railway (eventually a separate line)—can they believe it possible that the English will quietly acquiesce in the Russians establishing themselves on the Persian Gulf? But more serious and dangerous than this are Russia's latest plans with regard to Afghanistan. It is a well-known fact that ever since the Russian operations in Turkestan the English have been increasingly anxious about the future development of affairs in the north-west of the Indian Empire. They have tried to comfort themselves with the well-known saying

of Disraeli, that Asia is big enough to serve both European powers as wrestling place for their ambition, but secretly they have not neglected to take precautions and to provide for eventualities. They sounded Russia with reference to the future march to the south, and in 1873 the St. Petersburg Cabinet gave the assurance that Afghanistan was altogether beyond the reach of Russia's aspirations, and that they left the English free scope there. Two years later they had changed their mind on the Neva. Prince Gortchakoff offered the suggestion that, although Russia had nothing to gain in Afghanistan, it would be better if this land were also independent of the English and formed a kind of buffer State—which of course would give the *wandering rouble* an open road. At that time Russia was not yet firmly established on the northern border of Persia, the Turkomans were still free, and the Transcaspian railway not even planned, so the English took courage and rejected the proposal of the Russians. Russia accepted the rejection, but although acknowledging the English sovereignty, General Kauffman, the then Governor-General of Turkestan, sent in 1877 General Stolyetoff on a secret mission to Shir Ali Khan at Kabul for the purpose of prejudicing that prince against England, which he succeeded in doing. The Emir sided with the Russians, slipped, and lost throne and life. Soon after, in 1880, Abdurrahman Khan ascended the throne; the Russians had set him on his legs in the hope that he would show himself grateful and side with the Russians against England. This time, however, the deceiver was deceived. Abdurrahman, a shrewd and cunning Oriental, instead of an enemy became a friend of the English, but a friend cold to the backbone, who would sell his affection to the highest bidder, and as his sharp eye soon discovered that England was the less dangerous opponent, he clung to England during the whole of his life and quietly pocketed subsidies of money and arms from Calcutta. During the twenty years that this able prince reigned, he brought order into the mountainous districts of Afghanistan and enriched the land and the army with 50,000 men. Russia kept pretty quiet during that time, if we do not take into account the forcible occupation on the Pamir, the Murgab, and Herirud, and make no mention of the friendly overtures to Ishak Khan, the vanquished pretender to the Afghan throne. Russia's quietude during this period was partly the result of circumstances, and partly because there was no necessity for anything else, for her position all along the line of the disputed States was a highly favourable one; her plans had been laid so cleverly that their realisation might take place at any time. After the death of Abdurrahman there was a notable change in the Russian tactics. Habibullah, Abdurrahman's successor, has not by any means inherited the intellectual qualities of his father. He is a prince of a quiet temperament, who strictly follows his father's advice, contained in the well-known autobiography

published in London, which above all recommends him to keep the peace in the family. Up to now he has succeeded in this, for both Prince Nassrullah and Omar, a son of the intriguing, imperious widow of Abdurrahman, have kept the peace, and, conscious of the dangers which might proceed from a fraternal quarrel, but more still in consequence of the advice given on the part of Lord Curzon, they wisely refrain from giving any trouble to their brother on the throne. Habibullah gives them a reasonable share in the government, and of the downfall of the newly-founded Afghan State, so generally expected, and more especially by Russia, there has been as yet no sign.

Russia's expectations of fishing in troubled waters have thus been frustrated; nay, more, their tool, Ishak Khan, the great-uncle of Habibullah, through whom they had hoped to complicate matters in Samarkand, has failed them, for we hear that the Afghans in his suite have left Russian Turkestan, retired to the left shore of the Oxus, and have been kindly received by the Ruler of Kabul.

In the face of these failures the politicians on the Neva have been obliged to take refuge in diplomatic chicanery, and for this purpose the Cabinet of St. Petersburg again expressed the wish to appoint at Kabul a diplomatic agent of the Czar, who should be arbitrator in any differences which might arise between the Russian frontier authorities and the government of the Emir at Kabul, and also clear away any obstructions which, through the frontier difficulties of Afghanistan, might interfere with the traffic. Now as England has always—but especially since the conclusion of the so-called Durand agreement in 1893—protested against Afghan representatives abroad, and has therefore also objected to the presence of an Afghan representative in London, it is only natural that both on the Thames and the Hooghli a firm stand should be and must be taken against these Russian demands. In the first place, the very fact of permitting Russia to carry out this intention would be to open a wide door to all sorts of intrigues in Afghanistan, and the consequence would be that the Afghan suzerain State, which England has established and protects as a wall of defence on the north-western frontier of her Indian empire, would soon fall under Russian influence and seriously damage the prestige of the English. If Russia intends thus to promote her commercial interests in the neighbouring Afghan State, it should be borne in mind that the English have greater and far more deeply-rooted commercial interests on the other side of the Khyber Pass, but that so far they have never yet had a born Englishman accredited as ambassador at Kabul, and that for the promotion of Anglo-Indian commerce with North Persia and Turkestan they are compelled to go round Afghanistan, and to construct the route already mentioned *via* Quetta-Nushki and Sistan, simply to pacify the suspicions of the Afghans, and to avoid possible unpleasantness. The privileges which England is not able to procure for herself she is

not likely to allow the Russians to obtain. We are therefore perfectly justified in stating that England will not and cannot accede to the Russian scheme of having an official representative at the Court of Kabul.

### III

Russia, swooping down at high pressure from the north and north-west upon India, finds no mean accomplice in France, her zealous and faithful ally, for when we consider the progress of French colonial politics in Indo-China a little more carefully we shall see that the underlying thought is a gradual approach to the English possessions in India. It seems that the cruel slight which the Court of Versailles at the time inflicted upon Dupleix is now going to be revenged by a forward movement from the east. The French power at Tonking has visions of commercial route to Yunnan, and political influence in that province of China, but since the last Franco-Chinese war the politicians on the Seine have made their relations with Siam their chief object. They are always advancing further into that land, and from time to time push forward the frontiers of Anam and Kambodjia, at the expense of Siam. In the year 1885 the upper river-bed of the Mekong was still Siamese territory, and Garnier, the real founder of the French power in Indo-China, as also Lanessan, both agree that the eastern frontier of Siam extends from the Mekong to from 50 to 200 English miles as far as the frontier range of Anam, while the present frontiers of the French protectorate have not only been transferred from the left to the right shore of the Mekong, but the French have established themselves in Luang-Prabang, they have obtained influence in the formerly Siamese provinces of Malu-Prei and Bassac, and, according to the latest agreement between Siam and the French Republic, the territory between the rivers Rolnas and Prekompong, *i.e.* as far as the 15° latitude, falls under French jurisdiction; to which we would add that the long-promised evacuation of the important harbour of Tchantabun, on the part of the French, has not yet taken place. Siam is shrinking perceptibly, and through the lust of conquest of its neighbours it has, in the course of a few decades, lost more than half of its former property.

Of late years Siam has abundantly proved that it has waked up from the lethargy which characterises other Asiatic States, and that it intends to advance on the road of modern culture. Otherwise it would have fared no better than other sister-States in the East, which, one after the other, have slipped from the loose hold of China into the firm grasp of France.

Their instruction in the ways of Western civilisation naturally fell to the share of England, not of France, for after the English

borders in the north and north-west of Siam had been firmly settled, England was not only friendly towards Siam, but saw in it one of those desirable neutral States whose independence is to be secured, and which must act as a buffer between the English and French possessions. For this purpose the present regeneration of Siam came in useful to the English. King Chulalongkorn and the princes of his house have had an English education, and during their various travels in Europe they have behaved everywhere, as far as their manners, customs, and conversation are concerned, as perfect English gentlemen; nay, more, according to the American ambassador in Bangkok, Mr. J. Barret,<sup>1</sup> almost all leading men in Siam speak English as fluently and correctly as their own mother tongue. The progress made by Siam in the ways of civilisation, although not nearly so great as that of Japan, is nevertheless very marked, and promises much for the future. In this respect, England has done really good service. With the exception of the navy, for which the Danes have done most, it is in the first place the English who have made themselves useful in bringing about administrative reforms. The finances have been put in order by an Englishman; in the system of education, Englishmen have made many improvements in various departments, and the first railway has been built by the English.

Lately German labour has also been turned to good account, as, for instance, in post and telegraph offices, in public buildings, &c.; but England always keeps the first place, and accordingly her share of the profits also surpasses that of her rival. According to the American ambassador just mentioned, 80 per cent. of the trade of Bangkok is in the hands of the English, and about 80 or 90 per cent. of the imports are landed under the English flag. It is therefore quite out of the question that the predominating influence of England could ever be supplanted by any other Western Power. Besides, this would be no advantage to Siam, for the American ambassador was perfectly right when he said:

The seed sown is now beginning to take root, and will in good time yield its harvest. But it must be kept in mind that Siam depends chiefly on the position and the politics of England. With all its self-esteem, Siam has to acknowledge that its future would be hopeless if England were to remove her protecting arm, or if Great Britain, neglecting the proffered opportunity, should fail to see that her power in South-Eastern Asia depends upon the preservation of Siam's integrity.

Naturally this view of the American diplomatist does not please the French. They want Siam to be anything but a buffer State; they have a vague idea of doing with Siam as they have done with Tongking, Anam, and Kambodjia, for the final aim and object of all Indo-Chinese politics is and always will be a united attack on India, and the detriment of British commercial interests in

<sup>1</sup> See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1899, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 90.

South-Western China. Following this principle, the republic also performs a true act of charity towards its Russian allies, as England, considering the French activity in East India, has to keep a watchful eye in two directions. Russia of course encourages France in this line of politics; for every English dilemma, in the first place, benefits the Russians, and Prince Uchtomsky, who accompanied the present Czar on his journey round the world, in the account which he has published of his travels, says the following about the position of the French in Indo-China:

If the French Republic desires to occupy in East Asia her proper place as one of the great Powers, she can straightway distinguish herself, by not pushing the Siamese into England's arms, but by drawing them into her own loving embrace. To annex and annihilate this almost defenceless nation is unjustifiable even if it be done in the name of the glorious Franco-Indian Empire of the future, which will surely not care to owe its success to a policy of violence and bloodshed, but rather to the magic of her reasonable unselfishness. Thus only will the inhabitants of Western countries win the Orientalist over to their side, and, working hand in hand with him, produce rich and important fruits of civilisation.<sup>3</sup>

#### IV

The third Power, which has only of late years come forward as an opponent of England's influence in Asia, is Germany, a factor which hitherto has only appeared in the peaceful garb of a commercial competitor, which, it is said, only cultivates its trade and industry and does not trouble itself about the pursuit of politics. But this third factor in the alliance against British power in Asia occupies a quite exceptional position. On the one hand we hear the Government of the German Empire is in perfect harmony with the English—the existence of a secret treaty between the two nations is even suggested; and on the other hand we find that public opinion in Germany is full of hatred against England, a hatred deeper and more passionate than that of Russia, where the opposition is already more than a hundred years old. This sharp contrast between the official and non-official world some try to explain by saying that the friendship of the Government is hypocritical, and that it will only be maintained until the German flag shall have got a foothold in certain places, and until Germany has a fleet at her disposal, with which to accentuate her claims, and boldly cast off her reserve. Referring to the German Emperor's words, that the future of the empire is on the ocean, the latter suggestion assumes a certain amount of truth, and as the modern disease called *kilometritis* has become endemic here as everywhere, it would be puerile indeed to nurse any further illusions with regard to the harmlessness of

<sup>3</sup> See *Asien, Organ der Deutsch-asiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1902, Oct., vol. ii., No. 1, p. 17.

German politics in Asia. The saying, 'bales of goods precede balls of cannons,' is also true for the colonial politics of Germany in Asia, only it still appears to us that Germany's intentions in Asia have not yet reached that point of unconquerable hatred against England, and that the two might walk, if not with one another, at any rate side by side without coming into collision, each pursuing its own interests. For the present the Germans have their eye only upon Western Asia, or more correctly Anatolia, where, since the appointment of German officers and officials and the construction of the Anatolian railway in Turkey, Germany has secured a predominant influence, and after the completion of the Bagdad line this influence will doubtless increase considerably. They who know the beginning of the relationship between Germany and Turkey will not be surprised at this intimacy. The Turks, a military nation *par excellence*, have always been admirers of the Prussian army, as is expressed in the reports of Ali Resmi Efendi, sent as ambassador to Frederick the Great. This admiration was naturally enhanced by the victorious campaign of 1870, and as Prussia or Germany, of all the European Powers, was the only one which so far had not been in hostile opposition to the Turks, had never annexed one inch of Ottoman ground, and had moreover tacitly admitted her sympathy with Islam, it was an easy matter for Sultan Abdul Hamid to see in Germany his true and only friend, and without more ado to throw himself into her arms.

What the skilful hand of Bismarck had begun, the busy, active mind of the Emperor William the Second has brought to a satisfactory conclusion. German influence on the Bosphorus and in Anatolia is now as great as that of the English under the embassy of Stratford Canning, greater perhaps, and with more practical results, for England was never, even at the zenith of her position, particularly lavish in her protestations of love for Turkey, while the Emperor pays visits to the Sultan without expecting any return, compliments him in public, glorifies the Caliphate, and in friendly conversation describes the Grand Seigneur as one of the ablest rulers. These German effusions have not had much effect on the foreign politics of Turkey, as is sufficiently proved by current events—for instance, the cession of Crete; but when one meets with nothing but hostility, even a dearly bought platonic affection is welcome. England, of course, had not the very slightest cause to complain of the loss of her influence on the Bosphorus, as both the Government and public opinion, in judging of the Turkish question, have contradicted themselves, and have fallen into gross errors.

In the intercourse between East and West, one can hardly imagine a more striking contrast than is seen between the time of the Crimean war and the appearance of Urquhart's pamphlet *The Spirit of the East*, and between the period of the 'Atrocity Meetings'



and the 'Armenian Massacres.' The fact that England thus runs from one extreme into the other is chiefly due to the political party-spirit and the far too powerful influence of the Church. Fanaticism, an evil counsellor, was in both instances the *spiritus movens*, and while at first they blindly rushed into worshipping everything Turkish, they were afterwards equally unjust in their condemnation of the Turks, because they were not suddenly changed into Europeans, and from their many centuries of old Asiatic civilisation did not, like a *deus ex machina*, emerge as civilised Westerners. Without considering the impossibility of such a *saltus mortalis*, the friend of yesterday is changed into a bitter enemy, and one can hardly blame the Turks that the crusade of Mr. Gladstone during the last Russo-Turkish war and the assistance rendered to the Armenian revolutionaries shook their confidence in the good will of their old friends, and drove the most faithful Turkish adherents of England to despair. This action of prominent English politicians against the Porte was as short-sighted as it was unjust: short-sighted because England lacked the means of preventing the Porte from punishing its rebellious subjects, while an armed intervention would have called forth undoubted opposition on the part of Russia, and possibly other Powers as well; and unjust because as a matter of fact the Armenian committees in Europe and America had set flame to the fuel of revolution in the Armenian mountains, so that the Turkish officials were compelled to interfere. The fact that the real mischief lay in the Turkish mismanagement and disorder in those parts, and that the means for suppressing the rebellion were very badly chosen by the Turkish Government—all this will and can be denied by no one; but the intervention of one individual State was in itself madness, especially as Russia, fearing that the combustibles largely present in her own dominions might catch fire, approved of the Turkish massacres, and Germany, as is well known, prevented the bringing about of a united action.

Insults and attacks of this kind no State, however weak and diseased, will bear from another, and Sultan Abdul Hamid, always suspicious and diffident with regard to the St. James's Cabinet, easily broke with England, and unconditionally went over to Germany, at the same time doing all in his power to reconcile the arch-enemy of his country by side glances. *Inter duos litigantes* the German Empire has now become *tertius gaudens*, and since the active, skilful politicians on the Spree neglected no opportunity to profit in every possible way by their advantageous position, Germany has grown to be the sole and dictatorial factor in Turkey. The former *à la franca* is now superseded by the watchword *Aleman* (German) in the official world of the Ottoman Empire. Alemans give the keynote in the various branches of administration, the army, the finances, and particularly in commercial intercourse.

German manufacturers and merchants have the preference everywhere, and, instead of Paris or London, Berlin is now the place where Turkish officials and functionaries are preferably sent to finish their education; for, apart from the thoroughness of German instruction, it is the rigour of the Prussian *régime* which appeals to the absolutism of the Sultan. As may be supposed, this privileged position has in the first place benefited the economic interests of Germany. This is proved by relative statistical data. According to the report of the Bureau of Commercial Statistics at Hamburg in 1901, German *imports* into European Turkey have risen from 1,000,000 marks in 1890 to 10,000,000 marks in 1901, consisting chiefly in iron bars, fancy articles, woollen goods, cotton goods, &c., while the imports into Asiatic Turkey in the course of the same period of time have risen from 300,000 to 10,000,000 marks. The German *export trade* has grown in the same manner. Between 1890 and 1901 German exports from European Turkey have increased from 130,000 to 700,000, and are chiefly confined to raw material and carpets. As years go on, and with the progressive extension of railways in Asia Minor, one naturally expects to see a decided increase in trade; but the question is how far this increase of German economic interests will affect the advancement and preferment of the political and refining influence of the German Empire in Turkey—this question cannot for the present be categorically answered.

In the political circles of Germany the future plans regarding German colonisation in Anatolia have been carefully kept in the background, and Dr. Rudolph Fitzner<sup>1</sup> warns his countrymen against the making of a propaganda for such an unpromising colonisation, as this would only disturb the friendly relations with Turkey. He is perfectly right: we would only suggest that the Germans who have settled down near the great railway stations of Asia Minor, who have bought farms, and with true German industry apply themselves to agriculture, are of quite another opinion, and that, in spite of his weighty words, public opinion is eager for a German colonisation of Anatolia, and in its heated fancy sees in the near future German towns and villages rising and flourishing on the Bagdad line. These enthusiasts will be grievously disappointed, for Anatolia can no more become German than the Caucasus, after a hundred years and more of (Russian) occupation, has become Russian in the ethnical sense. To this day the Russian population is at most 2 per cent., and that in spite of many attempts at a forcible Russification. It is the same in India, where the English have been in possession for fully 200 years, where a railway-net extends over the entire peninsula, and where, not counting the army, with a population of 300 millions there are scarcely 100,000 British.

<sup>1</sup> See *Anatolien-Wirtschaftsgeographie*, pp. 63-65.

Taking into account the perseverance, industry, and well-grounded knowledge of the Germans, the extension of the Bagdad and Persian Gulf line may possibly leave its mark upon the intellectual development of these regions, which in older times attained to a comparatively high standard of civilisation. But modern ethnical innovations are absolutely excluded, and political transformations are also out of the question, considering the existing keen rivalry among the Continental Powers. We may justly ask what ethnical changes have taken place since the opening of the Ottoman Smyrna and Aidin Railway Company's line, nearly fifty years ago? The line is 5,042 kilometres long, and the concession was granted in 1856. Let this serve as an example for the future Germanisation of Asia Minor. No one at all acquainted with the national characteristics of the Orient, and especially of the Mohammedan population, will harbour any illusions on this point.

It is true that in times past Russia managed to influence the Slavonic element in the Khanates of Kazan, Astrakhan, and the Crimea, at the expense of Moslem Turkeyism, and some fragmentary remains of Ugrian heathenism. But the absorption was only possible, in the first place because those districts were very thinly populated and had no means of opposing the Russians, with their superior tactics of war and general civilisation; and in the second place, because these almost entirely nomadic Tartars did not possess the spirit of Islamic unity, and with the exception of the Crimea, which also resisted a little longer, the remainder of the once Golden Hord was not in touch with their, at that time, still powerful kinsmen, the Ottomans. In the Anatolia of to-day the conditions are quite different. The Turkish Islam preponderates, and is, moreover, supported by its Aryan and Semitic fellow-believers; and considering the strong national feeling existing among the Osmanlis, and the great progress made by the heads of society in modern culture, it is impossible to believe that either Germans or Slavs will ever succeed in supplanting or absorbing the Turkish national element.

A political or ethnical conquest by Germany in Asia Minor is therefore out of the question, even allowing for the possibility of a total collapse of the rotten throne of the Osmanlis, and great political changes. Under the best conditions, Germany's success can only be of a strictly administrative and intellectual nature, always provided the Northern bear, goaded on by mad jealousy, does not interfere. Under German supervision and instruction, agriculture, commerce, and industry will flourish. Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Greeks, and Armenians have a better future before them, and, even assuming that Germany suitably compensates herself by administrative financial advantages, improving her commerce and finding a large sale for her industrial products, I cannot see why these advantages, wrested from a hitherto barren ground, should stir up hostile feelings in her

competitors who have carefully kept aloof from this field of action. One can understand that England will not easily get over the loss of such a rich market as Anatolia, nor can she be quite indifferent in watching the building of the Bagdad line undertaken by Germany. It is a well-known fact that the idea of an overland route from India *via* Bagdad had been suggested long ago, somewhere in the thirties of last century, by General Chesney, but found no favour with the English statesmen of that period. It is the same with the Suez Canal, the practicability of which was also put forward by Chesney, long before De Lesseps' time. And now that England has committed the gross mistake of not taking her chance when her influence with the Porte was supreme, I do not see why the more active and energetic Germans should be blamed for the realisation of the project. We may yet see the day when the business of the Suez Canal will repeat itself in the Bagdad line, and even if not, is it likely that English commerce will be crippled on this line? In a word, exaggerated as Germany's sanguine notions are regarding the high flight and unlimited power of German commercial interests in West Asia, equally unjustifiable are England's fears of being driven off the market in Asia Minor and of losing her supremacy in the Persian Gulf. On either side the waves of passion rise too high, and the roar of the pen has embittered the mind unreasonably. Instead of opposing one another and damaging each other's interests, would it not be wiser and more to the point to keep an eye on that other Power, equally dangerous to both, who is preparing to make an armed stand against the aims and objects of both parties; a Power who will not easily let the fat morsels pass her lips, and who, as regards the future of Asia, will never share with her rivals?

Looking at it from this point of view, every prudent and unprejudiced politician will acknowledge that the working together of Germany and England is the best guarantee for the success and the peaceful development of civilising influences in the neighbouring East. If appearances do not lie, the governments of both countries have long since been convinced of the necessity of following this track, and, in spite of the unpleasant utterances on either side, will arrange their future politics accordingly. The contrary seems absolutely impossible; but if in spite of all our expectations it should turn out otherwise—that is, should the Germans, blinded by the brilliancy of their rising sun in West Asia, and misguided by the game of deceptive illusions, venture on speculations of too risky a nature—their politics may turn out detrimental to their future position in Asia, for alone, in spite of the youthful vigour of which they boast, they are not equal to the gigantic task before them, while their natural allies are quite able, with or without assistance, to maintain and to raise their position in the world.

## V

After thus briefly referring to the Powers who oppose English authority in Asia, either openly or by secretly preparing for the attack, we will now first of all consider the questions : (1) How far the might of these Powers reaches to injure British interests, or to defeat their rivals ? (2) Can they do this in the near future, or only in the far distance ?

In considering these questions we necessarily think first of Russia ; Russia, who in all her thoughts and speculations, in all her attempts and aspirations, always sees in England her greatest obstacle, and who leaves no means untried to remove her from the scene. Starting from this point of view, let us glance over the single dominions of the long-stretched line of the antagonist, and we shall see that the Anglo-Russian rivalry in Turkey, by the appearance of Germany, has become objectless. Russia has now to face the new wrestler who has entered the lists, and in the place of the lately retired old enemy, he finds a not-to-be-despised new rival, with closed visor, on the scene of action. In Germany this state of affairs is persistently denied ; public opinion is silent on this point ; but the official world abounds in amiabilities towards the Eastern neighbour ; everything Russian is flattered and cherished. On the other side all these declarations of love do not seem to take ; for the prevailing influence of Germany on the Bosphorus, the concession of the Bagdad line, and the preponderance of Germans in Anatolia, are a thorn in the eye of the Russian bear. She sees in these a mighty bulwark against her advance towards the Euphrates, and it is not surprising that her equanimity should be disturbed when she can no longer with the same confidence cast her eyes from cold Armenia to the rich sunny regions of Mesopotamia. The ravenous politicians on the Neva are suddenly disillusioned, for, judging by the feelers which were put out as early as the beginning of last century, the advantages gained at Diadin and Erzerum during the last Turko-Russian War must be looked upon as a step on the march southward ; a step, it was confidently thought, which would insure steady progress in that direction. Since these beautiful plans have now been frustrated, the Russian Press has poured its poisoned vial over the Germans, while the official world, especially the Russian Legation in Constantinople, is busily employed in casting all sorts of difficulties in Germany's way, and amongst other things hindering the Germans in procuring the means necessary for the carrying out of their intentions. Consequently the Rouvier project for the unifying of the Turkish State debt with the proceeds of which the construction of the Bagdad line was to be started, has not yet been carried out. Whether Russia in the long run will succeed in frustrating the undertaking, her French allies

taking a 40 per cent. share in the matter, is difficult to believe, but we would only remark here that the Anglo-Russian rivalry in Turkey, and especially in Anatolia, is for the present kept in abeyance, for Russo-German antipathy occupies the foreground, and is bound to increase in bitterness in the near future.

In discussing the 'Middle Oriental Question,' *i.e.* Persia and Central Asia, the position is quite different. Here Russia has decidedly the start, for, as the relations stand at present, the indefatigable activity of the gentlemen on the Neva has obtained advantages over the disputed district which will weigh heavily in the balance, and cost the defensive English many serious sacrifices in the coming strife. The question whether England has acted wisely in vacating her once influential position in Persia and leaving her rivals free scope there has been much discussed of late, with various results. The activity of English diplomacy at the Court of Teheran during the first half of the nineteenth century is conspicuously disproportionate to the negligence and *laissez aller* during the second half of that century. On the Thames the excuse is made that, on account of the Russian conquest of the Caucasus, the situation on the northern borders of Persia and in Central Asia became such that an active opposition of Russia's power and influence was useless. Attention is drawn to Russia's important strategic advantages in the north of Iran, and it is thought quite natural that the terribly intimidated Shah should comply with the Russian demands; that Russian commerce, monopolising the northern portion of Persia, also wants to get hold of the south; and finally Englishmen have lately been heard to declare that there will be no harm in Russia acquiring a harbour in the Persian Gulf on the supposition that this concession would restore the harmony between the two rival Powers. The deceptiveness and illusiveness of these expectations must be patent to all who, keeping in mind the persistency of Russian politics, realise that this is not merely a question of competition but of weighty political matters, that the desired outlet into the South Sea is an empty phrase, a mere pretext behind which the insatiable greed for land and the desire to injure their rivals in every possible way seek to hide themselves. The complaisance of England with regard to the plans of Russia on the Persian Gulf is equivalent to political suicide, and when English statesmen like Lord Curzon and Lord Cranborne express a similar opinion, England should no longer rest satisfied with a policy of empty threats and hands in pocket, but active and energetic measures should be resorted to.

It will be much harder now than it was ten or fifteen years ago to redress the mistake made in Persia. The complaisance and trustfulness of the Thames politicians has done infinite harm to the English *prestige* in the East, and, as the writer of this article has heard in personal contact with the leading Persian statesmen, the

Shah has been literally forced into the Russian embrace. Both Nassreddin and his successor Muzaffareddin were throughout animated by English sympathies; they have implored English assistance, and when the latter-named Shah, in his extremity as it is said, but more correctly to indulge in a pleasure trip to Europe, had borrowed already nearly five million pounds sterling from Russia, it is difficult to understand why English financiers did not advance this sum. When the Conservative Government refused to take a guarantee, as was generally expected, England seems to have acted simply on the principle that the destitute condition of Persia and Russia's fatal polyp-like embrace did not bode well for a State security, and that, even if England had given financial support, matters would not have turned out favourably to English interests. If this was really the motive which animated Britain's statesmen, as we are led to believe, she has therewith, so to speak, put the first penstroke to the act of resignation; she has quietly acquiesced in the Russian absorption of Iran, and the natural consequence may be in time to come a complete evacuation of the land. But it has not yet come to this. England has not yet quite given up Persia: she will not and cannot give it up; and the reason for the lukewarm, sleepy interest hitherto taken in this matter is really to be sought in the negligence and nonchalance which have lately characterised England's actions in other parts of Asia.

England is far too busy just now, her sphere of action is too wide, and the ten fingers of her hands are not sufficient to enclose the great extensive dominion of her colonies; but they who say so forget that *resting* and *rusting* are very closely connected, that the slightest loosening of her hold will be taken advantage of by her ever-watchful adversary, and that voluntary renunciation is the first step towards destruction.

And as far as Persia is concerned England's retirement cannot be justified either from an economic or from a political point of view. It is true that British commerce has suffered considerably, not only in the northern portion but throughout the Persian dominions, through the competition of Russia, and may expect still more serious losses. This is proved by the enormous exertions Russia has lately been making to promote her commercial interests not only in the north but also in the south of Persia.

The steamer *Korniloff*, subsidised by the Government, plies incessantly between Odessa and Bender Bushir, although so far working at a loss. There are Russian consulates at Isfahan, Jezd, Kerman, and even at Ahwaz, to control the Karun trade of England, and the custom-house administration under Belgian management is certainly worked to suit Russian interests, for Mr. Naus, the director of this department, knows quite well which way the wind blows and tries to be agreeable to the Russians. The

English may make up their minds that their commerce in South Persia also, where their influence for 200 years has been paramount, is falling into disrepute. As regards quality Russian industry cannot compete with that of England; but the Persian people are poor, and as the Russian goods, because of the facilities of communication with the mother country and lower wages at home, can be brought to the market at far more reasonable prices than the productions of English industry, a steady decline of British trade is hardly avoidable. This loss also strongly affects the Anglo-Indian trade in South Persia, and it is indeed surprising how the London politicians can preserve their equanimity when this vital question, from a national point of view, is at stake. Lord Curzon, the capable English Viceroy of India, well up in all Asiatic affairs, has certainly endeavoured to ward off the Russian attack by a flank thrust, in that he has projected a railway connection from Quetta also *via* Nushki to the eastern borders of Persia, in order by this route, avoiding Afghanistan, to facilitate British trade in Persia and Russian Turkestan. But the ground is not particularly favourable; the road leads through waterless and grassless steppes. The Russian officials in Khurasan will trouble and annoy the Indian traders with their chicaneries, and as the poverty and lawlessness in East Persia are much greater even than in the southern and western portions of the land, this English railway scheme will remain problematic for some time to come, at any rate until the connection *via* Kerman with the Bagdad line has been established—a period of time which can hardly be estimated yet.

And therefore, as things are at present, the prognostication for England's authority in Persia cannot be very favourable. The losses already sustained are considerable, and the mistakes made are greater still. But redress is still possible if only an active line of politics be taken up, and that spirit which animated Malcolm, MacNeil, and Rawlinson, and benefited both English and Persian interests, were once more to be seen at the Court of Teheran. I do not mean to say that if these energetic politics had been pursued Russia's advance towards the borders of Iran and the omnipotence of Russian influence could have been prevented. No! but this eventuality could have been considerably delayed. If every nerve had been strained to help Persia on its legs again, this highly-gifted people—thanks to the riches yet hidden in its soil, and strengthened by the *prestige* of its historical past—would have been far easier to rouse out of the *marasmus* of Asiatic existence than many other nations of the Moslemic East. Since England has accomplished the difficult task of establishing order, peace, and comfort in so many feudal States of India, where anarchy, despotism, and dissolution prevailed to a far greater extent than in Persia—and since this has been done not by force of arms, but simply by means of reasonable, well-



meant advice—I cannot understand why similar measures should have failed in Persia. Nobody will attempt to ignore or to excuse the awful condition of the Persian Government, but it would be most unjust to accuse the Shah and his Ministers of a voluntary leaning towards Russia. It was only the pressure of extreme necessity, only the fear of the close neighbourhood of the mighty Empire of All the Russias, always ready to make conquests, which forced the dynasty of the Kadjars to seek protection with their arch-enemies, and to submit to the all-prevailing influence of the Court of St. Petersburg. England has always appeared in the field with platonic protestations of affection, and has incited Persia to resist the Northern Power without revealing her sympathies by deeds. And this was a terrible pity; for, from what is known to us of the feelings and aspirations of Persian statesmen and the Persian people, there have been many influential Persians wholly devoted to England, and so it is still to-day; and they know full well that England would not rob them of one inch of ground, while Russia has already taken from them their most beautiful provinces and the Caspian Sea. I am personally acquainted with eminent Persians, in close connection with the King, who have been brought up in England, have gained their doctor's degree at English Universities, and would gladly see their country in alliance with England if they could have obtained support from London or Calcutta. The present King and his father have told me the same thing, and we can surely not be called too sanguine when we maintain that a little encouragement on the part of England and a stirring up of English proclivities would still be able to effect a change for the better. The danger is in sight, but England has yet enough means at her disposal to ward off the attacks of her adversaries, as we shall point out more fully presently.

Unfortunately, England has never devoted to Persia that amount of attention which it deserves with a view to the security of India and because of the great commercial interests which England has at stake. Content with the temporary and problematic success of free navigation on the Karun, and the opening of a route between Ahwaz and Isfahan, it has been quite overlooked that these promising concessions can only bear fruit when the Government interferes energetically; and as this has not been the case so far, the highly extolled project has resulted in a miserable caravan-route, and commerce, for want of a highway suitable for transport, is impeded as before. This is the more to be regretted as the route from the Persian Gulf to Isfahan is 530 English miles long, while the route from Ahwaz has only a length of 277 English miles. The Russians have shown themselves far more practical and energetic in this matter than the English, for on the route concessioned by Russia, and running between Enzeli and Kazvin, a lively traffic has lately been developed,

which has considerably increased the influence of Russia. It is very much the same between the so-called Imperial Bank of Persia and the Russian Escompte Bank, for whereas the former, through the failure of various undertakings, has sunk in the estimation of the people, the latter has made itself ever more prominent and is now indispensable to the Persian State. The Russians are more than a match for the English in their intercourse with the people of the East; they are better experts in lying and deceiving, they have fewer qualms of conscience, and consequently more success. This is best proved by the skilfulness displayed by Colonel Kossagoff in organising the Persian Kosack regiments, which, well-armed, well-dressed, and regularly paid, form the only regular troops of the Shah. Before this, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Austrians have attempted as military instructors to render service to the Persian King, but none of them have succeeded as well as the Russians. In Persia, as elsewhere in the Orient, firm determination, and if need be intimidation, not in word but in deed, act successfully. England has yet plenty of time to follow Russia's example in South and South-Western Persia. And the construction of a road from the coast to the interior of the land should be a first consideration and be carried out as soon as possible. The ground is certainly much more difficult than in the north, but British commercial interests, which are here at stake, are surely worth a great sacrifice, and in politics also England cannot allow another Power to supplant her on the Persian littoral.

## VI

Looking upon India as the Achilles' heel of English power in Asia, and upon Persia and Afghanistan as important bulwarks for the defence of the precious possession, we must first of all mention that the precautions for securing England's safety have been much more successful in Afghanistan than in Persia. By raising the so-called 'scientific frontier,' and by the consolidation of the internal condition of Afghanistan, Russian aspirations have received a serious check. They form a bulwark, in fact, in the face of which the famous Skobeleff scheme, an inroad *à la* Timur, would now no longer be practicable, and by which the hot-blooded Russian strategists have been considerably cooled down. These measures for the defensive have caused Russia to fix her attention in the east on Pamir, and in the west on Persia, in order to guard the Russian threatened chief line for the offensive. But after all the Russians will not be much benefited thereby, for the feeling in Afghanistan has in the course of the last decades changed considerably in favour of Britain at the cost of Russia. Formerly—I am speaking now of the time of my travels in Northern Afghanistan—every European was, in the eyes of the Afghan,

the most hateful being in all the world, who, in the blindness of fanaticism, inspired him with the most malignant feelings of revenge, and whom to kill he considered his sacred, religious duty. We see a different state of things now. In the Englishman the Afghan sees his true and faithful friend, with whom he has interests in common ; but in the Russian he only sees a treacherous and dangerous opponent, who aims at the subjugation of his native land, with whom he can never make peace, and with whom one day it will have to come to a settling of accounts. The Russians stationed on the Afghan frontiers could tell many a story of this deep-rooted hatred ; it will never disappear, and the only wonder is how Russia—after the bitter experiences of Shir Ali Khan at the friendly hand of the Russians—still manages to decoy the Afghan people with all sorts of promises. The old price of blood of the English has long since been squared by the handsome assistance rendered lately to the Emir, and by the support of England in the building up and consolidating of their authority ; but the Afghan blood shed in 1885 near Pendjeh by the Russians cannot be atoned for, and the less so as the branch line from Merw to Kushk rises as a permanent threat against Herat, and therefore against the independence of Afghanistan. England has left the Afghans free play in the conquest of Kafiristan, and in the Durand agreement of 1893 concessions have been made which will internally strengthen the young kingdom, and also defend it against outside attacks.

With the exception of the Lezghians in the North-Eastern Caucasus, whose desperate death-struggle with Russia, lasting from 1832 to 1859, will no doubt be remembered by the older generation, we do not know any Asiatic nation so ready to sacrifice life and limb for the good of their native land as these Afghan mountaineers. The subjugation of such a people, therefore, is no easy task, especially as the frontier-line in the North-West of India, nearly 1,000 miles long, is thoroughly fortified and safe against any unforeseen attack.

Russian firebrands may speak lightly of a march against India, but Russian politicians and strategists know better, as is proved by the great caution and circumspection exercised both in diplomatic and military circles when it comes to advancing towards the Indian frontiers. In circles hostile to England it is said : ‘ British rule in India is built on a crater and in constant danger of an eruption, and the frontier regions are like powder mills, where a hostile spark may at any time cause a serious explosion.’ Such used to be the case, but of late years there has been marked improvement in this respect. Where 300 million natives are ruled and governed by a handful of foreigners there will always be malcontents, especially as the highly-advanced modern education in India has produced an intellectual proletariat ; and the Anglo-Indian Government cannot present all the natives educated in the higher and middle-class schools with rich

appointments. Add to this that the once mighty Moslem element hardly brooks the loss of its influence, is always sulky, and often acts // the irreconcilable.

But how infinitely small and powerless are these few discontented ones compared with the vast majority of natives who live happily under the shelter of the British rule, enjoying a hitherto unknown rest and peace! Nothing speaks more eloquently for the rock-like stability of England's position in India than the readiness with which both private persons and feudal princes offer their services whenever the British realm is threatened with danger. During the wars in China, in South Africa, on the Somali coast, everywhere, Hindustanees have gladly offered and sacrificed life and goods for the well-being of Great Britain, and if we want to make comparisons we would ask, Where are the Mohammedan and Buddhist subjects of the Czar who of their own free will have taken part in Russia's wars against Turkey or China, and proved their sympathies for the Czar's realms by energetic deeds?

We have to acknowledge that England's confidence in the stability of the Afghan bulwark is exposed to violent tests, for Habibullah Khan has not inherited his father's abilities and virtues, and although the eventuality is not excluded that Nassrullah Khan, Omar Khan, or some other pretender to the throne, encouraged or supported by Russia, should light the torch of civil war on the other side of the Khyber Pass, this would not necessarily mean any danger to the continuance of English rule in India. By the construction of the Transcaspian railway and the branch line to Kushk the Russian offensive has gained in strength, and will do so increasingly in years to come when the Orenburg-Tashkend railway shall be established, and the Turkestan possession brought into *direct* communication with the centre of the Czar's dominions. But the English outworks for the defence of India, from Chitral to Quetta, have also gained in strength, and while the Russians on their terminus at Kushk hold in readiness the necessary material for the extension of the railway to Herat, the English have long ago made similar preparations on the Sibi line at the northern exit of the Khodsha-Amran Pass, not far from Kandahar. Here as there all possible protective measures have been taken. Every advance by one of the rivals from north to south is answered by a forward movement from south to north, and notwithstanding all the honeyed diplomatic speeches on either side, they have so far not succeeded in weakening the rivalry or banishing the mutual suspicion. Optimistic Englishmen have tried in vain to convince the world that the Russians have never thought of conquering India, or that they are not strong enough to do it, or that the two Powers can quite well live in unity and peace together in the vastness of Asia. To-day no one believes such illusive statements. There is no doubt about the final aim and object of Russia, only it is

a long way off yet, and I still hold to the same opinion which I expressed eighteen years ago in this Review. I said then :

Nor is this—the conquest of India by Russia—by any means the work of a *lustrum* ; it cannot be conjured up, as it were, by a *deus ex machina*, and seeing that the English have time and leisure enough left to consolidate their power in India during the intervening period and to prepare effectual safeguards against the designs of their rival, we are constrained to admit that, as yet, the plan of a Russian conquest of India belongs to the land of Utopia, and to add that, in this sense, we agree with Professor Seeley in his saying that ‘ the end of our Indian Empire is perhaps almost as much beyond calculation as the beginning of it.’

## VII

A more minute and careful consideration of the relative position of the two competitors, and a full appreciation of the powerful means at the disposal of either, will lead us to conclude that the expected encounter and the final settling of the great question will not be just yet. The period of time yet to elapse may be longer or shorter, but it certainly offers fewer advantages to the English than to the Russians, for while the latter have left no ways or means untried for the accomplishment of their long-cherished plans of the offensive, and consequently have long since been ready armed on the field, the former have never realised the necessity of resistance until the middle of last century, and the full consciousness of the threatening danger has only come to them during the last decades. In the first place we must remark that the means so far employed by England for the founding of her enormous empire, and the security of her gigantic commercial interests all over the world, never were equal to the greatness and importance of her conquests, nor to the magnitude of her national qualities, nor to the means at her disposal. Whichever way we look, whatever example we may bring forward, experience will teach us that it has most often been a small company of courageous men, animated by ambition, patriotism, or desire for adventure, who on their own account and regardless of danger undertook the most daring enterprise and planted the flag of the mother country in regions thousands of miles away from their island home, and amid a hundred times superior forces of foreign elements have held out until the Government had time to interfere and make their personal matter an affair of the State. Why should we deny it? England has never possessed a military force equal to the exigencies of her extensive Transatlantic possessions and the number of her subjects. Confident in the virtue of her flag dominating all waters, respected and feared everywhere, she has so far never realised the necessity for a large standing army. The fact that England, without being a military State and without forcing her

peaceful citizens to take up arms, has nevertheless played such a notorious part in the history of the world, and has been the standard-bearer of Western culture into remote districts, has been the pride of humanitarians and lovers of peace in the nineteenth century. But, unfortunately, times have changed. New conditions have arisen, and in this age of keen competition and diplomatic emulation England will be bound to alter her tactics, and, without in any way touching the spirit of national freedom, she will have to organise a military force in keeping with her political status. As long as England monopolised the market in the conquered regions for her own industries, or had but little to fear from the competition of European rivals, so long the intellectual forces at her disposal were sufficient; but now, since other Western nations, instigated by the wealth and prosperity of England, are trying to compete with her, more material means have become an absolute necessity for the protection of the advantages gained and for the maintenance of her *prestige* abroad.

## VIII

The new condition of affairs, however, demands not only an increase of military power and a keen watch over the intentions of other Powers in Asia, but it compels England to look round for an ally, as, by herself, she is no longer a match for the opposing forces. She will have to ally herself with another State, a State whose political and national interests will, for the present at any rate, not collide with her own; one who, notwithstanding the forces and the energy at her disposal, still feels the need of friendly support, and who has much to bear from the opposition of an antagonist she has in common with England. Of course, the State referred to is Germany. As relations are at present, this suggestion may appear monstrous and absurd, for a more bitter and hostile feeling than that which now divides these two Teutonic sister nations can hardly be imagined. And yet this is the only alternative for both. Fortunately, the arbiters of fate in both nations have wisely taken no notice of these wild effusions of public opinion; they have kept cool and unperturbed, and, instead of being infected by the petty jealousies and quarrels of the masses, have quietly laid the foundations for this great bond which, sooner or later, if not actually uniting the two, will nevertheless enable them to walk together in peace. Nothing but an understanding between Great Britain and Germany will ever restore the balance of European Power in Asia, and before considering the details of such an eventuality we will first throw some light upon the feasibility and the serviceableness of such an understanding.

The question of the hostile feeling between Germany and England has often been discussed of late, and it seems to us that the intense

agitation on either side increases the difficulty of finding the correct answer. National pride and material interests have stood in the way of impartial judgment and rendered it difficult on either side to obtain a sober and unbiassed view of the matter. In a little book entitled *The Enemies of England*, by George Peel, we read that neither racial hatred, religion, customs, commerce, nor jealousy have produced this animosity, but that wounded ambition because of England's meddling in all European affairs during the last eight hundred years is at the bottom of all the antagonism. We find it difficult to share this view.

A third party, neither English nor German, may perhaps be more fortunate in finding the solution, and such a neutral person will in the first instance come to the conclusion that there is fault on either side, that both have been carried away in the whirl of their excitement, and did not properly know why they were at daggers drawn, and certainly never realised that all this quarrelling and wrangling leads to their own harm and the benefit of the common enemy. Yes, the Russian *tertius gaudens* is laughing in his sleeve, and neither Germany nor England has realised it. When the Anglophobia in Germany is discussed here, the arguments which are brought forward always point to its being caused by the present state of irritability in Germany, rather than as the just retribution for any offence or injury on the part of the English towards the German people. Some would trace back this hostility to the events of the eighteenth century. Others, again, are of opinion that the English sympathies with Denmark during the German-Danish war, or the fact that English firms supplied the French with arms in 1870, caused all this hatred in Germany, which came to an outburst during the Boer war. Possibly and far more likely the cause of it lies in the fact that Germany has begun to realise her own fitness, her strength and hidden power, and partly to gain popularity abroad, partly also on economic grounds, has waked up to the necessity of developing her national interests. Now, as this desire could not be gratified without the acquisition of colonies and a corresponding naval force, Germany began to look upon England, whose flag governs the seas and whose colonies encompass the globe, not always justly, as her hidden adversary and the arch-enemy of German national aspirations. A nation aware of its creative power, able to turn to account for the good of the nation many excellent advantages and virtues, may be excused if in the fire of its youthful enthusiasm it endeavours to break the bonds which thus far fettered its motions, and when in this zeal for national expansion it looks with envy and hatred upon its neighbours, whom fortune favoured before it. We do not blame the Germans for this mistrust, but we doubt whether this wild outburst of national hatred, this endless ridiculing and insulting of England, will disarm the real or supposed antagonism, and whether

Anglophobia is quite the correct medium by which to acquire new colonies and deprive England of her old possessions. It needs other expedients to effect this. Germany is much hampered as regards her colonial politics, for, as the proverb says, *Tarde venientibus oritur*—others have long since snapped up the best bits, and although no doubt many a dainty morsel may yet be found in this wide world, we cannot help feeling that the carrying out of this object will require more foresight and more circumspection than has hitherto been displayed by Germany.

But equally unjustifiable and purposeless appears to us the Germanophobia which during the last few years has taken hold of the English people, and like wild-fire has seized upon all classes of English society: smouldering in the breast of even the most sober-minded and coldly-calculating Britisher. It has taken a whole century to bring the bond of friendship, sealed on the field of Waterloo, down to the freezing-point it has now reached, and which manifests itself amongst other things in the cry, 'Made in Germany:' evidently influenced rather by economic industrial than by political motives. When a thoroughly practical people like the English resent the harm done to their material interests by the successful competition of German industry and commerce in the world's market, and are determined to defeat this rival who has taken them by surprise and is injuring their trade, we cannot honestly blame them. But any unbiassed spectator must acknowledge that, if the Germans have erred in their means of attack, the English means of defence have been equally clumsy and unjustifiable. It is incomprehensible that England, the professed advocate of *fair play*, does not realise that a people like the Germans cannot be prevented from turning to good account their highly scientific education and thorough knowledge in all departments of modern learning, more especially in the application of technical science, to which they owe the growth of their industry. The numerous tall chimneys which in modern times have arisen on German soil are a result of German culture, German zeal, and German strength, just as the many English factories are the natural outcome of the English spirit of enterprise, and the strong individuality and high culture of the considerably earlier developed and privileged British nation. When the seed has fallen into good ground the growth may be retarded through lack of light and heat, but it cannot be forcibly repressed. Only on the field of competition can England find protection against her rival, and for the present she is safe enough, for she is better known on the Asiatic market, and the products of her industry are thought more of and fetch a better price than those of Germany—advantages which, if properly turned to account, would be far more useful to the English merchant and manufacturer than these outbursts of Germanophobia, and the superscription 'Made in Ger-



many,' with which they try to discredit the products of German industry.

And surely, when we keep before us the supreme interests of universal peace, and then look objectively and without partiality upon the discord now existing between England and Germany, we must acknowledge that this spirit of antagonism is one of the saddest phenomena on the political horizon. For are not these two Teutonic sister-nations, on account of their striking and superior national characteristics, on account of their religious and ethical tendencies, and also on account of the geographical position of their homes, as it were made for one another? They complete each other, and united are the best guarantee for the successful operation of our Western culture in the East. If the English, on the strength of their ancient, free institutions, reveal a greater feeling of independence and a more enterprising spirit, the Germans, on the other hand, have a more intimate knowledge, a keener insight into details, and unparalleled zeal and perseverance. The Englishman is at times foolhardy, and blindly rushes into all kinds of dangers; but the German is cautious, he advances carefully, and only exerts all his strength when the result seems certain. The Englishman is animated by eminently practical sentiments; he can only be enthusiastic about matters of fact, while the German, enthusiastically inclined, pursues after ideals, the realisation of which often only exists in the dim realms of his fancy. The patriotism and self-esteem of the English and the preference for their own tribe remain unaltered in all climes amongst the masses of the most varied nationalities, while the Germans strongly incline towards cosmopolitanism, and have only commenced to manifest any national pride since the consolidation of the German Empire.

The Englishman, brought up with ideas of a universal Empire and the glories of his historical past, sometimes meets the foreigner with arrogance and offensive pride, while the German comports himself in foreign parts with a diffidence almost akin to servility, and therefore does not impress the Asiatic mind nearly as much as the Englishman. On the strength of their greater national riches and older status and repute, the English like to play the *grand seigneur* and act it well, while the Germans in many respects are small-minded, mean, and over-careful; and although this characteristic commends itself to the thoughtful mind, it misses its purpose with the people of the East, delighting in show and luxury. And finally we would draw attention to one circumstance which, considering the strongly conservative character of the Orientals, weighs heavily in the balance. The name *Inglis* or *Ingiliz* is in Turkey, and in the whole southern portion of the East, one of the best known representative names of the West, and much more familiar to the Asiatics than the comparatively modern *Aleman* (German).

It would be easy enough to enumerate the various points of difference in the characteristics of the two nations, but these few remarks will suffice to show the reader how both could be benefited if they would, together or side by side, in peaceful harmony pursue one common interest in their dealings with the ancient world.

## IX

He who some years ago ventured to speak in England of the advantages of alliances in general was always met with the 'splendid isolation' view. There were even politicians in whose opinion Great Britain was sufficient unto herself and treaties were not to be depended on at all. Since the offensive and defensive compact lately made between England and Japan, this shibboleth has lost its meaning. England has paid her tribute to the exigencies of the times, and, without fear of damaging her political dignity by an alliance with the young Asiatic State, the peremptory demands of mutual interests have called forth this union with the rising Power in the Far East. Now what has been deemed necessary and possible in the Far East may also prove practicable in the nearer East, and, in spite of the possible objection that strong mercantile interests and a deeply-rooted rivalry make any approach between English and Germans impossible, we dare not lose sight of the fact that Japanese industry is also beginning in China and even in India to establish itself as a not-to-be-despised rival of the English, and that the political appearance of Japan in China cannot be looked upon as an altogether harmless factor for the future of England's interests in the Middle Empire. But necessity knows no law, and the step taken by England with regard to Japan recommends itself all the more in the case of Germany, because by so doing England would benefit her other political interests; for Russia's angry glare fixed on the ever-growing influence of Germany in Asia Minor and on the progress of German commerce in Persia must of necessity benefit the English on the Indian frontiers.

The Czar, be he ever so powerful, cannot always play the part of the hundred-armed monster, and the price paid by England for the new bulwark to stop the advance of her adversary into Western Asia no one can call exorbitant. In the first place, England has voluntarily relinquished her commercial and political influence over the Near East by removing the centre of gravity of her power to India and the Far East. Secondly, it will be long enough yet, if possible at all, before Germany can take up that threatening position with regard to India which Russia has already attained. Thirdly, the commercial damage incurred by England through the all-pervading influence of Germany in the north of Asia Minor is not by any means so great as to justify the lamentations of the British merchant.

Judging from statistical evidence, English imports in Turkey are still at the top of the list, and in spite of occasional losses, as against her competitors, are likely to retain this position for some time to come. According to a statistical statement of the year 1897-98 English imports into Turkey amounted to 987,303,572 piasters, and the exports to 592,907,444 piasters, while Germany in the same period of time imported goods to the value of 33,023,682 piasters, and exported to the value of 45,513,112 piasters. But, supposing that the unparalleled growth of German industry were to injure English trade in Anatolia and Western Persia, is it likely that this flight of German commerce could be forcibly repressed, and would it be wise to overlook the advantages which might accrue for England's power in India and the Far East from the German-Russian rivalry in Turkey? The whipped-up antagonism between the two Teutonic sister-nations has unfortunately assumed such dimensions that certain politicians in England have hit upon the curious idea that it will be better to make up to Russia, *i.e.* to throw themselves voluntarily into the hungry mouth of the Bear, than to try to come to terms with Germany. This idea, current in England for some time past, has lately been promulgated with great persistency. The *National Review* has expressed itself very strongly on this point, and Sir Rowland Blennerhassett suggests, forsooth, to appease the anger and the hunger of the Northern Colossus, the giving him an entrance into the Persian Gulf. Such a remedy must inevitably accelerate the downfall of England. Russia cannot and must not be allowed to proceed on her southward course. All the excuses proffered to justify this aggressive policy are null and void, and can only deceive those who willingly close their eyes. First the parole was the stability of the frontiers against restless nomads and unruly countries; then came the watchword, admittance to the Persian Gulf; and now lately it is a larger market for Russian industry. As experience in Central Asia has proved, Russia very soon desisted from firmly fixing her frontiers, and proceeded to make fresh conquests and fresh frontiers. The outlet into the Southern Ocean will create an appetite for the acquisition of southern territory; and lastly, as regards the inevitable necessity for a larger market, it is a remarkable fact that Russian industry cannot even on native soil contend with foreign competition.

These and similar excuses can only deceive those who, not taking into consideration the spirit of Russian statesmanship, will not see that Russia is a military State *par excellence*, and is goaded on to this policy of conquest by many and various circumstances. Militarism, the indispensable outcome of strict despotism, can only be enticed and upheld by war and the prospect of decorations, promotions, and increased pay. Human flesh, moreover, is cheaper in the Czar's dominions than in the West, and in view of the declared complaisance of our Cabinets, almost verging upon submissiveness, as

regards Russian politics, it is not surprising that Russia is encouraged in her aggressive plans and has not yet appeased her hunger and will not be satisfied for a good while to come. Under these conditions treaties with Russia cannot be taken in earnest; she breaks them as soon as they become troublesome, and if anyone has had an opportunity of convincing himself of this unreliableness, it surely is England. For the rest the Russophile politicians on the Thames vainly endeavour by their solicitations to bring about the long-desired understanding, for the Russian Press has point-blank refused it. In the course of the nineteenth century St. Petersburg has more than once approached the St. James's Cabinet with amicable overtures, but at present Russia acts the proud and haughty rival, puffed up with success, and in the arrogant consciousness of her superiority she is not amenable to any proposals.

In Germany great cautiousness has been observed as regards the relation between the two great rival Powers, and even the most enraged enemies of England have not yet committed themselves so far as to desire the destruction of England and the promotion of their own plans in Western Asia, with the alternative of an alliance with Russia. The German Government occupies quite a different standpoint from that of public opinion. The friendly feelings of the German Emperor towards the English Court may, to a certain extent, be due to the close family tie which unites them, but the tendency of the Imperial politics during the time of England's difficulties in South Africa, and the sharp contest between the monarch and his people ensuing, amply prove that his sympathies are more with England than with Russia. The German public will not hear a word of this, but in Russia they cannot be deceived; hence in the Russian Press the growing animosity against everything German, and particularly against the Bagdad line and the almighty German influence on the Golden Horn. The question is now: Will Germany be able and willing to overcome *alone* this opposition of the Russian Colossus in Asia, or will she deem it more advantageous to join that other Power who, in consequence of their common interest, has the same enemy to fight, and in order to avert the threatening danger is bound to find an ally? Of course, as in England, so also in Germany, there are those who in their national pride and self-confidence fancy they can stand alone. They do not realise the gravity of the position, and do not consider the ways and means which the enemy has at his disposal. Let them nurse their fanciful illusions; a deeper insight and a fuller appreciation of existing difficulties will show the untenableness of this policy. From the German point of view, the fact may not be lost sight of that the preponderance of Germany in Turkey is not by any means so firmly grounded as to form a sure foundation for the building of further plans. For the present it is merely the Sultan and his Court who foster and promulgate these

German sympathies; to the Turkish people, strong conservatives like all Orientals, the name *Aleman* has still too foreign a sound, while they are quite familiar with the names of *Fransiz* (French) and *İngiliz* (English). Moreover, we must not forget that Sultan Abdul Hamid, a man of great ability, is, on account of his absolutism, not nearly so beloved by the Osmanlis as Germany would have us believe. And the old Oriental saying, 'El nas ala dini mulukuhum,' i.e. 'The people follow the faith of their ruler,' has in Turkey and Persia lost much of its ancient charm. It is not only the organs of Young Turkey which keep up a constant brisk war against the Turko-German alliance and the increase of German influences, but the greater part of the official world and the educated people look upon the friendly Germanised politics of the Sultan with displeasure. A superficial knowledge of the Turkey of to-day may contradict the existence of public opinion in the Ottoman Empire, but this view is incorrect, for in the present-day Turkey the Press is a factor not to be despised; the people are beginning to think for themselves, and whether, in the event of a change of ruler, German influence may not grow less or even suffer a total reverse is still an open question. For such and similar eventualities an understanding between Germany and England would be highly advisable. England still possesses in a great measure the sympathies of the Ottoman people, and two-thirds of the Efendi world in Constantinople look even now expectantly towards the shores of the Thames, as is proved by the flight of the Great Vizier Kütchük Said Pasha to the palace of the English Embassy, and by the temporary Turkish deputation also taking refuge in the English Embassy at Constantinople.

But, apart from these circumstances, does Germany really think that Russia will so easily put up with the frustration of her plans in Asia Minor, which must result in damage to her most vital interests? These interests are partly of a commercial, partly of a political nature, and date not from to-day or yesterday, but from a political and military activity a hundred years back. As is well known, Russia, in 1768, under Catherine the Second, reminded the Catholicos Simon that her predecessors on the Russian throne, Peter the Great and Catherine, had granted their imperial protection to the Armenians in Turkey. Paul the First also was in correspondence with the prelates of the Armenian Church, Ghukas and Arguthianz; and when Russia, after the incorporation of Georgia, had entered upon wars with both Persia and Turkey, the Armenians especially sympathised with Russia. Even at that time Russia had already sown the seed which germinated in the latest Armenian movement, and only the fear lest the encouragements and the instigations of the Armenians under Turkish dominion should lead to a liberty movement among their fellow-believers and tribesmen in the Caucasus, restrained

the Court of St. Petersburg from rendering any active support to the rebels in Turkish Armenia. The empty speeches and endless deceptions of the Russians have already disillusioned the Armenians; but on the Neva it is still believed that Russia has a hold on the Armenian Christians for the realisation of her own purposes.

The propagandism of the Russian Church has only lately enticed the Nestorians of the Kurdish mountains within the net of her intrigues; and, in the hope of some time making its way across the Armenian heights into southern parts, Russian diplomacy has extracted from the Sultan the promise that in the north of Asia Minor no foreign Power except Russia shall receive any railway concession. One must have an intimate knowledge of the chicaneries of the Russian consuls and agents in Asia Minor to be convinced that the gentlemen on the Neva will not so easily relinquish to anyone, and least of all to Germany, the long-cherished plan of occupying an influential position in Anatolia. Russia looks upon this portion of the Ottoman States as already under her thumb, a prize which cannot escape her. Now when Germany, as may be foreseen, through the Bagdad line, blocks the way southward to commercial Russia, is it likely that they on the Neva will quietly acquiesce and perhaps withdraw? Russia retracing her footsteps and going in an opposite direction, *i.e.* from south to north? Such a thing has not been known in modern history except at Kuldja in Chinese Turkestan, where Russia went back to take a better start for the conquering of Kashgar; and since a Russian retreat in Asia Minor cannot be anticipated, and the peaceful living together of two rivals is also impossible for any length of time, it becomes absolutely impossible to prevent a collision between Russia and Germany in Anatolia.

It is therefore no empty speech when we maintain that the struggle between Slavs and Germans will not come to an outbreak on the Vistula or on the Memel, but in Asia Minor; and since the German Empire, in spite of the great and mighty army at her disposal and in spite of her present exceptionally favourable position, will try to put off the evil moment as long as possible, one cannot fail to recognise that an alliance with England in Asia becomes an absolute necessity.

## X

When once England has realised that, in order to maintain the integrity of her power, she will have in future to take a different course from the one hitherto pursued; that her dominion over the seas is not sufficient by itself to render her Transatlantic possessions the necessary assistance and protection; and moreover that her political and commercial interests absolutely demand her association with some other strong and healthy State, who shares her hopes and aspirations and has the same ultimate end in view, then the question

of her integrity in Asia will easily be settled. At no time, and least of all now that the contest for commercial advantages occupies the first place, can a nation, through isolation, obtain permanent advantages. The proud self-consciousness of entering the much-desired arena alone and unattended, and maintaining the struggle without support, without co-operation—this feeling must be conquered in England, and the record of her glorious past and the brilliant results obtained until now without any alliance will save Albion's banner from any blame or blemish. But there are internal changes needed as well as external ones. The time demands transformations and improvements which so far the nation's insular pride has discarded, because hitherto without these England's politics, commerce, and ethics have reached a height of perfection not vouchsafed to any other country. This fact has made England presumptuous and egotistic, which is annoying to her neighbours and harmful to herself. The sun which never sets upon the British King's dominions has dazzled her eyes, and the proverb, *Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis*, is often forgotten. England has rendered inestimable service to Western culture in the East, the liberal ideas of her people have had a stimulating and energising influence upon the development of Western institutions; but in the rapid growth of civilisation in the nineteenth century many of her neighbours have overtaken, nay, even got in advance of her. England's customary depreciation of 'foreigners' is no longer justified, and the deficiencies and discrepancies resulting from the rigidly conservative spirit of the islanders need thorough and speedy attention. So, for instance, education has been sadly neglected in England, and the mediæval system still in vogue at the Universities has crippled many a branch of modern learning. The instruction in geography and ethnography, as also the study of modern languages, is at a very low standard, and an infinitesimally small percentage of the young men from Oxford, Cambridge, Harrow, &c. are able to converse and write fluently in a foreign language; very few of them have an accurate knowledge of the ethnographical and ethnological conditions of the various nationalities subject to England, and to whom in after life they are often called to be leaders and masters. In my many wanderings in all directions through the United Kingdom, I have been astonished to notice the gross ignorance and cold indifference, even in the very centres of industry and commerce, regarding the land and the people of the British colonies and possessions. These things have often saddened me, and I ask myself 'How will these people ever be able to protect the realm founded by the strength and perseverance and patriotism of their forefathers, in the coming struggle against their rivals?'

When Englishmen complain that Americans and Germans are dangerous rivals in the world's market-place, and do considerable

harm to the once proverbially flourishing trade of Great Britain, they seem to forget that with those people the study of chemistry and mechanics, with a view to their practical application, has been far more thoroughly and universally pursued than in England. Also the manners and customs, the needs and the tastes of the inhabitants of far-distant places, where trade finds markets, have been studied far more keenly by the Continental commercial travellers than by the English. The latter take things far too easily, and, trusting too much to their own supremacy, many an advantage has been lost; the pupils have outstripped their master, and anger and envy are of little avail now. Nothing but an energetic pulling of oneself together, a thorough clearance of all the old system of education, can render assistance here. The exaggerated preponderance of sport and athletics at the English Universities will hardly maintain the political and commercial position of the land, and Rudyard Kipling is perfectly right when he says in his poem, 'The Islanders':

And ye vaunted your fathomless power and flaunted your iron pride,  
Ere ye fawned on the younger nations for the men who could shoot and ride,  
Then ye returned to your trinkets, then ye contented your souls  
With the flannelled fools at the wicket or the muddled oafs at the goals.

They who estimate England's historical calling at its true value must acknowledge that her general level of scientific proficiency does not occupy the height which might be expected from her noble deeds in the past, and that the number of experts does not compare favourably with the total of her population, as for instance in Germany. This want is particularly noticeable with regard to the countries and peoples of the Moslemic East. Men like Sir Henry Rawlinson, Lord Strangford, Sir Richard Burton, and others who have combined a thorough knowledge of the literatures, languages, and history of Asia with a careful practical knowledge of each people in particular, and who are acquainted with the political questions of the day, are difficult to find nowadays; and the want of their advice, founded on the experience of many years, is grievously felt by the Government. A more general and lively interest in Asiatic events in all circles of English society would induce Parliament also to forego that tardiness and indifference which the representatives of the people have of late years shown in the discussion of the most serious questions, and which, as the chief cause of the sleepiness and indecision of the Government, imperil the interests of the State. The fact that Russia, without a strong constitutional and parliamentary government, has become great and mighty is not at all conclusive; for a patriotic, impartial representation of the people is far more likely to act satisfactorily on the constitution of a mighty empire than the will of an absolute, autocratic ruler. The creations of the free man rest on a far more solid basis than those of the slave who works



under coercion and oppression, and the means and the spirit which have helped to make England great will also be able to uphold her.

The many losses under which England smarts can, unfortunately, not be ignored, and a transformation is all the more imperatively necessary as now there are still time and opportunity to turn over a new leaf; for the star of Great Britain has not yet sunk so low as her ill-wishers and enemies try to make out. Wealth, prosperity, and national greatness have been, and always will be, displeasing to the neighbouring States; and the dark prognostication of the adversary, *Finis Britannicæ*, is unjustifiable. When England's many enemies and ill-wishers made, as they thought, the happy discovery that the South African thorn had burst the soap-bubble of British power and laid bare the deceitful game of Great Albion, we might have asked: Why then did they not make a better use of the powerlessness of the enemy, why did they not take advantage of this alleged weakness and helplessness? England's military forces were two thousand miles distant from their base, and yet Russia, ready-armed to the teeth on the frontiers of the English sphere of interest, never made one move to further the realisation of her heartfelt desire. And France also wisely hid her revengeful feelings about Fashoda, not out of humanity or kindness, but in the full consciousness that the lion who had had his mane somewhat crumpled was still a lion, and that a coming to close quarters with the enraged animal would not be advisable. No, no, England's flag is not yet down on the ground; John Bull still stands firm on his feet, and along the whole line of the disputed territory in Asia he can with confidence undertake the campaign against his adversaries.

When thus cursorily glancing over the state of affairs it would be idle to speculate as to the ultimate downfall of England in Asia; and as regards the Russian side of the question it is equally unprofitable to prognosticate from the feelers which have been sent out, as to the unavoidable despotic power of the Czar over the greater part of Asia. On the old-world stage transformation scenes are slowly and heavily enacted, and the exorbitant zeal of the money-loving, grasping West cannot so easily alter this. The delay may cool the ardour of some of the combatants, but it will enable England to procure the means for securing her position and warding off the threatening danger. The enemies and ill-wishers of England are mistaken when they declare that the extraordinary exertions of the British Empire in Africa are made in the consciousness of her unavoidable downfall in Asia, and that the conquests made in the Dark Continent are to replace the lost position in Asia.

No, it has not come to this yet! Such an eventuality would be fatal not only for England but for all our cultural interests in Asia. In Western lands people have got the erroneous notion that the Russians are more competent to educate and to raise the people of

Asia than are the English, because the former have so many attributes of an Asiatic nature, while the latter are animated by purely Western ideas. In everyday life this is quite true, but it does not necessarily apply to the final results of education and refinement. At best Russia can only make out of Asiatics semi-Asiatics, *i.e.* Russians, while England kneads the foreign material into quite another shape, and changes Asiatics into regular Europeans. In spite of nearly forty years of Russian influence, Bokhara and China have lost little if any of the raw, barbarous customs of their former anarchic and despotic government, while, for instance, the feudal States of India continually increase in order, peace, and obedience to the law. In the States of the Nizam, Baroda, Bhopal and others, the formerly servile population breathes freely, and when one reads the annual reports of the Government of the small Gondal State, whose ruler, for the benefit of his subjects, studied medicine in Edinburgh, one almost seems to be reading the administrative report of some civilised European State. I do not even refer here to the gigantic strides made by Asiatics under the immediate management of England, *i.e.* of the mighty progress of public instruction, literature, and liberal ideas among the native Hindoos, for such a height the Asiatic subjects of the Czar will never attain to. After more than three hundred years of Russian dominion, the education of Bashkirs, Kazanis, and other Tartars shows hardly any growth. England as torch-bearer of our culture in Asia could not easily be replaced, and the sovereignty of Russia over the old world would be a misfortune not only for Asia but also for Europe.

A. VAMBERY.

*Budapest University: February 15th, 1903.*

## THE SUCCESS OF AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS

SOME time ago I held conversation with a Spanish gentleman who had been making a tour of England. 'Yes,' he said, in reply to an inviting question of mine, 'I have seen many things that have filled me with wonder: the rush of business in London, the magnificence of your buildings, the keenness in trade. I have seen your great steelworks in Sheffield, your busy Black Country about Birmingham, your shipbuilding yards on the Clyde-side, and your great cotton-factories in Lancashire. It is all marvellous. But I wouldn't like to be an Englishman. I am glad to be going back to my own sunny Spain. We're a poor people, but we get some brightness out of life. We've got no great commerce to be proud of; but then we've got no country bleached of all beauty, as I've seen in your Black Country; we've got no crowds of young men and women in consumption from working in mills, as in Yorkshire and Lancashire. You're a great people, a mighty industrial nation. But what a price you are paying for it! I'm going back to my orange trees and sunshine and happiness.'

At the time I thought little of my friend's outburst. Recently I have been recalling it every day. For I have returned from a mission of inquiry into industrial conditions prevailing in the United States. I have been coming in contact with many British manufacturers, and the reply they have invariably given, when I have pictured to them the dash, the sweeping success of industrial America, has been, 'Oh, yes, the Americans are a great people. But we in England don't live to work: we work to live. What is the good of being alive if you have to slave from morning till night as those Yanks do? Look at the price they are paying! They are old men before they are forty. They are all anxious and careworn. They can talk about nothing but money-making. We've no city of suicides, as Allegheny is, outside Pittsburg—where the life is sapped out of the workpeople—and, thank God, we have no hustling commercialism as in Chicago. We can do without the rush the Americans think so necessary. We haven't got so many millionaires, but we've got healthy men. Old England is good enough for us.'

As I have heard something like this from manufacturers in all parts of Great Britain, my recollection has skipped back to what the Spaniard said. The thought has crept into my mind that the Spaniard was a little envious of England's commercial greatness, and yet made himself quite happy by giving a modern turn to the old story of the fox and the grapes. And, honestly, I have not yet convinced myself that the average British manufacturer—in his inclination to suggest that he could do as well as the American if he were disposed, but that he does not simply because he doesn't think it worth while—is not taking up a point of view regarding America the same as the Spaniard took regarding England.

It is a happy but a dangerous point of view, because it is so plausible, because it produces a placid contentment and a serene, superior smile that the Englishman is not such a fool as the American. At the best, however, it is a little bit of ingenious self-deception.

What we British people have first to get rid of in considering industrial America is the Spanish attitude. We have only to look round our own country to admit in our minds, if we hesitate to express it with our lips, that the reason British manufacturers do not commercially go the pace is not because they do not want to, but because they cannot.

As the result of my investigations in the United States two things came out most prominently: first, that the British artisan is superior to the American workman; and, secondly, that the American manufacturer, the employer, the director of labour, is infinitely superior to his British prototype. The chief reason America is bounding ahead as an industrial nation is not excellence of workmanship, but ability in administration, in control, in being adaptable to the necessities of the day.

We in England must go back thirty or sixty years to find the origin of most of the huge manufacturing concerns in Great Britain. They began in small, insignificant ways, and they climbed to eminence in far less than a generation. Their founders were, in the main, superior artisans; long-sighted, industrious men, having little concern for anything outside their own trade; concentrating all their physical and mental energies; tumbling back, year after year, all their earnings into the business, and so rearing firms famed the world over not only for capacity but for the excellence of work. Those men sprang from a robust, unpampered common people. Their grammar might have been shaky, but they knew everything about every department of their works. They had rather a contempt for the tinsel life of society. They gave body and soul to business.

Such men, builders-up of Great Britain's industrial greatness, belong to a past generation. Their works are now under the control of their sons or their grandsons, excellent men, but lacking the grit of the men whose portrait, in oils, hangs in the main office. It is

not in any reason to be expected they should have that grit. They have lacked the essential that spurred the founder of the business to success—necessity. They were born into success. They have spent several years following academic courses at a university; they have developed cultured tastes; their range of interests has been widened; the calls of public life have induced them to give a portion of their time to educational, philanthropic, municipal, or political affairs; the demands of society have not infrequently led them to sporting with time in a way which must make 'the old gentleman' whose portrait is in the office positively spin in his grave with wrath. They are charming men, the heads of Great Britain's industrial concerns; they play golf and they entertain well. But they would never have been as wealthy as they are if it hadn't been for their fathers or grandfathers. They are touched with the inertia consequent on riches. The reputation of their firms has been so high for a quarter of a century that they think it as solid as the British Constitution. They have had no incentive to slog and slave like the Americans. They belong to the second or the third generation.

All this is, of course, a generalisation, and, like most generalisations, cannot be made to apply to particular cases. But it is, I believe, a generalisation which accurately represents the position of the mass of British manufacturers.

The American manufacturers of the present day are of the first generation. They are the kind of men, with differences, such as we had in England half a century ago creating mighty industrial concerns. Take up a catalogue of big American firms, and you will be surprised at the tiny percentage that did not start from practical nothings, and whose heads did not launch first into business with the proverbial shilling. Once I was talking to a millionaire, and in reply to an airy question of mine what was the first ingredient to make a man as wealthy as himself he replied, 'Poverty!'

Here, then, is one of the foundations of the colossal success attained by so many American firms: that their directors came from rough stock, many of them immigrants or the children of immigrants—men who had the initial courage to break with the old ties in Europe, to forsake their homeland, their friends, and go into a strange world with a healthy determination as their only asset; men, indeed, who have had to shift for themselves, who have not sunk because they have been obliged to put forth all their energies to swim, who have had the whole world to combat, and who, by the necessities of the struggle, have been obliged to put every pounce of brain into their work.

The American has had the best of incentives—'Had to'—and his brain has been strained, often to snapping, to gain all points that mean advantage. These men are often loud-mannered and dragging-

tongued; they display a lack of refinement which makes a cold shiver run down one's back in talking to them. But probably the fathers and grandfathers of our present-day British manufacturers had like failings. The point, however, to be considered in this matter of comparison is that the Americans have been through the mill: their whole life is absorbed in their business; their conversation hardly ever gets beyond the radius of how more dollars can be made. You can never forget that here are men who give every moment of their life to their work. I do not put it forward as a noble life, but it is the life that makes successful business men.

The American is a polyglot composition. We British folk chaff him on his habit of 'blowing,' of always making out his firm as twice as successful as it really is, and of declaring his machine will do three times as much as it can actually do. Still, we have a fondness for the American. But the fondness is not returned. Ambassadors, I know, say agreeable things in after-dinner speeches at Fourth of July celebrations. Go, however, among the common people and read the 'Yellow Press'—and if the common people and the Yellow Press don't represent educated America they do represent American feeling and sentiment and antipathy—and there you will find a resentment toward the nations of Europe. There is nothing of this to be seen in the pleasant social circles to which the average visiting Briton is introduced. It exists strongly, undeniably, among the masses, and these are the people, more than in any other country, who count in America. The reason is not far to seek. The majority of Americans are not more than a single generation removed from being Europeans themselves. They left the old countries with no love in their hearts. For a long time they have been the butt of ridicule to polite society in Europe. They have felt as the new rich always feel—that in manners they are not standing on safe ground; they have resented the contemptuous smile of the other countries, and they have convinced themselves that European countries 'are back-numbers anyhow, and don't cut no ice!'

It has not been the paupers of Europe who have gone to make the American people, but rather men determined, and maybe a little rancorous under a sense of curbed ambition, who have thrown off old ties. The immigrant races are mixed by marriage. So a new race—not a branch of the Anglo-Saxon at all—has sprung into existence with that alertness of brain you invariably find in the offspring of mixed peoples. They start fresh, with no local customs, with no traditions, with nothing but the feeling they are a new nation, somewhat sneered at by the other nations of which they have to get abreast. Not quite confident where they are exactly, the Americans make a bold shot and declare they are first. This, indeed, is the perpetual song of the newspapers. In England we constantly tell one another Great Britain is going to the devil. Americans always tell one

another America is the leading nation on the face of the earth. An English manufacturer receives a big order and is not at all desirous other firms in the same line should know it. When an American manufacturer receives an order it is blared to the world, and he is interviewed. The English manufacturer has ideas about 'reserve' and 'dignity.' The American sticks all his goods in his shop-window for the world to gape at. He is cocksure; he is buoyant; he is absolutely certain of success. So, breezily, with slap-dash rush, 'joshing'—not being accurate in his facts—he pushes ahead in a way that startles the Englishman.

Therefore, in considering America at work there are these important factors not to be lost sight of: that the American is always enthusiastic; that he is the son of a virile race, with a quickness, an adroitness of intellect that is the result of mixed breeding; and that the heads of firms are mostly men who sprang from the people, are the makers of their own lives, and know their business through and through.

It is within the reach of every American to be a landed proprietor for himself; at least, to own sufficient ground to provide for himself and his family. It is this bottom fact which accounts for high wages in the United States. Where every man can work for himself, extra pay, compared with what he could get in other countries, must be offered to induce him to work for another man. Therefore wages are much higher than in Great Britain. Wages, however, are only comparable when you take into account their purchasing power. To the rude immigrant, the Irishman, the Swede, the German, the Hungarian, the Italian, the French-Canadian, American wages are phenomenal. To the British working man, however, the wage is only large as a figure. Wages both in England and America are on the upward trend. But while wages in America have, within the last ten years, increased 2 per cent., the cost of living in the Eastern States has increased 10 per cent., and westward, in a place like Chicago, it has gone up 40 per cent. So the real wages of the American worker are considerably lower than they were ten years ago. I know that in many industries the increase of wages has been 10 per cent.; but in striking an average it has to be borne in mind that in all work not actually physical—that is, in all work that is clerical, administrative, supervisory—the wage has decreased. And here we get just a glimpse of a state of things coming about in America that we are very familiar with in Britain—a fondness of the new generation for the towns rather than for the country, a distaste for labour that means grimy hands and mucky clothes, and a flocking to work which gives a clean collar and passable cuffs, but a wage inferior to that of a mechanic.

Wages vary in different parts of the continent, and the extraordinary fact is that where the wages are largest in cash they are the

smallest in value, because the purchasing power is less. For instance, wages are lower in Massachusetts than in Illinois. But the working man, if he keeps a bank-book, would have a better balance to show at the end of a year were he in Boston than if he lived exactly the same way in Chicago. Speaking in the aggregate, however, I may say that whilst the working man in America earns quite half as much again as the Briton, he has to pay three times as much for rent, twice as much for clothes, whilst the food, roughly speaking, comes to about the same. Having gone carefully into this question I find that the working man in the East is better off than his British friend, whilst the working man in the West is less well off, despite the fact that he receives excellent wages in cash.

The great fact to be reckoned with is that the American manufacturer has to pay big wages in producing an article which is going to compete in cash value with a similar article produced in countries where wages are comparatively low. In the home market he has largely resisted foreign competition by means of excessive tariffs. His woollen goods are rather beneath contempt, not because he cannot produce a much better article—he did that when the tariff was lower and English cloth was a thing to be considered—but because he has no competition from the outside. A curious point is that, in those industries which are most fully protected by tariff, Americans do not at all show that adaptiveness remarkable in all other industries where there is fierce competition—the iron trade and shoe industry are random instances—chiefly because there are no circumstances of competition to which they are called upon to adapt themselves.

The line of progress in adaptability has been in those trades that have had to grapple with European competition. On one side of the Atlantic there have been low wages, on the other side high wages. But manufacturers who have paid and are paying high wages are frequently wresting trade from those who pay low by producing a similar article at a lesser price. Labour-saving machinery has given them the power.

Cause and effect are at work in all things, and labour-saving machinery has been brought into existence in America, not because the American happens to have the inventive faculty more largely developed than has the European—indeed, all who have considered this matter scientifically know that the American mind is not creative: it is adaptive, appreciative of the value of invention—but because that stumbling-block of high wages, which stood in the way of competition with cheaply produced European goods met in the open market, had to be overcome.

If you are in New York, take a walk along Broadway—or, indeed, any of the main streets—and glance at the names of the shopkeepers. It is rather the exception to see a name with a British flavour. Go,



however, to the Patent Office at Washington, and run your eye along the lists of inventors, and you are amazed at the vast majority of names being British. Not by any means are they all of Americans who come from a British stock; but a great many of them are of men with a British domicile who have patented their inventions in the United States because the American Patent Office is infinitely superior to our own, and because the American manufacturer is keen after anything and everything that is novel and an improvement. In England, when a man thinks he has invented something, and has patented it, and has possibly leased it to a manufacturing firm, there is the likelihood of an action at law for infringement put forward by some other inventor or firm. Having it decided in the Law Courts, whether a thing is a patent or not, is expensive. I can well understand British manufacturers hesitating to make a mighty plunge with a new idea, because of the dread of having to defend an action for infringement. There is, however, no such trouble in America. The administration of the law in the United States is almost as dilatory as in Turkey—and there are other points of resemblance—but as regards the law on patents it is effective and decisive. A man sends his invention to the Patent Office at Washington. It will take anything from six months to two years to get it through. It is the staff of the Patent Office which finds out whether there is an infringement or not. If it decides it is a new idea—that, indeed, it is a patent—a document to that effect is issued, and then no small firm which takes up the idea need be in any dread of having to fight a big firm in the Law Courts.

Neither the British employer nor the British workman is so alive as the American to the practicability of an invention. The British manufacturer is sometimes suspicious of a new invention brought to him. In considering it he focuses his criticism on possible drawbacks; he says he will think about it; that perhaps he will give it a trial; that he will see how some other firm prospers before he spends any money on it! When there is a mishap he rather prides himself on his sapience, and reminds you of his original opinion with 'I told you so.' The American manufacturer is hardly ever an adverse critic to a new idea simply because it is a new idea. He doesn't want to see how other firms get on with it before he ventures: if there is anything in it, he wants to get right away ahead before anybody else has a chance. He sees quickly enough where faults are. He doesn't, however, throw a thing on one side because of the faults. He sets about trying to put them right. It is the idea he is after, and, as a practical man, he will work out the ideas. Let me give a remarkable instance. Nikola Tesla is regarded by many electricians as a visionary, a flamboyant expounder of the impracticable. They do not see beyond his theatrical posing. But Mr. George Westinghouse, head of the Westinghouse Electrical Works at East Pittsburg, has

seen beyond. Through much vapour he has discerned germs of genius. As placed before him by Nikola Tesla many ideas were unworkable. But there were the ideas, the suggestion of possibilities, and Mr. Westinghouse himself is a practical man and he has practical engineers in his service. Much has been discarded; yet some of the most valuable inventions belonging to the Westinghouse Company were, I am informed, the outcome originally of Nikola Tesla's brain.

Many inventions in active use in America to-day are the creations of Englishmen which no manufacturer in England thought well to take up. In the first state they were probably not worth taking up. But it was the American who grasped the thing, who altered, adapted, and improved the invention, and made it valuable. It is to be noted how many are the inventions respecting railway engineering, brought out by Englishmen, not used in Great Britain, but in general adoption in America.

The most striking recent instance of an English invention not being appreciated in England, but being adapted in America, is the Northrop loom. Here is an ingenious loom invented by a Yorkshireman, which automatically, when a warp breaks, stops the machine instantly, and does not go on weaving defective cloth. It requires an English girl of experience to look after three or four ordinary looms, being ready to run to a machine the moment her quick eye discerns a break, to stop it and repair the warp; and she is not always successful in avoiding a stretch with a missing thread because, while she is repairing one machine, another may go wrong. With the Northrop loom, however, a little girl, fresh from school, with not more than a fortnight's experience, can look after *twenty* looms.

When I went through the cotton-mills at Fall River last autumn I saw thousands of the Northrop looms at work. Until quite recently there was not, I believe, a single Northrop loom in all Lancashire—the centre of the cotton industry of the world—and even now, I understand, only one firm has adopted them to any extent. The criticism of Lancashire manufacturers against the loom was that the English warp was so fine it would not bear the strain of the automatic mechanism, and the reason its use has been possible in the States is that the warp is rough and stronger. But it should not be forgotten that when the loom was first taken to America it was by no means perfect, even for rough and strong warp. There was no doubt, however, about the invention being of use the moment it was adapted. English manufacturers hung back from any attempt at adaptation, and only now, when improvements have been effected by the Americans, are our own manufacturers waking to the possibility—probability, maybe, very likely—that the Northrop loom can be made serviceable in the Lancashire mills.

Now, whatever trade-union leaders say to the contrary, there

is in the mind of the British workman an objection to labour-saving machinery. The motive of resistance, from his limited point of view, is not altogether unworthy. He has a wife and children to keep, and increased machinery may throw him out of work. Certainly it will reduce the number of workmen, and if he himself does not suffer, then his fellows are likely to be dismissed. It is the same feeling which causes him to 'ca' canny,' to work much slower than he can work. If he does twice as much work as he has been doing, that implies, to his mind, he is keeping some other chap out of a job. 'Live and let live' is his easy philosophy. Trade unions have laws which absolutely restrict the output, most pernicious in effect on trade and bad for the good worker, because they make him set his pace to that of the slow man, and keep his earnings down though they help up the wages of the incompetent.

Already in America there are signs of the trade unions urging restriction of output. But there is no animosity to labour-saving machinery.

The British workman is the most intelligent of his class in the world. Give him time, and he will turn out a better article than anybody else. Send him to America, and, when he has got rid of his sluggishness, the American worker becomes but a boastful second-rater alongside him. But the American is alert, and does not feel that new machinery is going to displace him. It is exceptional indeed for a British employer to get an improvement on machinery suggested by a workman. In the first place, the British workman has not that zest for his work which the American has; in the second place, it is none of his business to invent; in the third, even if he thought of an improvement, he has a shyness about approaching the employer; fourthly, the chances are he might be snubbed for his trouble.

Nothing like this exists in America. There is a much closer relationship between employer and workman. The one calls the other 'boss,' but it is only a term, and is no admission the employer is his master. He gives good work for good dollars. On how a thing should be done he will 'cheek' back his employer. There is no 'Yes, sir,' and doing the thing the wrong way simply because the employer proposed that way. The workman knows if he strikes an improvement it is going to be a good thing for him personally. If he thinks of some alteration whereby he can turn out twice as much, he knows the employer won't expect him to turn out twice as much for the same pay. They are partners, and the workman will get at least half the advantage. So there is an incentive to all the mechanics of America to adapt. They make it their business to improve, and it is by this wholesale adoption of labour-saving machinery that the difficulty of high wages has been largely overcome.

But there is another result. With almost everything being done by machinery there is no need for skilled artisanship. The brains are in the machine, and all the manufacturer requires is somebody to look after the machine. That is often a simple matter. So what a British workman learns to do after seven years' apprenticeship is, in America, done by a machine looked after by a lad who has had only a fortnight's tuition.

That is why as the Englishman walks through American workshops he is startled to see so few middle-aged men. What is done by a man of forty in England is done by a lad of twenty in America, and where we would employ lads the Americans employ girls. Go into the Westinghouse works at East Pittsburg, and you will see a thousand girls engaged in making delicate electrical appliances. Go into any of the big shoe manufactories at Brockton or Lynn, near Boston, and again you will see thousands of girls. The increase in the employment of women and children is altogether out of proportion to the increase in the employment of men in the States.

Here, then, you have the American manufacturer equipping himself for commercial competition by getting the brains into the machines and getting cheap labour to work them—cheap labour, that is, in comparison with what he would have to pay were his workmen skilled artisans, as they are in a British workshop. But he goes further. He specialises. He does not try to make twenty things in engineering. He makes one thing, be it bridges or locomotives, or reapers, or machine-tools. He focuses on one thing, makes his splash in advertising that one thing, gets a reputation for that one thing. But in it there may be a hundred parts. He specialises his workpeople in making those separate parts. They have one little thing to do, and they do that, and nothing else, year in and year out. It may be the punching of a hole. I have seen an American workman do a monotonous thing a thousand times a day—a thing which you cannot get out of your mind as positively deadening to the intellect, and which you would think would drive a man of intelligence to madness in a fortnight. It is all done with a speed that is amazing, and which I fancy no English workman would continue for a week. But the American finds fascination in his adroitness, in the very clatter of multitudinous repetition. He is unequalled as a worker; but put him alongside an English artisan and you find that in excellence he is far surpassed. Yet over all that specialisation is the marvellous administration of the employer, so that parts meet parts and, like the action of a beautiful piece of clockwork, the article is brought to completion.

Here arises a very legitimate criticism, often heard in Great Britain, that in wear and tear the American article does not last as long as the British. That is correct. But the American tells you, with a smile, that he doesn't make things to last an eternity. He

makes them to last only sufficiently long. Take the manufacture of boots, about which we have lately heard a great deal. The American manufacturer has invaded the British market, and while the sale of British boots has decreased in our colonies, that of American boots has increased. This is not because the American boot wears better than the British. It does not. A finely made British boot is the best in the world. But in the average boot, the boot which the average person wears, which he buys ready-made in a shop at from 12s. 6d. to 25s. a pair, the American article is more popular. It looks neater; there are so many different widths and half sizes that it fits at the start; you have not to be satisfied with it being 'all right in a few days, sir.' The British boot manufacturers tried to laugh American competition out of existence. Then they took to American methods, and to-day all the largest British boot manufactories are fitted with American machinery. Indeed, all the most ingenious devices in the manufacture of a shoe came from the other side of the Atlantic. It is not enough to tell the public the British shoe wears longer than the American. We don't buy our boots and shoes to wear to the last eighth of an inch. We buy them to fit us and serve us for a time, wanting them to look neat and not be heavy and clumsy. There the American showed the way.

Take railway locomotives. Several of our big lines have tried American-built engines. Generally speaking, they have been pronounced a failure: they consume more coal than English engines, and they spend too much of their time in the repairing-sheds. But there are several things to be borne in mind. The American builds a locomotive to last ten years. The British maker takes pride in pointing out engines in this country that have run forty years. The American engine is built to drag immense loads. It has an enormous haulage power; it consequently consumes much coal. In England or the States it uses the same amount of fuel. But whilst in the States it has a giant's work to do in haulage, in England it has only an infant's work by comparison. 'Put the same weight behind our engine in England,' says the American maker, 'as we do in America, and then you will find while it consumes more coal it earns more money by the increased haulage capacity.'

It is by the adoption of enormous cars and having locomotives of great haulage power that the cost of conveying freight in America, which formerly was the same as in England, is now less than one-third per average ton. One sees American locomotives all over the world. So one does British, but not in the same proportion. British makers have recently been getting big orders from abroad. This is not because the American engine is being discarded. It is because America is so prosperous—there is such a boom in the home trade that American makers have no opening to fulfil new contracts for two or three years yet. The point, however, is that the American

railroad companies have for a number of years been solving the question of freight charges by the adoption of engines of huge haulage power and cars of thirty-ton capacity. Only recently have the British railways made a move in the same direction.

The American manufacturer has vim and something of the gambler in him. He is thirsty for new ideas; he is daring. Where the Englishman would hesitate and think and calculate, the American will plunge, neck or nothing, at a venture. He can see ahead further than the Englishman. In British works new machinery is fitted up when the old has begun to wear out or when nearly everybody else has it and it is necessary to have it also if trade is to be held. Those are not considerations which weigh with the American manufacturer. His constant criticism against his cousin on this side of the Atlantic is that the Britisher doesn't know the value of a scrap-heap. An American will spend, say, 30,000*l.* in putting in the latest machinery. Six months later some fresh appliance which will do more work and quicker is invented. He does not wait till the machinery he has put in is worn out before adopting the new invention. The machinery fitted six months back may hardly have got into proper working order. But he rips the lot out, he 'scrap-heaps' it, and has the very latest machinery. He sees ahead. He sees how he has practically thrown away 30,000*l.*; but he also sees the gaining of 100,000*l.*

We, in this country, set much store by experience. The American sets more store by youthful enterprise. We think a man who has been in a business for thirty years is the one who ought to know most about it. The American thinks that a man who has been at it so long is certain to have fossilised ideas, and therefore not likely to keep abreast of the needs of the times. We think a youth thrown into responsibility will, likely as not, make a mess of things. The American thinks that responsibility brings ballast and with all the fire of his young manhood a youth will strive night and day to prove the confidence placed in him is well placed. And here the American is right. Time and time again, as I have gone through the workshops of the United States, I have almost been staggered at the mere boys who are managers and heads of departments; not the sons of proprietors, but young fellows who have started at the bottom, proved their grit, shown their energy, and been pushed on to high positions. It is not at all unusual to find a man of twenty-four years having the control of several thousand men. And the fact that a man is young and unmarried is no reason, in the employer's mind, why he should receive comparatively small salary. The question of how cheap you can get such men is not considered. No price is too big to give a lad who has brains and adaptiveness. It is recognised that by paying him well, appreciating him, you fire his enthusiasm.

The tendency within the next decade will be to pay lower wages in America for mere physical labour. The trend is to pay more, never mind what, for brains. Every young American knows this. That is why there is a positive rage for technical instruction and why the technical schools are ever crowded. We have nothing like the same eagerness in Great Britain. After being in America, seeing young mechanics almost starve themselves to pay for a university course—filling in their vacations by acting as waiters in hotels, or tram conductors or bath-chair men—it brings a chill to the heart of a Briton to come home and see hardly any such desire among the British youth, and to see our excellent technical schools appreciated only in a lukewarm way.

I readily recognise there is a stress and a strain in American industrial life which suggest the inquiry, whether, after all, the prize is worth the struggle? I have often shuddered at the thought of what is likely to be the effect on the race of making millions of workers little other than machines. Now and then I have been unable to restrain an open smile at the tremendous conceit of the American manufacturer and his colossal ignorance about things European. But it is not by pooh-poohing his braggadocio, nor by moralising about the grinding conditions of labour, nor by complacently saying British ways are good enough for us, that British manufacturers will stem the tide of American industrial success, which is already more than threatening fields of commerce we had considered exclusively our own. It is not sufficient to point to the fact that British trade is increasing, and so dismiss foreign competition as the nightmare of pessimists. Increase of trade can only be considered comparatively. And while we crawl, America bounds.

JOHN FOSTER FRASER  
(*Author of 'America at Work'.*)

## *THE NEW EDUCATION AUTHORITY FOR LONDON*

WHETHER we like or dislike the educational legislation of last Session, we must admit that the general principles of that Act will be applied to London.

Thus it is waste of time to complain of the imposing on the rate-payers the obligation to maintain schools which they do not manage, the maintenance of tests on teachers, in schools supported entirely at the public expense, and many other glaring defects both of principle and administration in the Act of last Session. The injustice and crudity of that legislation will become more and more patent as years go by, and after much friction will probably lead to the downfall of the denominational schools which the Government have sought to fix permanently on public funds.

For the present let us consider what is inevitable and what may reasonably be modified.

It may be taken as of the essence of the Government policy (1) That privately managed schools shall be supported at the public expense with the minimum of interference which the Act of last year gives to the new authority. (2) That elementary education shall be limited and defined, not as in Scotland with a generous upward extension and with liberal Parliamentary aid, but reaching to about fifteen and a half and limited to day schools; the work of evening schools and of training of pupil teachers passing to the new authority under the head of education other than elementary. (3) That there shall be one authority for primary and other education.

Another point which many persons will consider to have been decided by last year's struggle is that the new authority shall be the authority having charge of other general matters, and not a body charged with education alone.

On this point I would say that the vast extent of London, and the importance and variety of its educational responsibilities, both



existing and prospective, do not make it a consequence necessarily following from the precedent of last year that the general secular authority for London should also take charge of education. The enormous expenditure of the School Board, the new charges and duties resulting from financing the voluntary schools, the existing work of the Technical Board, the expansion of secondary and higher education and the further training of teachers, furnish ample scope for the energies of a body chosen for the work and with no other work to do.

The School Board for London, therefore, in their memorial to the Government urged that a new body should be created, mainly the result of direct election, chosen from the present Parliamentary and County Council constituencies and elected on the same day as the County Council.

Such a course would avoid that multiplicity of elections which has been complained of, and, by leaving the qualifications of candidates open, it would allow the electors the free choice they now have among residents and non-residents, clergy and laity, men and women, which secures such a widely representative character to their School Board members.

It has been urged that the duplication or multiplication of elections on one day will, if it saves trouble to the electors, at the same time diminish their responsibility and interest, and that in the United States this system of voting at once for many offices gives undue power to party organisations. It may be admitted that this is to some extent the case, and that the more issues presented, the greater the number of candidates voted for, the greater would be the risk of this consequence; but for the electors of a Parliamentary division once in three years to have before them the double issue of whom they shall choose on the County Council to manage their larger municipal concerns, whom they shall choose to manage their education, does not seem an undue burden.

It is to be regretted that in any change we must lose the School Board suffrage—far the simplest and fairest of all our local suffrages—the rate-book, automatic and immediate in its operation. It is to be hoped that though for a time this simple register may disappear, it may shortly be re-enacted with a wider range for municipal and Parliamentary elections. We shall then escape the vexation and injustice resulting from disfranchisement on removal, and the long interval between the first occupation and the effective voting power. The School Board proposed that this education authority mainly elected by this direct process should be strengthened by twenty added members from the County Council in consideration of their giving up their present powers under the Technical Acts, and that the new authority should co-opt fifteen more members

especially qualified to discharge educational functions ; and, in order to bring home a sense of responsibility, the local authority should report to the Board of Education the grounds on which each person was co-opted.

I believe that such a board as this would be the best fitted to discharge the duties which would be imposed on it. It would be anxious to promote education, and therefore the friends of denominational schools, whose interests would be safeguarded by law, would find in such a body an authority likely to do their utmost to raise the standard of efficiency in aided schools to the level of the public schools taken over from the School Board. The power of co-opting would bring in men and women familiar hitherto with the quieter paths of education who might be unwilling to face an electorate. At the same time the predominantly elective character of the new authority would give the electors the power of directly impressing their views on those who would determine the expenditure of their money.

It may be, however, that party exigencies make this scheme quite unacceptable to the Government. In that case, as a second best course, what are the essentials to be secured for London education ?

The cost and administration must be one for London as a whole. It seems hardly necessary to prove this. Still one or two reasons may be given.

The wealthier parts of London, such as the City, Westminster, Marylebone, Kensington, Paddington, have comparatively few board schools, but help to share the burden of the schools in such poor and crowded districts as Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, Walworth, Deptford, St. Luke's, Lambeth, Fulham, and other parts of London. That the wealth of London by concentration in special districts should escape its share of the common cost of education would be unfair if now introduced for the first time, but to make such a change after thirty-two years of a common rate would be an impossible proposal.

But if the cost is to be borne by London as a whole, London as a whole must have the power to determine the cost. It would be unfair to allow an area like the school division of Hackney, made up of the three municipal divisions of Hackney, Bethnal Green, and Shoreditch, where the board schools are attended by 61,000 children in average attendance, as compared with 11,600 in voluntary schools, or 84 per cent. of all the children, to fix its own scale of salaries, staff, buildings, equipment, &c., and throw the cost on the rest of London. It is as obviously just that the whole of London should control the rates to be levied in London as a whole as that London as a whole should bear the common charge of the education of London. But apart from this consideration of justice it is clearly

reasonable that the one London authority should have the effective management of the whole expenditure. A local subordinate authority with independent power to spend would tend to extravagance. Each district, finding that in any case it had to bear the burden of the expenditure of other districts, would say, 'as in any case we must pay for others, we may as well get the full benefit of the money spent in our own division.'

Among the various schemes which rumour has attributed to the Government, the scheme of local municipal management of schools by some thirty authorities may be dismissed as too absurd to have done more than attract the passing attention of a Minister conversant neither with education nor London, but accessible to the solicitations of the wire-pullers of the old vestries.

Still, even when the recognition of a central authority has imposed itself on Ministerial policy, it is clear that there has been a hankering after some recognition of the local borough authorities as entitled to some corporate recognition in the constitution of the new authority.

This may be done in one of two ways: either by the devolution of some power of local management to them, or by their recognition as the sources of authority for the new administrative body.

And first, let us consider how far a scheme of local devolution is practicable or desirable. No one will say that such a thing is possible for the higher education. The relation of the London authority with university teaching, with the training of teachers, with the establishment of higher technological institutes, must be the relation of one authority for all London. The local boroughs of London range from such units as Islington with about 335,000 inhabitants to Stoke Newington with 51,000.

If we come to secondary education, the subdivision of the administration of London would be most undesirable and inconvenient. The scholarship system of the London County Council is administered by one examination for all London, and the increase of cost with diminished fairness and efficiency resulting from breaking up the area of examination and award would be most injurious. It is only those who are familiar with the working who can fully realise how impracticable and wasteful such a subdivision would be, and to set out in detail the objections would go beyond the space of this article.

Again, secondary schools are aided, and where necessary will be founded, by the education authority in various parts of London. These schools are not limited in their usefulness or area of supply to any one division, and if their relations of aid and supervision were with the local borough councils, not only would there be waste of effort and a loss of intelligence, but the schools themselves would

deeply regret the changed character of the body with which they would come in immediate contact. Not that the various borough councils might not be well represented on the governing bodies of the various secondary schools. But in questions of general principle and of financial aid and educational suggestion the authority should be one for all London, co-ordinating its needs and collecting the experience derived from relations with all the secondary schools.

Let us now turn to the elementary work of the new authority, and examine whether any material part of it can be usefully delegated either to the borough councils or to committees formed by them.

The work of the School Board falls under the following important heads, assigned to various permanent committees and sub-committees: finance, works, school attendance and accommodation, industrial schools, school management, general purposes, evening continuation schools.

Clearly the finance committee's work must with a common rate remain in the hands of the one authority for London.

The finance committee has under it a store sub-committee, which deals with the purchase and distribution of books and material to the schools. The turnover of this store is about 100,000*l.* a year, and not only is the board enabled to buy more cheaply by the wholesale character of its transactions, but it is also able more effectively to check the quality of the goods than if they were sent direct to the schools. Moreover, in connection with the supply and delivery of material, it is necessary that one central authority should check the amount of material to be allowed to each school, and not leave to local discretion the amount that may be used. This will become still more necessary when the private aided schools are entitled to be maintained in books and apparatus; they will retain their independent managers, and therefore a central control over expenditure, and that of a somewhat strict character, will be imperative.

The works department is mainly responsible for building and keeping in repair the various schools of the Board. How large its operations are may be seen by the fact that of late years the total amount borrowed has exceeded 500,000*l.* a year for purchase of land and erection or permanent improvement of buildings.

Clearly the central authority which pays for the buildings must settle their plan and design; it would neither be advantageous to education to have a large number of bodies designing schools independently, nor would it be reasonable that those who pay should not determine the plan and type of school. Again, the planning of a school must depend on the conduct of the school. The size of the class-rooms will depend on the size of the classes and on the staff allowed and the proper number of scholars to a teacher. Many

questions of planning are intimately connected with questions of school management, such as the question of the size of schools, whether they shall be mixed or for boys and for girls, the provision of special rooms available for more than one school, such as centres for woodwork, practical science, laundry, cookery, &c. ; again, the site of a new school must be determined by the homes of the children who will attend, who may reside in different boroughs and whose attendance is determined by crowded thoroughfares, not by municipal boundaries.

Special schools for the deaf, the mentally and physically defective, and others, supply the needs of large areas quite independent of municipal boundaries ; and numerous other considerations might be submitted which would prove that the work of buying sites, planning, erecting, repairing, and improving schools must be controlled by the one authority answerable for the cost.

In the case of industrial schools, these must be managed by one authority. The industrial schools committee have to deal with cases from week to week ; children must be taken at once and found a school when charged before a magistrate ; these children turn up by ones and twos, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another ; a place has to be found at once in a school willing to receive the child—it may be a Roman Catholic child in a Roman Catholic school, or a young child in a school willing to take a young child—and the knowledge concentrated in one office is necessary for prompt administrative dealing with the cases as they present themselves ; moreover, the industrial schools of the Board—ordinary, truant, and day—are for London as a whole, and could not be administered in connection with any devolution of powers to local committees.

As to school attendance and accommodation, the provision of school places depends not on the arbitrary boundaries of boroughs, but on the subdivision of London by main thoroughfares ; and the need for school places is determined largely by an annual census of the child population taken for London as a whole. The selection of sites must be governed by two considerations : (1) The convenience of the site and its accessibility to the children, (2) its light and airy situation, and its cheapness compared with any alternative site.

The authority which has to present the case to the Board of Education and to promote the subsequent provisional order must be responsible for this selection.

In reference to the enforcement of attendance, a mixture of local administration and central authority has been found convenient, but the central authority must be supreme. London is divided for the enforcement of compulsory attendance into ten districts, each under a superintendent with a local office, but the superintendents and the attendance officers are under the direction of the general London

authority and subject to removal by it. The exact area and population suitable for administrative subdivision is not, of course, a matter of mathematical ascertainment. But I have no hesitation in saying that units corresponding with the borough councils would be too numerous, would be costly in multiplying staff and local offices, and would diminish efficiency. Already the School Board has amalgamated the City and Westminster for by-law purposes, and made one or two minor readjustments of the boundaries of Southwark and Lambeth, and these readjustments might be carried further. One important work in enforcing the by-laws is the habitual assembling of the visitors at a common centre to exchange notes of absentees with a view to prompt visitation. If the groups of visitors were too small, there would be a margin of scholars concerning whom information would have to be forwarded by letter, and it may be taken that the best unit of local administration is one which allows a sufficient number of visitors to be assembled at a common centre, and this number, allowing for certain geographical considerations, is about thirty. But any attempt to work the by-laws through borough councils—for instance, to have four local centres of administration for the present School Board division of Chelsea—would be inexpedient, costly, and less effective.

The general purposes committee has mainly to do with litigation. Clearly this must be the affair of the authority which if unsuccessful must bear the cost; no one could suggest that local subordinate authorities should have the power to involve the superior authority in a lawsuit.

I now come to the principal work of the School Board—that of school management. Could any part of this be delegated to subordinate authorities? Here we must distinguish between such delegation as is under the control of the chief authority, like the present delegation to local managers under the London School Board, and compulsory delegation which gives absolute rights to those who receive the delegation.

I have no doubt that any authority charged with the work of London education will continue to rely on the services of local managers and to use their help in many details of the work. A valuable memorial, of the representative managers was lately presented to the Board of Education urging that their past services should be borne in mind in the coming legislation.

I am in general accord and sympathy with the views expressed in that memorial, and regret that want of space prevents my quoting it. Persons interested could, however, obtain a copy by applying to William Bousfield, Esq., Chairman of Representative Managers, 20 Hyde Park Gate, S.W.

I would, however, quote this passage: 'It has been found that

the experience of some years is required before managers are able to do their work efficiently, as it necessitates not only knowledge of the regulations of the schools, but of the teachers and the habits of the parents and children.'

Two or three things are necessary to make a good manager. (1) Interest in the work, (2) education, (3) leisure. In some parts of London the social conditions do not supply enough persons combining these qualities, and it has been found that some of the best managers are those who are willing to come from a distance. It has been suggested that the local management should be delegated to the borough councils, who should, perhaps, in the larger boroughs group the schools into subdivisions.

But for effective management small groups are necessary. The School Board after long experience have come to the conclusion that a group of three schools is as many as one set of managers can properly look after, and it is clear that such a number would not correspond with the idea of local management through borough councils.

Take Bethnal Green, Shoreditch and Hackney. These three local areas have sixty-one board schools, and it is clear that local management of fifteen to twenty schools would lose all the advantages of the local management which the School Board now secures. It may be a very good thing to associate local municipal activity with some knowledge of the schools, and in a group of twelve or fifteen managers the local municipal authority might be invited to nominate three; but it is of the greatest importance that the essentially local character of the management be maintained, and also that the final voice of the London authority be paramount. Of all matters concerned with school management, the two most important in this respect are the appointment of teachers and disciplinary action over them. If anything were done to entrust patronage to local municipalities a serious blow would be struck at the self-respect and the efficiency of the teaching staff.

The School Board have a strict rule against canvassing. This rule is often broken, but while the final appointment rests with a body far removed from local influence canvassing is less effective and comparatively harmless. But if patronage were vested in the borough councils there is a great danger that the teaching staff would be drawn into local politics, and that there would be a close relation between political support and promotion. In disciplinary matters, too, serious offences might be condoned where the offender was closely connected politically with a leading member of the local school management committee. I am confident that the best teachers must value the independence and impersonality of the action of the London School Board in questions of promotion and

discipline, and though no doubt there is a leaning to leniency on the part of the professional colleagues of an offender, yet they would suffer most as a profession if the standard of professional and personal honour were lowered by the retention on the staff of the black sheep of the service.

The same remarks that have been made on the day schools apply to the evening schools. Effective direct control and management in a central body are necessary to efficiency in the working of the schools.

Assuming that such considerations as the above have weight in preventing the attempt to mix subordinate authorities with the general educational authority for London, there has been another plan largely talked of—that of constituting an effective central authority, but building it up out of the borough councils by representation. This, in fact, would be turning over the education of London to a Water Board. Such a scheme would be objectionable for several reasons. It would, indeed, give us a board *ad hoc* with independent rating power, but it would give us a board at two degrees removed from the effective influence of the electorate, who could hardly consider in the choosing of their borough councillors the subsequent choice these would make of some one person to represent them on an education authority.

It would be objectionable because it would confer the power of taxing on persons who did not represent the ratepayers. No doubt the representatives of the borough councils would indirectly represent the ratepayers, but the added elements representing educational interests would in no way give effect to the principle of taxation accompanying representation, and it might well be that these added elements might determine a rate against the wishes of a majority of the elected representatives. There is something to be said for the presence of educational experts on a committee if the supreme power is in the County Council, but to create a body largely removed from the influence of the electorate and confer on it taxing power is too great a departure from the modern recognition of the rights of the electorate.

Moreover, an education authority far removed from the popular forces of election will not have sufficient energy or force to do the work required, if our education is to be brought up to the mark, and having regard to the large aid to be given to privately managed schools, it is not desirable that persons representing the interests to be aided should have a final voice in determining how much public money they should have.

If the London hospitals were to be aided from the rates we should not think it equitable that the Asylums Board should vote the money and that the representatives of the hospitals should sit on the Asylums Board.



The last device by which the borough councils may be gratified is to make the education committee a committee of the County Council with final financial control reserved to the latter, but to make the committee not mainly representative of the County Council. As there are twenty-nine borough councils, the presence of twenty-nine borough council representatives, especially if fortified by some fifteen experts, would require the County Council to nominate some fifty of its own members on the committee to keep the statutory majority. I am not prepared to say that such a body would be too large to do the work of education. There will be a great deal to do and much new work, which for some time will tax the time and ability of the members; but the question is whether this is the best kind of body to do the work.

If a paramount authority is not sufficiently represented on its committee, which is composed very largely not by it, but for it, there will be a tendency for the higher educational authority not to accept the recommendations of its committee. A common feeling and unity of purpose between the authority and its committee are essential to the good working of the scheme.

Again, what is to be gained by this large representation of the borough councils? The County Council itself presumably would take care that all parts of London were represented by the members of the Council, and after that has been secured, undoubtedly the work will best be helped by the co-optation of persons who will be able and willing to give much time to the work. But borough councils will probably put their own members on the education committee—that is, as a rule, people in business and who by their activity on the borough council have secured a leading position there. Such people will not have much time for the added work, nor probably much inclination to master its details.

There is a danger, therefore, that the due consideration of the important matters which will demand an early decision will be hurried over or left to the permanent officials. Few people realise how exceptionally troublesome will be the financial relations between the public authority and the aided schools, the former having no effective way of enforcing its requirements but by appeal to the Board of Education, with the one Draconian sanction of closing the school. The relations of the various States of the United States under the old constitution, of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and of the Swiss Federation in the eighteenth century, will give illustrations of the difficulties of the task before the new authority. And the body now under consideration would combine the maximum of inexperience, want of leisure, and want of interest; the borough council element, I fear, would introduce an element, if not of jobbery, at any rate of excessive desire to look on patronage as an important part of their public functions.

The accumulated experience of the members of the School Board is discarded. Fortunately the able staff of School Board officials will remain, and unless the County Council treat them as mere underlings, subordinate to existing County Council officials, they will do much to help the new authority in the first trying years of their work. I wish, however, that I could look forward more hopefully to the intentions and practical ability of the Government in the scheme which they are planning, I fear after consultation not with those who know the educational needs of London, but with wire-pullers of the local Tory party.

E. LYULPH STANLEY.

## MACEDONIA AND ITS REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES

IN 1856 the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was solemnly accepted as an article of political faith, and guaranteed by the delegates of the European Powers, assembled in Paris. The same year gave birth to a movement which has robbed that Empire of province after province, and which, under the name of the Macedonian Question, threatens sooner or later to rob it of its very existence. It was on the morrow of the Treaty of Paris that the Bulgarians of Macedonia, instigated by the apostles of Panslavism, began to recover the national consciousness, which in the course of ages of dependence and darkness had completely died out. At the conquest of Constantinople Mohammed II. conferred on the Greek Patriarch the title of Head of the Roman Nation, a comprehensive term including all the Christian subjects in his dominions without distinction of speech or race. During the ensuing four centuries the Bulgarians, in common with the rest of Eastern Christians, continued under the ægis of the Ecumenical Patriarch, unambitious and inconstant, or rather proud of the appellation of Roman, which in the East means Greek. But they were not allowed to remain for ever in this theological stage of development. Soon after the Crimean War the emissaries of the Panslavic societies of the North, henceforth to be considered as unofficial interpreters of Russia's official policy, entered upon their nationalist work in the Balkans. The Greek language was gradually banished from the schools and churches in the districts inhabited by Slavs. Books printed in Russia were distributed broadcast among the inhabitants, and the young Bulgars of Macedonia were taught to look upon the Greek Church as an institution foreign to them, upon their former teachers as tyrants, upon themselves as the legitimate heirs of the Byzantine Emperors, upon the Greeks as their natural foes, and, last but not least, upon Alexander the Great as a national hero, and upon Aristotle as a national philosopher, usurped by the unscrupulous Greeks. The animosity which this new teaching implanted and fostered in the Slavonic mind, just awakening from its sleep of centuries, reached its maturity in 1860, when a deputation of Orthodox Bulgarians astonished the Sublime Porte by submitting to it their desire to establish an independent community,

as they no longer recognised the authority of the Œcumenical Patriarchate. The demand gave rise to a long and furious politico-religious storm, which culminated in the secession of the Bulgarians from the 'Roman' fold. Russian diplomacy, ably piloted by Count Ignatieff, availed itself of the unpopularity into which the Greeks had fallen with the Porte owing to the Cretan rebellion of 1869, and in the following year obtained an Imperial firman authorising the establishment of a rival Exarchate. The Greek Patriarch, finding his protests ignored by the Porte and his promises by the Bulgarians, convoked a General Council, consisting of representatives of nearly all the Eastern Churches, and therein pronounced the rebel Exarchate schismatic. This measure has definitely divided the Orthodox Christians of Macedonia into two sects, which have ever since maintained a mutual attitude recalling that of the Jews and Samaritans of old: the Greeks have no dealings with the Bulgarians.

But the creation of the Exarchate was far from satisfying the aspirations of the Bulgarians. On the contrary, the latter regarded it as only a first step towards further national expansion, and the last thirty years have witnessed a vigorous propaganda for the acquisition of proselytes, carried on on the principle that the end justifies the means. The Porte's traditional policy of playing off one subject race against another favours the efforts of the Bulgarian propaganda and minimises the opposition of Russia, which since the *coup d'état* of 1885 has discovered that the Servians rather than the Bulgarians are the chosen vessel of Pan Slavism. But the latter do not limit their activity to a diplomatic warfare. When the Bulgarian patriots found that the erection of schools and churches, the purchase of official connivance, and the peaceful conversion of peasant souls were methods as costly as they were slow, they adopted more drastic expedients. The Committee which was originally formed at Sofia for the purpose of conducting the nationalist campaign among the Macedonians has been the dominant factor in the later developments of the Macedonian problem, and is directly responsible for all the periodical outbreaks which students of Eastern politics have been accustomed to look for at the approach of spring during the last few years. The nature of this Society will be clearly appreciated from the following document, which sets forth in unequivocal terms both the Committee's mission and the means resorted to for its fulfilment.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This document was seized on the Bulgarian conspirators who in the spring of 1901 were arrested at Salonica, tried, sentenced to fifteen years' incarceration at Rhodes, and permitted to escape a few months after. I obtained a literal translation of it from an official source at the time, and but for a brief abstract, which has since appeared in the *Gaulois* of Paris and been translated into the *Hellenismos* of Athens (May 1901), I believe it has never been published before.

Each armed band to consist of Bulgarians belonging to each particular district. Their duty is to carry out secretly the orders given by the president of the committee.

The bands are armed with weapons furnished by the Committee. These bands are formed by the revolutionary committees of each district or village, and receive the military training necessary for their purpose.

These bands depend on the committees, and in their turn distribute arms among those whom they enrol or gain over to the cause.

These bands are charged by the presidents of the revolutionary committees to find ammunition, which they are to keep hid, and as these bands obey the presidents of the revolutionary committees the responsibility of their acts falls on the latter.

The revolutionary committees are bound to observe the following rules:

(1) Wherever there is a propaganda committee, it must work toward the formation of plots against the State, and make sure, by means of inspections and examinations, that the instructions of the committees have been well understood.

(2) Where there are no revolutionary partisans, efforts must be made to rouse the natives or to form armed bands according to the regulations. In case of success the president of the Central Committee (at Sofia) is informed, in order to enlarge the limits of the propaganda, so as to include the new band.

(3) The local committees must endeavour to spread revolutionary ideas among the natives by means of speeches and enticing promises. The revolutionary agents employed for this purpose must act in the name of the committee of the district.

The armed bands are placed under the command of the local committees in accordance with the following rules:

(1) To obey received instructions.

(2) By means of persuasion or intimidation to place new recruits at the committees' disposal.

(3) To put to death the persons indicated by the committees.

(4) To transfer arms from one place to another so as to enable the committees to fulfil their mission without fear of being seen, or of attracting the attention of the local authorities.

(5) Each band, under the command of the revolutionary committee established in the district, to be ready to raise the standard of revolt on being so ordered by the local committee, which cannot act except by the order of the president of the Sofia committee.

(6) The bands, in order to succeed in rousing the natives to rebellion, must conform to the following rules:

(a) To draw the people toward them by their good conduct, so that the people may be ready to submit to sacrifices in time of need.

(b) To drill it into the heads of the people that revolutions always lead to good results, and in a word to act promptly, and by all means to win over public opinion to the cause.

(7) To study all the chains of mountains, the passes, and the places which can offer shelter, and to force by all means the villagers to inform them of what is going on, and of what they hear around them.

(8) The bands shall also commit political crimes: that is to say, they shall kill and put out of the way any person who will attempt to hinder them from attaining their ends, and shall immediately inform the Sofia committee of the crimes committed.

(9) The instructions of the bands must be kept quite secret, as the least indiscretion may lead to great disaster.

(10) The measures taken toward corruption should not be divulged.

(11) The decisions of the committees should be communicated to the bands through inspectors, who will serve as intermediaries between the bands and the committees.

(12) Great care must be taken not to let children and women hear anything; for these are not equal to the persecution and punishment which the Government would inflict upon them.

(13) Young partisans have no right to ask indiscreet questions.

(14) In negotiating a difficult question or in repelling the attack of the enemy two bands may unite, and in the event of such a union the chief of the united forces will be the chief of the local band. But in any case the order for union must be given by the president of the committee.

(15) No band is allowed to cross the frontier of its district without the president's order, except in case it is pursued or trying to elude the Government forces, or is engaged in some important and urgent effort to buy over partisans. In ordinary circumstances no band is allowed to overstep its limits. It is likewise forbidden to members of various bands to correspond with each other.

(16) Acts of personal vengeance, attacks on villages, and generally all kinds of unauthorised attempts to raise a revolution are strictly forbidden, and those who are guilty of such acts will be sentenced to death.

(17) No murder shall be committed by the bands without a previous decision taken by the committee, except those which are inevitable in an accidental encounter.

Relations between committees and bands:

(1) The bands carry out the orders of the presidents of the local committees, and also obey any agent sent by the Central Committee. In the latter case they must inform the local president of all they have been instructed to do by this agent.

(2) The committees of the various districts carry out the orders given by the president of the Central Committee at Sofia, and report to him at the end of each month the doings of the bands under them.

(3) The president of each local committee is obliged to supply with clothes, arms, provisions, and whatever is necessary, the band under his command. He must also indicate to it the places of retreat, where it can hide, and he has a right to order it to do whatever is needful for the accomplishment of the end.

(4) The bands require guides, and, as the presidents of the committees as a rule reside in villages and hamlets, it is they who must persuade the peasants to help the bands.

(5) Communications between a band and the president of the local committee to be carried on either by word of mouth or by writing, according to the special regulation of the committee.

(6) For the perpetration of murder a written order from the president is necessary.

(7) The bands must not keep documents about them. They must destroy them, except the most important, which should be kept in the archives of the committee.

(8) The local committee settles all disputes that may arise between the chief of a band and his followers. As for the differences between the committees and the bands, they are settled by the Central Committee at Sofia, and, if it is only a simple divergence of opinion, an agent is sent by the Central Committee.

(9) The bands can change place by the order of the respective committees, but in no case are they allowed to do so without order. As for orders to disperse and break up, they cannot be given except by the Central Committee.

Composition and administration of the bands:

(1) The bands to consist of five or six persons each.

(2) Each band to have its chief and its secretary, who are nominated by the Central Committee at Sofia.

(3) The men who compose a band to be young and seasoned to mountain hardships, accustomed to a life of seclusion, and brave, so that they may be able to perform their tasks.

(4) They must be intelligent and enthusiastic, that they may be ready to carry out the orders received.

(5) The youths who are enrolled in a band to be nominated by the local committee with the sanction of the Central Committee.

(6) Bands are removed by the local committees.

(7) The bands kill or let off those who fall into their hands after an understanding with the local committees.

(8) The bands must not estrange the villagers with wanton exactions. They must maintain a quiet attitude in the places where they are received.

(9) They must do all they can to gain the confidence of the people and live at peace with them.

(10) Those who will look after their own personal interests, or who will desert in case of an encounter, shall be excluded from the band.

(11) Those who may prove guilty of intrigues or ruses will be publicly reprimanded for their breach of the sacred contract into which they have entered.

(12) In everything the rights of the members of the band are equal.

(13) The conspirators have no right to go and see their relatives or friends without an order from the presidents of the respective local committees.

(14) They must always keep secret their names, the places they come from, or those they are going to.

(15) No one can leave his band under pretext of joining another, or enlist in another, without permission from the president of the local committee.

(16) In the event of disobedience the delinquent will be disarmed and put under restraint.

(17) The arms of the bands belong to the committees, and in case of anyone quitting his band without an adequate motive, his arms must be delivered to the committee by the chief.

(18) The secretary directs the correspondence between the bands and the committees, but always by the order of the chief.

(19) The secretary has also the right to inspect the bands with the chief, and it is his duty to disseminate revolutionary ideas and to distribute arms among the people.

(20) All differences arising between the people and the bands to be settled in a friendly manner. Harsh measures must not be employed.

(21) For serious offences, such as refusal to mount guard, disobedience to received orders, insubordination towards the chief, the penalties vary. In certain cases the punishment is a mission entailing danger of death.

Sentence of death to be pronounced in the following cases:

(1) When one is guilty of disclosure of the intentions of the committee, or of treason for private ends.

(2) When one deserts during action.

These sentences are carried out on the spot.

The sentence is pronounced by the local committee and confirmed by the Central Committee. In urgent cases the culprit can be executed without waiting for confirmation by the Sofia Committee.

A document of this kind needs no comment. But, were a commentary called for, the Press of Europe and America would supply abundant material for purposes of illustration. The reports of the action of the Committee in Macedonia during the last twelve months alone form a *dossier* which leaves little doubt to the reader of average candour that the regulations printed above are not allowed to remain a dead letter, but that practice goes hand in hand with, or rather outstrips, precept. The exploits of the Committee and its

brigands in the country may be classed under three heads: extortion, intimidation, provocation.

Under the first head falls the levy of blackmail from wealthy inhabitants, as well as the collection of a special insurrection-tax from those who consent to pay and the assassination of those who refuse. This form of oppression is chiefly directed against the Bulgarian peasants, who, logically enough, are thus made to pay in advance for the blessings of independence promised by their would-be liberators. Another form of extortion practised is the forcing of the villagers to buy Gras rifles, of which the Committee in some mysterious manner seems to possess an inexhaustible stock. The alternative, as usual, is death. Nor are these two considerations the only factors in the problem with which the hapless peasant is confronted. After having sold his cattle in order to satisfy the demands of the Committee, he, as often as not, is pounced upon by the local authorities, who accuse him of being in league with the agitators; the result being that he has to part with more of his property in order to prove his innocence in a tangible way, which is the only way understood by Turkish justice. In one word, the Macedonian peasant, who has the misfortune to regard himself as a Bulgarian, finds himself continually between two equally formidable forces, the Revolutionary Committee and the Ottoman Government:

Both are mighty;  
Each can torture if derided,  
Each claims worship undivided.

Whenever the funds derived from these sources fall short of the requirements of the propaganda, the organs of the latter have recourse to open brigandage. A victim is selected and, when the opportunity offers itself, is kidnapped and held to ransom. Miss Stone, the American missionary of recent fame, was the most illustrious of these unconscious martyrs to the cause. Revelations by prominent members of the Committee itself have since established the fact, never doubted by those acquainted with the circumstances of the case and with the eccentricities and the necessities of Slavo-Macedonian patriotism, that her capture had been planned by the chief of the secret organisation in Macedonia, who received 2,000*l.* out of the ransom, and was carried out by another Macedonian revolutionary, both acting under the auspices of the Central Committee at Sofia. A humorous feature was added to the incident by the fact that, as the plot was carried out on Turkish territory, the Sultan was expected to be held responsible by the American Government for the lady's capture and to be made to refund the ransom; thus helping to replenish the coffers of an association whose object it is to overthrow him.

I made Miss Stone's acquaintance at Salonica a few months before the occurrence, and, as I had just returned from a tour of



exploration in the interior, I was deeply impressed by her intrepidity in travelling through districts which I knew to be seething with agitation and crime. Some of the members of the American Mission, however, cheerfully assured me that the Bulgarians, their cherished lambs, were really too nice to be dangerous, and that they had never molested them ; but, on the contrary, were grateful for the benefits of Transatlantic culture and evangelical teaching which the mission bestowed upon them. Experience has proved that this psychological estimate was somewhat too optimistic.

Since that time several other cases of a similar type have occurred. The first victim of whose misfortune I received a trustworthy report was a Jewish cattle-dealer, kidnapped near Salonica, the principal city of Macedonia. The brigands demanded an exorbitant ransom, and, on being disappointed, cut off the prisoner's head. As the latter was a mere Jew, his death excited no great sensation. Quite lately (the 29th of September) a Turkish Bey was carried off from his estate near Vodena, and a ransom of three thousand pounds is demanded for his release, while some time ago the capture of an influential foreign vice-consul was planned, but, fortunately, failed. Thus patriotism is made to support itself.

The Committee, besides trying to maintain its activity by the methods already described, aims at extending its sphere of influence by the enrolment of recruits and the extermination of opponents. Lukewarm Bulgarians, or people who refuse to call themselves Bulgarians, and generally speaking all Orthodox Christians in Macedonia, are liable to be pressed into the service, the Committee displaying a marvellous impartiality as to race, speech, sex, or age. According to information published in our newspapers there have recently been many assassinations of such Christians by the agents of the Committee, in various parts of the vilayets of Monastir and Salonica, on account of refusals to join the revolutionary ranks, while at Dibra the Bulgarian bishop himself was obliged for a long time to remain indoors for fear of assassination. Among this class of victims an attempt is usually made to buy them over to the cause, and their life is only endangered on their refusal to be converted. At Petritz I met a highly respectable tradesman to whom an offer of a monthly pension of six pounds had been made by the emissaries of the Committee. He declined to accept the bribe and thenceforth lived in constant fear about his life. But the greatest sufferers are the Greeks. In the district of Castoria, for instance, a district mainly inhabited by Greeks, the energies of the Committee are almost entirely directed against representatives of that race, priests and teachers being the favourite objects of attack, so that many of the inhabitants last March were described as having fled from their homes and flocked into the chief towns of the district. At Monastir, again, not only the Greek bishop but also the Greek

vice-consul have been threatened with death for lending their assistance to the authorities in suppressing the agitation. I myself in the spring of 1901 was introduced to a Greek doctor of Gumendja, named Sakellariou, who was just recovering from a severe revolver wound which he had received a short time before. As he was a Hellenic subject, the authorities exerted themselves, and it was in consequence of the arrests made on that occasion that an extensive plot was brought to light, and the important document published above was seized, among other papers, arms, and revolutionary implements. Briefly, no prominent Greek, be he physician, schoolmaster, clergyman, or merchant, is safe in Macedonia. The scale on which terrorism is exercised is clearly shown by the fact that the Greek Legation at Constantinople has not long since informed the Porte that 150 Greek notables had been murdered by Bulgarians in the districts of Monastir and Salonica during the last two months.

Cases of wanton massacre, though not so numerous as the atrocities committed with a material object in view, are not uncommon. The victims in these cases are generally Mohammedans. In the course of my tour in Macedonia a party of poor *telega*-drivers and some other inoffensive followers of the Prophet had been assassinated, and since then reports have appeared in the press of Mussulman peasants, men, women, and children, being indiscriminately murdered and afterwards mutilated. The motive of these outrages is purely to provoke reprisals—that is, a general massacre—and then pose as the victims of Turkish cruelty and fanaticism, a cry which never fails to move the nations of Europe to sympathy and their Governments to intervention. That this is the object which prompts these deeds of horror is proved by the circumstance that, not content with murder, the revolutionary agents sometimes break into mosques and defile the sacred buildings in what has been described as ‘a disgusting manner.’ The Committee’s efforts to rouse the Turkish population to acts of vengeance are not wholly unsuccessful. The Turks have never distinguished themselves by meekness. Though their fanaticism under normal conditions slumbers, it requires little provocation in order to wake and assert itself with fierceness intensified by fear. We are, therefore, not surprised to hear that last April several cases of reprisal occurred in various parts of the country and that the Mohammedans were eagerly expecting the declaration of a holy war. That no such thing has happened yet does credit to Abdul Hamid’s sense of self-interest, no less than to his Mohammedan subjects’ sense of discipline.

The Committee, needless to say, is not popular in Macedonia. Murder, incendiarism, spoliation, and organised blackguardism are hardly the means for winning the hearts of the people. With the exception of a small number of adventurers embarrassed by no property, principle, or permanent residence, the bulk of the native

population either maintains a negative attitude or even joins in active measures of suppression. Indeed, last spring the country people, exasperated by the excesses perpetrated by their self-constituted champions, took the matter into their own hands and organised counter-bands with a view to defending themselves. This departure resulted in a state of reciprocal throat-cutting between the agents of the revolutionary movement and the inhabitants.

The soul of the Macedonian agitation for many years past has been Boris Sarafoff, a native of Macedonia, whose name first became known to the general public of Western Europe in connection with what his associates euphemistically call the 'Roumanian affair'—in plain English, the shocking murder of Professor Michaelnau, of Bucharest. He is credited with the ambition of becoming the dictator of Macedonia, and it has already been shown that in the prosecution of his design he spares no efforts and no lives. Until lately this demagogue exercised an autocratic sway over the deliberations and decisions of the Central Committee at Sofia. This, however, is no longer the case. At the annual Congress, held last August, the adherents of Sarafoff refused to recognise MM. Michailovski and Zontcheff as heads of the Committee, and on being excluded from the sittings proceeded to form a Committee of their own.

Nor does the rivalry between the two new Committees stop short at boastful vituperation. During last summer the Zontcheff party attempted to strengthen its position in Macedonia by fomenting an insurrection in the province. Bands, organised in the Principality and in some cases headed by ex-officers of the Bulgarian army, were sent over the frontier; but, once in Macedonian territory, they found themselves face to face not only with the Turkish troops but also with their quondam colleagues. Sarafoff's bands on several occasions came to blows with their rivals, and declared themselves ready even to assassinate the agents of the Zontcheff Committee, should that step prove necessary.

This is one, but not the most important, aspect of the Macedonian Question. Whatever the organisation and the forces of the Committee may be, it could hardly have become the source of danger to the peace of South-Eastern Europe, which it is, if it depended entirely on the efforts of its own members and instruments. In Macedonia itself there is every reason to believe that the agents of the Committee enjoy the sympathy and support of the Bulgarian Exarchate. In so far as the movement serves the cause of Bulgarian expansion, the interests of Committee and Exarchate are identical. The rupture between the official Committee at Sofia and Sarafoff's organisation does not perceptibly affect the Exarchate, whose primary object is to detach as large a portion of the Slavonic element as possible from the control of the Greek Church, an object for the attain-

ment of which, even Sarafoff's watchword of 'Macedonia for the Macedonians' can be turned to excellent account. In many instances the Bulgarian priests play the rôle of secret political agents. In the Principality public opinion beyond question favours the Committee, as is shown both by the open-air meetings held at Sofia and by the articles which frequently appear in the Bulgarian Press. But to what extent the Bulgarian Government is guilty of relations with the revolutionary leaders is a delicate question, which perhaps had better remain unanswered. It is sufficient for the present writer's purpose to call attention to certain facts which can be interpreted in accordance with the reader's means of information or personal bias.

The attitude of Prince Ferdinand's Government towards the Committee was last April clearly defined by the semi-official newspaper *La Bulgarie*. This journal, while announcing that severe measures would be adopted against any illegal acts on the part of the Macedonian agitators, declared that 'no Bulgarian Government could close the frontier against Macedonians seeking protection.' On the other hand, we have repeated Notes addressed by the Porte to the European Cabinets, complaining that, notwithstanding the assurances given by the Sofia Government, revolutionary bands continue to be formed in the Principality and to be despatched into Macedonia, whence, on being defeated by the Sultan's troops, they fly back to Bulgaria. To these charges the Bulgarian Government has retorted that the fault lies entirely with the Porte; that the despatch of Turkish reinforcements to Macedonia tends to increase the prevailing excitement; and that the Bulgarian Government finds it impossible to control the Macedonian residents in the Principality, without taking such measures as might easily be misunderstood. M. Daneff, the Bulgarian Premier, speaking to a representative of the *Figaro* last June in Paris, declared that his country was nowise responsible for the condition of Macedonia, and that the Powers should address their reproaches to Constantinople rather than to Sofia. These statements are, to a certain extent, in harmony with the repressive measures which the Bulgarian Government has periodically taken against the Macedonian agitators. In April all suspicious persons were either kept under observation or were promptly arrested, while inflammatory utterances and demonstrations were strictly forbidden. Nay, last September, General Zontcheff himself, the actual President of the Central Committee, and one of his lieutenants were arrested on the charge of aiding in the formation of revolutionary bands. Twice this hero was placed in durance vile, and twice he succeeded with incredible facility in regaining his freedom.

These protestations and actions ought to be sufficient testimonials of the Bulgarian Government's good faith; at least so the Bulgarian Government itself seems to think. But, unfortunately, no one else shares the conviction. A sceptical world refuses to exonerate Prince

Ferdinand's Ministers from complicity with, or at all events connivance at, the Committee's proceedings. The very correspondents who announced the efforts made by the Daneff Cabinet to prove its good intentions followed up their reports with the comment that the said Cabinet protests too much and does too little. Even the dramatic and repeated arrests of General Zontcheff have failed to dissipate the clouds of suspicion. With the single exception of some of the Russian newspapers, which have professed intense astonishment at the step and expended some ingenuity in trying to account for it, nobody else has attributed to the event any but a comic importance. The journals of Vienna explained the General's arrest as due to Prince Ferdinand's desire to give his gallant friend the advertisement which had hitherto been denied him by the Turkish police and the European Press, and which had been lavished on his opponent. General Zontcheff had never been treated as a dangerous person! Perhaps this explanation is too good to be true. A more sober hypothesis, which has appeared in some of our own newspapers also, is that Prince Ferdinand was actuated by the anxiety to prove to his patrons at St. Petersburg that he is a peaceful, law-abiding Sovereign, fully qualified for a royal crown. But the credibility of this theory is spoilt by the suggestion that the band which the General was caught in the act of leading was organised by order of the Government. So hard it is to silence the tongues of unbelief.

While Prince Ferdinand and his Ministers entertained themselves in this fashion, the raids into Macedonia grew more frequent. Defenceless Turkish villages were attacked and plundered, and their inhabitants murdered, and in some cases mutilated. Fantastic reports were circulated in Europe of fabulous Bulgarian victories and fictitious Turkish atrocities. Zontcheff proclaimed a universal insurrection, while Sarafoff sneeringly denied that there was any disturbance whatever, and, in a word, confusion became worse confounded, until the concentration of an enormous force—according to authentic reports 300 battalions—by the Porte restored a certain degree of temporary calm. But while in the act of massing troops the Porte did not neglect diplomatic steps meant to justify these military measures. A fresh circular note was addressed to the Powers, complaining of the inadequate supervision of the frontier by the Bulgarian authorities and of the fact that the Bulgarian monastery of Rilo was allowed to be used as the headquarters of the insurgents. Fresh representations were made by the diplomatic agents at Sofia, and earnest though fruitless assurances of good conduct were obtained from M. Daneff's Government. The Porte's complaints do not seem to have been wholly devoid of foundation. It should be noted that most of the chiefs of the marauding bands in question are retired or reserve officers of the Bulgarian army, and that Lieutenant-Colonel Jankoff, who has recently distinguished himself as promoter of the

abortive insurrection, and whose acts of violence have induced the representatives of the Powers to address severe admonitions to the Prince's Government, on his return to Sofia was acclaimed by people and press as a hero and enjoyed his notoriety unmolested by the authorities. But what the Bulgarian Government failed to do seems to have been done by the very people whom the heroic Colonel was anxious to liberate. A telegram from Salonica, dated the 20th of October, reported that Jankoff was captured in the vilayet of Monastir by some Bulgarian peasants, who had declined to have anything to do with the revolutionary movement. Be that as it may, no one can accuse the Prince's Government of complicity in Jankoff's misfortunes. The insurrection itself was openly announced with a flourish of trumpets a week in advance by the *Riformi*, the organ of the Macedonian Committee at Sofia, which was also permitted to placard its office windows with accounts of imaginary successes obtained by the insurgents over the Turkish troops. General Zontcheff's sanguinary proclamations on appropriately coloured paper were posted all over the Principality, and the Central Committee not long since issued postage stamps with the figure of Macedonia as a woman in chains and the legend 'Supreme Macedonia Adrianopolis Committee.' These stamps were purchased by patriots and used in addition to the ordinary stamps, the proceeds of the sale going to feed the insurrectionary movement.

In the face of these and similar circumstances it requires very robust faith to believe that the Bulgarian Government is a total stranger to the proceedings of either section of the Macedonian Committee. The only plausible excuse that has hitherto been put forward by the Government's apologists is that the Committees are too powerful and practically beyond the control of the Prince's Ministers.

In the other Balkan States interested in the Macedonian Question the Bulgarian movement meets with sincere and unqualified condemnation. At the first news of the Bulgarian preparations for a rising in the spring the Greek Government hastened to warn the Turkish authorities of the trouble to come. This action, though neither unintelligible nor unexpected, excited the wrath of the Bulgarians, who revenged themselves by redoubling their persecution of the Greeks in Macedonia. In fact, the animosity between Turks and Greeks might be taken for a lovers' quarrel when compared with the feelings entertained by the latter towards the Bulgarians. It is now universally felt among the Greeks that the Turk's rule is temporary, while that of his successor, whoever he may be, is likely to prove permanent. This feeling is strengthened by the conviction that behind the Bulgarian looms the Great Power of the North, the mortal enemy of Hellenism.

These sentiments are heartily echoed at Bucharest. Analogous

views are entertained in Servia. But no *entente* is possible between that country and the two non-Slav States owing to the peculiar position of Servia, whose political conscience, like Bulgaria's, is under the spiritual direction of Russia. This Power and Austria are the two paramount parties whose attitude in the Macedonian Question remains to be considered.

The Balkan policy of these two empires is supposed to be regulated by the Austro-Russian Agreement of 1897, by which the parties concerned are bound to co-operate in upholding the figment of the diplomatic imagination known as the *status quo*. This mutual obligation, however, is not incompatible with unremitting efforts towards the extension of each Power's influence at the expense of the other. On the whole the Agreement seems to be taken more seriously at Vienna than at St. Petersburg, or it would perhaps be nearer the truth to say that Austria-Hungary is compelled by circumstances to wink at her powerful partner's doings and save her own *prestige* by putting upon them the most favourable interpretation that they will admit of. There are even those who maintain that Russia intends to repudiate the Agreement openly as soon as the friendly relations which at present exist between her and the two Slav States, Bulgaria and Servia, are placed on a firmer and more definite basis. Nevertheless, Austria has refrained from any action which could justify Russia in denouncing this compact ; but, on the contrary, in common with the other Powers immediately interested in the tranquillity of the Balkan Peninsula, has joined in urging on the Bulgarian and Turkish Governments the importance of restoring order in Macedonia.

Russia's position with regard to the recent disturbances in that province is not quite so clear. Although the attitude of the Tsar's Government has been what diplomatists term 'correct,' the language of the Russian Press has often been the very opposite. Several important newspapers have openly counselled independent action on the part of Russia, and have done their utmost to encourage the Macedonian agitators. It should be borne in mind that the Press is not usually allowed in Russia to air views positively opposed to the Government's policy, and when the articles in question are taken in conjunction with the Grand Duke Nicholas's participation in the Shipka demonstrations, as the Tsar's representative, and Count Ignatieff's oratorical displays, the only logical conclusion at which the impartial observer can arrive is that the Russian Ministers' official utterances need not bear more than a very remote kinship to their thoughts. At the same time, it would be an error to assume that the Tsar is ready to embark on a long, costly, and doubtful campaign, for the benefit of his 'dear and amiable brother, Prince Ferdinand,' and his 'dear Bulgarian brothers.' 'Mother Russia' is as prudent as she is tender, and the Bulgarians would probably be doomed to grievous

disappointment if they expect anything beyond sentimental assurances from the Russian Press, effusive telegrams from the Russian Emperor, and, maybe, financial contributions from the Russian people, at the present moment.

All these considerations tend to show the difficulties besetting any solution of the knotty Macedonian problem. That the Turkish rule is far from ideal or even moderately decent is a proposition no longer in need of demonstration. That every attempt at shaking off the yoke renders the latter heavier and more crushing is equally well known. But these admissions do not bring one any nearer to a solution. The agitation, sanguinary as it is, cannot claim to be the spontaneous effort of the people. The inhabitants of Macedonia are too well aware of their weakness to venture on revolt. The very name by which the revolutionary movement is known is a misnomer. Macedonians as a distinct and homogeneous ethnic group do not exist. What actually exist are a Greek population in the south of the province, a Slavonic population in the north, a mixed and debatable congeries of nationalities and dialects in the middle, a few Wallachs here and there, and Mohammedans sprinkled everywhere. The whole thing strikes the traveller as an ethnological experiment conceived by demons and carried out by maniacs—not devoid of a mad sort of humour. Add that the Slavs themselves do not always know whether they are Servians or Bulgarians, and, if the latter, whether they are Schismatic or Orthodox, or, if Schismatic, whether they wish to see the country independent or part of the Bulgarian Principality, and you have a fairly accurate picture of a state of things presented by no other part of the globe of equal dimensions. Each of these races has a national ideal of its own, and though this ideal may change from time to time, it always remains not only incompatible with but violently antagonistic to the ideals of every other race. These conditions offer a field for ingenious speculation as tempting as it is rare, and accordingly the nostrums which have at various times been brought to public notice could easily fill a fair-sized volume of what might be called 'political pharmaceuticals.' I shall here confine myself to the latest of these recipes.

It has been suggested that a solution of the Macedonian problem might be reached by the creation of an autonomous province under a Christian Governor, after the pattern of the Lebanon. But the analogy is not a very happy one. It is true that the mixture of creeds and races, and their mutual hatreds, in that district of Syria are great. But there the Maronites form an overwhelming majority which enables them, with comparatively little difficulty, to silence opposition, whereas in Macedonia no race or sect can claim such predominance over the rest. Besides—and this, in my opinion, is a more serious matter—the rival nationalities of Macedonia are each and all imbued with traditions of the past and hopes for the future,



utterly foreign to the inhabitants of the Lebanon, whose chief differences have always been of a simpler nature, such as a firm and honest Governor could easily settle as they arose. Nor are national traditions and aspirations negligible quantities. Little as they are usually considered by hard-headed Northerners, sentimental and historic factors have a most important share in the practical politics of Southerners. Further, these nationalities live in contact with fellow-countrymen and co-religionists who have already partially realised the common dream, and the proximity of these emancipated brethren is bound to continue acting as a centrifugal force on the inhabitants of Macedonia. Indeed, nothing but the iron grip of the Turk, which their mutual hostility perpetuates, prevents them from flying asunder. Once this check is removed, the whole mass will inevitably resolve itself into its constituent elements, each race being attracted by the nearest State; the Bulgarians will join Bulgaria, the Serbs Servia, and the Greeks Greece. Nor will such a dispersion come about without a previous intestine struggle of proselytism, the horrors of which can easily be conceived, though not its possible and ultimate proportions. Slavs and Hellenes may consent to live and act peacefully together when sheep and wolves have forgotten their ancient feuds, when the fish have taken to building nests in the trees, or when arbitration has entirely superseded war; but not before. An independent Macedonian Principality would be the inauguration of a new state of things worse than the old, and the remedy would create a disease more dangerous than the one which it was intended to cure.

Meanwhile the insurrectionary movement, once begun, is not likely to collapse. The bands, whom the advent of winter has forced to seek shelter, will at the first approach of spring renew their operations with greater vigour than ever, if the unusual activity displayed during the past few months and the impetus lent to the Bulgarian agitation by the Shipka fêtes are any aids to prognostication. Not that insurrection can by itself produce anything but additional suffering. The lack of unanimity both among the inhabitants of Macedonia generally and among the agitators themselves in particular is a guarantee of failure. At the same time, the necessary cumulation of Turkish troops cannot but add enormously to the economic exhaustion of the province and the various forms of oppression of which the wretched peasants are the normal victims. A rebellion, even if general and serious, could only be successful if supported by the assurance of European intervention. But such assurance is not forthcoming. Zontcheff and Sarafioff and their respective adherents, however, believe that they can induce Europe to intervene by provoking a massacre, and it is not at all impossible that their calculations may prove correct. The Porte is incapable of sustained and vigorous action. Con-

spirators are only caught to be released; bands in open rebellion are broken up, but, instead of being pursued and exterminated, are given every opportunity of reuniting, and the agitation, like a Lernaean hydra, grows two fresh heads for each one that is cut off. This blind policy is attributed partly to the disaffection of the Turkish troops, who are so badly and rarely paid that they prefer the peaceable plundering of the *rayahs* to the perilous extermination of rebels, partly to the corruptibility of the local officials, who for similar reasons find it more profitable to wink than to watch.

In the circumstances—despite representations to the Porte by the Powers and platonic promises of discriminate firmness from the former, despite like representations to the Bulgarian Government and like promises from the latter—we dare not hope for the best, but can only be stoically prepared for the worst.

G. F. ABBOTT.\*

NOTE.—The above was written before Count Lamsdorff's tour; but this event has hitherto produced nothing to justify the alteration of a single word in the article.

G. F. A.

## THE RAVEN

## II

My intimate personal acquaintance with the raven dates from 1855, nearly half a century ago, when I was a boy of fifteen years old, at Milton Abbas School, Blandford. The circumstances may be worth relating. I had, for some years, been fond of birds and not merely in the sense in which Tom Tulliver was 'fond of them'—'fond, that is, of throwing stones at them.' Some six miles from Blandford, between it and Wimborne, at the end of a stretch of open down and near the park of Kingston Lacy, there stands, on high ground, a noble clump of Scotch firs, younger and smaller trees outside, older and bigger within. Round the clump run several concentric circles of fosse and rampart, the work of bygone races, British, Roman, or Saxon, which give to the whole the name of 'Badbury Rings.' There, from time immemorial, so tradition said, a pair of ravens had reared their young, and many attempts had been made without success to reach their eyrie. The trees selected were too big in girth to swarm, and the lower branches, for forty feet upward, had disappeared. The raven, I knew, was the earliest of all birds to breed, earlier by some weeks than the rook and the heron, which are the next to follow it.

It was the 24th of February, and the snow lay thick on the ground. When school was over at noon, I applied for leave to go to Badbury Rings. My good master, the Rev. J. Penny, after a decent show of objection—'the snow was so deep that we could never get there,' 'the tree so hard that we should never be able to climb it,' 'the season so backward that no sensible raven would be thinking of laying her eggs yet'—gave me the necessary permission. I was accompanied by J. H. Taylor, now of Trinity College, Cambridge. We bought a hammer and a packet of the largest nails we could get, some sixty in number and some ten inches long, and we set out on our expedition; but, what with the weight of the nails and hammer, and the depth of the snow, and our losing our way, for a time, near the halfway village of Spetisbury, we did not arrive till half-past three o'clock. As we approached, we heard, to our delight, the croak of the ravens, and saw them soaring above the clump or wheeling round

it, chasing one another. We entered the clump. There were two or three raven-like looking nests, apparently of previous years, and we did not want to assail the wrong one; so we crouched down and watched till we saw, or thought we saw, the raven go into one of them. We crept up and gave the tree a tap, and out the bird flew; still, as birds often go into their nests and 'think about it' some days before they lay in them, we did not feel sanguine as to the result.

The tree was just what we had expected, and there was nothing to be done but to go at it, hammer and nails. It was a task of delicacy and difficulty, not to say of danger: to lean with one foot the whole of one's weight upon a nail, which might have a flaw in it, or might not have been driven far enough into the tree; to cling with one arm, as far as it would reach, round the bole, and, with the other, to hold nail and hammer, and to coax the former into the tree with very gentle blows—for a heavy blow would at once have overbalanced me—and then to climb one step upwards and repeat the process over and over again. The old birds, meanwhile, kept flying closely round, croaking and barking fiercely, with every feather on neck and head erect in anger, and often pitching in a tree close by. It was well that they did not make believe actually to attack me; for the slightest movement on my part to ward them off must have thrown me to the ground. In spite of the exertion, my hands and body were numbed with the cold. I had taken up as many nails as I could carry, some six or seven in a tin box tied round my waist, and let it down with a string, from time to time, to get it refilled by my companion. As I got higher, the task seemed more dangerous, for the wind told more, and a slip would now not only have thrown me to the ground but have torn me to pieces with the nails which thickly studded the trunk below. At last, the first branch, some fifty feet from the ground, as measured by the string, was reached, and the rest was easy.

There are few moments more exciting to an enthusiastic bird's-nester than is the moment before he looks into a nest, which he has had much difficulty in reaching, and which may or may not contain a rare treasure. One can almost hear one's heart beat; and to my 'inexpressible delight,' if I may quote the phrase used in my diary for that night, my first glance revealed that the nest contained four eggs. It had taken me two and a half hours to attain to them. Two of the eggs are still in my possession. They are speckled all over with grey and green, twice the size of a rook's egg, and perhaps a third larger than a crow's, and if the value one puts upon a thing depends very much, as I suppose it does, on what it has cost one to get it, I have the right to regard them as among my most treasured possessions. The nest was a huge structure, nearly as big as a heron's, but with larger sticks in it and more com-

pect and better built. The eggs lay in a deep and comfortable hollow, lined with fibres, grass, dry bracken, a few feathers, some rabbits' fur, and, strangest of all, a large portion of a woman's dress, probably a gipsy's, for in those days, gipsy encampments were common thereabouts. The descent would have been comparatively easy except for the darkness, which had come on apace and made it difficult to find the nails. We did not reach home till nine o'clock P.M., worn out with cold, hunger, and fatigue, but proud in the possession of the first raven's eggs I had ever seen.

It may add a touch of interest to the story to mention that Badbury Rings is identified by Dr. Guest with Mount Badon, the scene of the great victory of King Arthur, the national hero of the Britons, over the West Saxons, which delayed the course of their invasion for some thirty years; and it adds still another touch of interest to record that there is a version of the 'Passing of Arthur' which must have been unknown even to Lord Tennyson. The immortal knight of La Mancha, Don Quixote himself, tells us that King Arthur did not die, but was changed by witchcraft into a raven; that the day is still to come when he will assume his former shape and claim his former rights; and that, since that time, no Englishman has ever been known to kill a raven, for fear lest he should kill King Arthur! What place could be more appropriate for King Arthur to haunt during his inter-vital state than the scene of his great victory, Badbury Rings? Long may he haunt it! The raven has continued to build, with few intermissions, every year since 1856 at Badbury Rings or in the adjoining park of Kingston Lacy, safe under the protection of its owner, Mr. Ralph Bankes, who will, doubtless, be doubly anxious to protect it now, when he is assured on the authority of Don Quixote himself, that the violent death of a raven on his estate may not only involve—as it has long been held in the neighbourhood to do—a loss to his family, but also a loss to the nation at large.

The great German Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, who was drowned, while on the Third Crusade, in a little river in Cilicia, was believed, for centuries, by his subjects not to have died at all, but, like King Arthur, only to have 'passed,' and to be lying in a cave in the mountains, whence his red beard could occasionally be seen flashing through the mist, waiting till it should be time for him to awake and give unity to distracted Germany. Prince Bismarck has done his work for him; and I do not suppose that his sleep will ever now be disturbed. But one incident of the legend must be recorded here. He wakes from time to time, and asks sleepily 'whether the ravens are still flying round the mountain.' The answer is that they are still flying; and the great Emperor sighs and goes to sleep again, considering that the time for his resurrection has not yet come.

My other ravens' nests I must dismiss more briefly. The next I found was two years later, in Savernake Forest, while I was at school at Marlborough. Savernake Forest, take it all in all, is the finest bit of woodland scenery in England and a very paradise of birds. A paradise and a sanctuary it would be in one, if it were not for the near neighbourhood of so many hundred boys. Of this, however, I should be the last to complain, seeing that nearly every spare hour of my three years at school was passed within it. It has every species of game from herds of red and fallow deer to pheasants, partridges, and rabbits, and, what is more to my purpose to remark, it is also the happy home—as so many wild tracts of woodland and noble parks might still be in England—of large numbers of interesting birds of prey, the sparrow and the kestrel hawk, the white owl and the brown owl, the crow and the magpie. With jays and jackdaws it literally swarms. Its primæval oaks or beeches, as they gradually decay, afford easy boring and nesting room for every species of climbing bird, the woodpecker, green and spotted, the nuthatch, the wryneck and the tree-creeper. The kingfisher I have known to build in its marlpits two miles from running water; while small birds which are not common in other parts of England, except in specially favoured spots, such as the wood wren, the redstart, and the hawfinch, are not uncommon there. All that seemed requisite to crown its sylvan glories was a raven and a ravens' nest. Vague rumours indeed had reached me that a stray raven had occasionally been heard or seen within the forest; but, in all my wanderings hitherto, I had seen or heard nothing of it myself. I started, on a somewhat forlorn hope, with my friend, now Sir Robert Collins, on the 11th of March, 1859, and as we neared a clump of splendid silver firs at the far end of the Forest, beyond the reach of the ordinary bird's-nester, we heard the croak of a raven, saw it flying, and found its nest. It contained five eggs, which, in due time, were safely hatched. For how many years before this the ravens had been building there, and how many years afterwards they continued to do so, I know not. I only know that they are not there now.

The next nest was in quite a different, but in an equally ideal place, near my own home at West Stafford. It was in a wood of old Scotch firs on Knighton Heath, the same of which I spoke, in my previous article, as having, within my own knowledge, been the home, for nearly half a century, of a pair of long-eared owls. It is the outpost, as it were, of that large expanse of wild moorland and woodland—brightened in springtime by brakes of gorse and broom and hawthorn, and intersected by quaking bogs, fragrant with bog myrtle, and, in autumn, often rich in colour with sun-dew, and asphodel, and the flowering rush, and the dark blue bog gentian—which begins with Knighton or with Yellowham Wood, and stretches away, with few intermissions, by Wareham, Poole, and Christchurch, through the

New Forest, and so right on to Woking or Bagshot. The nearer part of this wild country, it may interest many to know, is that which has been made famous by the genius of Mr. Thomas Hardy, under the name of Egdon Heath.

The tree was the biggest in the wood, looking out upon the heath, and a few yards below it was a 'silent pool,' half overgrown with grass and rushes, to which we gave thereafter the name of Raven Tarn.

The coot was swimming in the reedy pond,  
Beside the water-hen—so soon affrighted ;  
And in the weedy moat the heron, fond  
Of solitude, alighted.

The moping heron, motionless and stiff,  
That on a stone, as silently and stilly,  
Stood, an apparent sentinel, as if  
To guard the water-lily.

And now, the presence of the raven made the eeriness of the place complete, and for four months in each of the next five years—in January, when the old birds began to repair their nest ; in February, when the eggs were laid ; in March, when they were hatched ; in April, when the young birds, already dressed in their complete and final plumage, were beginning to find their wings—I was able, from time to time, to watch the progress made, and put to the proof the solicitude of the parent birds for each other and for their young, to admire their aerial movements, and to listen to the curiously varied intonations of their deep-voiced throats. The augurs and necromancers of old are said to have distinguished sixty-five intonations of the raven's voice—a wide field for augural science or chicanery ; but there are quite enough varieties—his croak, his bark, his grunt, his chuckle—to attract the ear and call for close attention. There is no bird whose movements are so varied and so graceful, especially when the nest is preparing and the cares of motherhood have not yet begun. They will toy with one another in mid-air, and often tumble down a fathom or two, as if shot, or turn right over on their backs in sheer merriment. When the wind is high, the 'tempest-loving' ravens shoot up in the air like a rocket or a towering partridge to an immense height, and then, by closing their wings, drop, in a series of rapid jerks or plunges which they can check at pleasure, down to the ground. The male bird, while his mate is sitting, keeps anxious watch over her, and croaks savagely when any one approaches, or sallies forth in eager tournament against any rook, or crow, or hawk, or larger bird of prey which intrudes on his domains. If you can manage to evade his watchful eye, and enter the wood unobserved, you can sometimes lie down quite still, in sight of the nest and see all that is going on. You will see him perch on the very top of an adjoining fir-tree or whet

his beak, as he is fond of doing, against one of its branches, or fiercely tear off others and drop them below. You will hear him utter a low gurgling note of conjugal endearment, which will, sometimes, lure his mate from her charge, and then, after a little coze and talk together, you will see him, unlike many husbands, relieve her, for the time, of her responsibilities, and take his own turn upon the nest.

The raven always pairs for life, and the strength of affection, the fidelity, the dignity which this implies seem to me to raise him indefinitely, as it does the owls, above birds which congregate in flocks, and so abjure family ties and duties through a great part of the year. Still more does he rise above birds which choose a new mate with each new love season or which, like the daintily-stepping cock-pheasant or the wanton mallard, are polygamous by nature, and summon with a lordly crow, or cluck, or quack, now one, and now another, of their humble-looking wives or drudges, to their presence.

The young ravens, long before they leave the nest, are, except in strength of leg or wing, completely developed both in colour and in form; while birds of lower orders have to pass through a long apprenticeship before they can be said to be perfect in either. A young robin or a young thrush remain, in appearance, a young robin or a young thrush for many weeks after they have left the nest; while birds like the harrier, the gull, the gannet, the great northern diver go, for years, through a very kaleidoscope of changes, before they can be pronounced to have come of full age. And it is on this early maturity of the raven, as well as on his high physical and intellectual development, that Professor Newton relies, when he places him at the top of the ornithological tree.

The last raven's nest in which I was specially interested was further within the heath country, on the Moreton estate, belonging to Mr. Frampton, an estate which, by its extent and its beauty, by its clear streams, by its big fir plantations and its clumps of high trees on isolated knolls dispersed over the heather, is calculated to attract not only wading and swimming birds which abound there, but birds of prey, and, above all, the king of birds, the raven. I was walking home, late one evening, early in April, regretting that no raven was now to be seen at Raven Tarn, or in the whole neighbourhood, when I heard one single low note which I felt sure must be that of a raven. I looked up, and could just see him flying high in air, inward from the sea, and going, as hard as he could go, towards Moreton. I watched him out of sight, making, as it seemed to me, right for a clump of firs on a conical hill called Millicent, some five or six miles 'as the crow,' or as, I might say in this instance, the raven 'flies'; and I was convinced that, at that time of the evening, he must be going straight to his home, and that, at that time of the year, his home must be his nest and his little ones. Next day, I followed, as nearly as I could, in his viewless track, and there, in the



biggest tree of the clump and looking over a wide swamp, was the raven's nest, and in it five fully-fledged young birds. I managed to bring one of them safely down in a handkerchief, in my teeth; and, for seventeen years afterwards it remained one of the most delightful of our pets and most amusing of our companions at Harrow.

A few words about the raven as a pet. No bird, I think, is his equal in this capacity, whether we look at his intense sociability, his queer secretiveness, his powers of mimicry, his inexhaustible store of fun and mischief. You have never got to the bottom of him. He is always learning something fresh. No bird has a more elaborate development of the vocal organs, and no bird, not even a parrot, makes more use of them. He will catch up any sound which takes his fancy, from his own name Ralph, or Grip, or Jacob, to a short sentence, and the latter he will practise, with only a few 'flashes of silence,' by the hour together. His voice is so human that it has often been mistaken for a man's. Anecdotes about him abound. Here is a sample or two of them. One raven, kept near the guard-house at Chatham, managed more than once to 'turn out' the guard, who thought they were summoned by the sentinel on duty. Another, the favourite of a regiment, of which I used to hear much when I was young, would walk demurely on to the parade-ground, take his place by the side of the commanding officer, and, in defiance of military discipline, repeat, with appropriate intonations, each word of command. The stable-yard of a country inn in the olden time, a brewer's yard in more recent times, formed an excellent 'school for scandal' for a pet raven, who would not only learn to imitate all the sounds made by all the animals or birds which frequented the spot, but would pick up 'stable language' or brewing language with a somewhat objectionable facility. One raven, kept at the 'Elephant and Castle,' when that famous hostelry was the resort of four-horse coaches rather than of omnibuses, would take his place in an outward-bound coach, the observed of all observers, by the side of a coachman who had won his heart, and return in a homeward-bound coach which he met on the road, by the side of another favourite Jehu. Another raven, kept at the 'Old Bear' inn at Hungerford, struck up a close friendship with a Newfoundland dog. When the dog broke his leg the raven waited on him constantly, catered for him, forgetting for the time his own greediness, and rarely, if ever, left his side. One night, when the dog was by accident shut within the stable alone, Ralph succeeded in pecking a hole through the door, all but large enough to admit his body. Another, kept in a yard in which a big basket sparrow-trap was sometimes set, watched narrowly the process from his favourite corner, and managed, when the trap fell, to lift it up, hoping to get at the sparrows within. They, of course, escaped before he could drop the trap. But, taught by experience, he opened com-

munications with another tame raven in an adjoining yard, and the next time the trap fell, while one of them lifted it up, the other pounced upon the quarry. Wild ravens have, in like manner, been observed, upon occasion, to hunt their prey in couples.

The strange story of yet another raven I owe, in outline, to Mr. John Digby, of the Middle Temple, who got it from his friend, the owner, and saw much of what it relates. A female raven, known at that time to be sixty years of age, and who had passed much of her early and middle life with a strange companion, a blind porcupine, was given, in the year 1854, by Mr. J. H. Gurney, the well-known ornithologist, to the rector of Bluntisham in Huntingdonshire. She seemed so disconsolate at the loss of her surroundings, that her new owner, failing to get another raven, managed to secure a seagull as her companion. A warm friendship soon sprang up between the birds. They followed one another about everywhere, and the raven used often to treat her companion to pieces of putrid meat which she had buried, for her own consumption, in the shrubberies. These were delicacies in the eyes of the raven, but they were not so good for the gull. In course of time, whether from indigestion or not, the gull fell ill and the raven became more assiduous than ever in her attentions, never leaving him and plying him with her most nauseous tit-bits. The gull grew worse, as was, perhaps, natural under the treatment, and less companionable; and, one day, when he positively refused to touch a more unsavoury morsel than usual which the raven had denied to herself, and, doubtless, thought to be a panacea, the raven, in a fit of fury at the ingratitude of her patient, fell upon her friend, killed it, tore it to pieces, and, burying half of it for future consumption, devoured the rest.

We know little enough of our own hearts, still less of one another's, but how infinitely less do we know of the animals who are our most constant companions, most of all, of our pet birds! Such intense affection, followed by such uncontrollable rage at a fancied slight, one may have known in man, but who would expect it in a raven? Was it a reversion to type, to original savagery, just as a Negro, apparently civilised and Christianised, has been known, on returning to the Niger coast, within a year, to go back to his human sacrifices and cannibalism, or as the Fuegians described by Darwin, who, after a long visit to England, reverted, after their return to their native land, to their old customs, the eating of putrid whale blubber, and the suffocating of their old women? (Or was it a crowning proof of love, such as is given by some animals to their young, when they think they can save them in no other way, or by such savages as those described by Herodotus, who thought it was the basest ingratitude *not* to kill and eat their aged parents? We know not; but any bird which has a nature so inscrutable, so passion-ravaged,

capable of such fierce extremes and such violent revulsions of feeling, possesses a personality of its own, and has that within it, from which a whole Greek tragedy, nay, a second Medea, might be well evolved. It should be added that the bird was still living in 1874. At that extreme age, she bethought herself, for the first time, of making a nest on the ground, in which she laid some eggs, all of which she soon afterwards devoured.

Of course, a tame raven is an arrant thief, and if you let him loose you must expect to pay for your amusement. Anything bright especially attracts him. A butler who had lost spoon after spoon, and had thrown the blame upon everyone but the real offender, at last saw Ralph with the proverbial 'silver spoon in his mouth,' watched him sneak off to the hole which served him for a savings bank, and found therein not only the spoon which he had missed, but others which he had not. The bank, on this occasion, paid compound interest on the deposit.

One of my own tame ravens, a native of Raven Tarn, had the run of a stable-yard, of a garden, and of a field—in fact, pretty well also of the whole of the adjoining village of Stafford; and no small boy, home for the holidays, for the first time, from school, could prove a greater imp of mischief than he. He led the pigeons, the ducks, and the hens of the stable-yard a sad life; but he gave the cocks a wide berth, except when they were busy fighting, and then he would attack them in safety and with perfect impartiality, from the rear. When a favourite cat was walking demurely and daintily across the yard, Jacob, with a few quiet sidelong hops, would come up behind, his head also on one side, as always when meditating mischief, give her a sharp nip in the tail, and testify his delight at the panic he had created by a loud croak. He had private stores everywhere of sticks, bones, buttons, nails, thimbles, and even halfpence, some of which were not discovered till after his death, and then chiefly by his namesake, and successor, and residuary legatee. If you ever noticed him putting on a particularly *nonchalant* air, you might be quite sure he had some stolen treasure in his mouth which he was particularly anxious to stow away unobserved. He was the friend of everyone in the village, but the marplot of all who had any work to do in it. Did he see the gardener bedding out, with especial care, any particular plant, he would select it for his especial attention, as soon as the gardener's back was turned. Did he see a labourer in the allotment 'setting' a row of his beans, as soon as he was gone, the raven would follow in his footsteps, dig them up one by one, and drop them, one on the top of another, into a hole of his own. Did a well-dressed man, something perhaps of a dandy, drop a new lilac kid glove, the raven would be off with it in a moment, dodge all his pursuers, and, the moment the pursuit slackened, would begin to pick it to pieces and would continue his work, each time the pursuers halted for

breath, till it was a thing of shreds and tatters. He would follow me about for a walk of a mile or so, and if he happened to meet a dog, there was a great show of excitement and fury on both sides; but each had too much regard for his own safety to come to close quarters. It was a case of *cave corvum* quite as much as of *cave canem*.

Most villages in Dorset—as is, I suppose, the case in other counties—have at least one happy or unhappy imbecile, living among them who—such is the kindness of the people—is almost always the village pet rather than the village butt. The raven soon detected the weakness of the Stafford imbecile and would demonstrate around him and make vigorous attacks on his legs whenever he passed through the yard. He showed similar insight and contempt for intellectual weakness, when I kept him for a term or two in the gardens of Trinity College, Oxford. The son of the gardener, who helped his father in the more mechanical part of his work, happened not to be strong in his mind. The raven instantly recognised the difference between them, and while he never molested the father in his work, he never left the son alone in his. Sometimes he would fly up to my window while I was giving a lecture, it may be on some Greek play, to my pupils, and would interpolate remarks which, if they were a sore interruption to the lecture, seemed often quite as much to the point as some of the remarks of the Chorus, through which we were painfully labouring. He was quite impervious to rain or frost or snow. When the snow was deep on the ground, he would play in it or roll over in it like a dog. He chose for his roosting-place the ridge of a thatched wall in a very exposed place in the allotments, and stuck to it through all weathers. Pets usually come to a sad or premature end. Waterton's pet raven, Marco, perished from a blow of one of his best friends, an angry coachman, on whom, in a moment of play or of excitement, he had inflicted a sharp nip. So sharp and strong is a raven's beak that he can hardly ever touch the hand without bringing blood and cutting rather deep. Dickens's pet raven 'Grip,' developed an 'unfortunate taste for white paint and putty,' and died of the slow poison, as is narrated in Dickens's own preface to *Barnaby Rudge* and at greater length in his *Life* by Forster. My pet raven, 'Jacob,' met with the most ignominious and unworthy fate of all. He either walked or slipped into a barrel of liquid pigs'-wash and was found by me therein. An open verdict of 'found drowned' was all that could be said about him.

Another pet raven from Millicent Clump could not be allowed such unfettered liberty at Harrow, as he might have had in his native air of Dorset. He was kept in a large aviary where, if his opportunities for mischief were less, his progress in language was greater. His own name 'Jacob' and that of the gardener, 'Holloway,' he

would repeat in half-a-dozen different tones. 'Come on' he would say, now in a commanding, now in a hectoring, now in a persuasive tone, and, now again, in the most confidential of whispers. This last was a great effort. He would bend his body right down to the perch on which he stood, open his wings, and every feather in his body would stand erect or would move in sympathy with it. But his pleasure was in proportion to his pain. He loved, as a clever parrot does, to call forth a peal of laughter, and though he could not laugh himself—it was almost the only human achievement that he did not attempt—his eye showed that he knew all about it. 'How's that?' 'Out,' was a question and answer which he picked up for himself from a cricket-yard at some little distance. A bad cough, which I had, he managed to imitate so well that people who passed down the adjoining lane thought it inconsiderate of me to expose a gardener who had such a hacking cough to all weathers in my garden. He was a capital 'catch.' Blackberries thrown to him,—as boys throw a ball to one another when practising themselves at 'catch'—he would manage to intercept, whether thrown high or low, quickly or slowly, from his central perch, by a dexterous movement of his neck and beak, without ever shifting his position, and hardly ever missing one, even on its rebound, when thrown against the opposite wall of the cage. Morsels of food given to him he would pack, one after the other, into the expansive skin of his lower mandible, till it was puffed out like a pouch; and he then would look at you with a queer and knowing 'where-are-they-all-gone-to?' sort of expression. When he had given you time to guess, he would gravely reproduce them, one after the other, and proceed to hide them in various parts of his cage, patting them down under sand or stones or rubbish of any kind, and then again would disinter them as quickly as children do a doll which they have buried in their play, with a genuine *εὕρηκα* look. The key of his cage-door, if it were left open by chance, he would whip out in a moment, and hide it in his very best hiding-place, and visibly enjoy the trouble he gave you in looking for it. He pecked a small hole into the next compartment of the aviary, in which I kept, sometimes an eagle owl, sometimes a kestrel hawk; and it was his supreme delight to filch away a bit of food which the owl or the kestrel, in their comparative stupidity, sometimes left near it. One day, the kestrel himself, in a moment of forgetfulness, came too near the hole. The raven caught him by the leg; and it was soon all over with him.

It may be well, before I close, to say a word or two upon the thoughts that men have had about the raven. How is it that, while some nations appear to regard him with affection, with respect, with religious veneration, others look upon him with fear, with hatred, with disgust? How is it that, in some latitudes, he is sacrosanct, in others, an outlaw and an ogre? A prophet may be a prophet of

either good or evil, and the raven has been almost universally regarded as a prophet of evil. Is it best to propitiate or to ignore and defy him? When observed by the Roman augurs he was generally on the left hand; and he not only foresees evil, he gloats over it, he helps to bring it on. Danger and disgrace, disease and death, are to him the breath of his life. In them he holds a ghastly revelry. Like the splendid personification of Death itself in *Paradise Lost*, he can sniff them from afar. He hovers over a house in which there is to be a death, even before the disease, which is to be its precursor, has appeared. He is on the field of battle, ready for the feast, long before the carnage has begun. His mysterious, his uncanny powers, his means of avenging himself for a wrong, do not cease with his life. The enchantress Medea, when she is mixing a life-potion by which to restore, in defiance of the Fates, her aged father to the bloom of his youth, drops into the caldron, like the weird sisters, first the most potent herbs and simples of her country, then the bones and body of an owl, then some slices of wolf, and, last and best of all, the head and beak of a raven who had seen nine generations of men pass away. The medicine man, among the North American Indians, is said, when he is peering into the future, to carry on his back three raven-skins with their tails fixed at right angles to his body, while on his head he wears a split raven-skin, so fastened as to let the huge and formidable beak project from the forehead.<sup>1</sup> In Sweden, it was long believed that the ravens which croaked by night in the forest swamps and wild moorlands were the ghosts of murdered persons, whose bodies had been concealed there by their undetected murderers, and had not received Christian burial. Beliefs like these have often given a partial protection to the raven in countries where he most needed it. People, like the Highlanders, who are quite willing that others should kill the raven, are not often willing to kill one themselves. Others, who would on no account shoot a raven, are willing to put down a strychnined egg for him, leaving him to be, as they flatter themselves, the agent of his own destruction. 'Wickedness proceedeth from the wicked, but my hand shall not be upon thee.' To this day, in England, the prosperity of many a great family is supposed to depend upon the safety of the raven which has deigned to make his domicile under its protection. If he meets a violent death, a member of the family is sure to die within the year.

Is it true or not true—another curious and current belief—that the raven lives to an immense age, some say to a hundred or even to three hundred years? Old Hesiod is the father of the belief, and he is supported, more or less, by a host of ancient writers, the elder Pliny, Cicero, Aristophanes, Horace, Ovid, and Ausonius. Popular

<sup>1</sup> N. Stanley's *British Birds*, p. 187.

opinion in modern times quite agrees with them, as expressed in the Highland proverb, somewhat modified from Hesiod :

Thrice the life of a dog is the life of a horse,  
Thrice the life of a horse is the life of a man,  
Thrice the life of a man is the life of a stag,  
Thrice the life of a stag is the life of a raven.

There cannot be so much smoke without some fire behind it ; and I am inclined to think that a raven does live to a great age for a bird, and that Horace's epithet for the raven, *annosus*, and Tennyson's 'many-wintered crow' are justified by facts. But the belief in its extreme age rests, I suspect, on one of its most touching characteristics, its intense hereditary attachment to the spot, a particular cliff, a particular grove, a particular tree, where its ancestors, where itself, and where its young have been born and bred. The most striking instance that has come within my own knowledge was at the home of my own grandfather, the Down House, Blandford. In a fine clump of beeches in a plantation named Littlewood, in the middle of the down, a raven used to build year after year. Year after year, the hen bird was shot upon the nest by an insensate gamekeeper ; and, year after year, the male bird came back with a new mate to share her predecessor's fate ; at last, the male bird was shot as well, and the gamekeeper thought that he had done with them for ever. But a fresh pair, doubtless birds of the same stock which had been hatched there safely before the reign of the blood-thirsty gamekeeper had begun, came next year and shared the same fate. Since then, the place knows them no more.

The same spirit of local attachment, I have repeatedly observed, brings a pair of ravens, which, for some reason or other, have forsaken a former home, to revisit it. Flying high in air over it, they drop, as it were, from the clouds upon it, perch upon the favourite trees, and outdo themselves, while there, in their garrulity, chattering, as is probable in so intensely conservative a bird, if not of Elijah and of Odin, at all events of the good old times which they have themselves known. Now it is probable, I think, that it is this local attachment of a pair of ravens to a particular wood or tree which has given rise to the belief that the raven is a very Nestor among birds, a Nestor in age, as well as in wisdom and eloquence. Two or three generations ago, a 'raven-tree,' 'the pest or the pride of the village,' it might be called according to the point of view, could be pointed out in many spots, in almost every county in England. The oldest inhabitant, a man perhaps of eighty or ninety years, could not 'mind' the time, nor his father before him, no, nor his father again before him, he would say with honest pride, when 'the raven' was not there. He must therefore be older than himself, as old, probably, as his grandfather, his father, and himself put together !

But if the raven has been a bird of evil repute and has had a

bad time of it in many parts of Europe, it has been quite otherwise in Scandinavia and its dependencies; for there the raven was the sacred bird of Odin, his spy, his messenger, his pioneer, his minister for war all in one. The banner of those 'kings of the sea' was itself made in the shape of a raven, and was so constructed that when a fresh breeze bellied it, it looked as if the raven was fluttering its wings for flight; and surely, no banner that was ever borne before a conquering host, not the Labarum of Constantine, not even the Crescent of the Saracens, not the Cross of the Crusaders, nor the Oriflamme of the French, carried such terror with it, as did the raven of the Norsemen among those on whom he was to make his fatal swoop. But happily the raven-standard did not always lead its followers to victory; and the capture of one such standard was a turning point in the fortunes of the English nation and of the best and greatest of English kings. Ragnar Ludbrog, a famous sea-king, was believed to have been stung to death by serpents, in the dungeon of the Northumbrian king, Ælla, who had taken him prisoner. His sons swore to avenge him by conquering England, and his daughters managed to weave, in one noontide, the mysterious 'Raefan' or raven-standard, which was to accompany them, and to help and to witness the conquest. Did it appear to flap its wings as they marched into battle, it was a sure omen of victory. Did they hang listlessly by his side, it was a sure presage of defeat. The fortunes of Alfred the Great were in that year, the year 898, at their very lowest. England had been reduced by the Danes to Wessex; and Wessex had shrunk to the Isle of Athelney. The first battle was fought in North Devon. Whether the raven flapped or drooped his wings, the Saxon Chronicle does not tell us; but 890 of the warriors who followed it were slain, and the raven itself was captured. The good news put fresh heart into the faithful few who had clung to their king in his distress. He burst forth from his island fastness, and the capture of the raven was soon followed by the crowning victory of Ethandun, by the surrender and baptism of Guthrum and his followers, and by the Peace of Wedmore. Wessex was saved, and, through Wessex, England.

One more appeal, as in the case of the owls, to those who love, or who are capable of loving, what is wild in nature, and I have done. Cicero tells us that, after the wholesale plunderings of Verres in Sicily, the duty of the guide who took you over a town which had formerly abounded in the richest treasures of Greek art was no longer to show you those treasures, but only mournfully to point to the places in which they had once been. So is it with the ravens. The 'oldest inhabitant' of a village here and there may still point, with pride and pleasure, to a raven clump or a raven tree; but where now are the ravens? Sir Thomas Browne, writing of ravens in Norfolk two hundred years ago, said, 'Ravens are in great plenty near Norwich;



and it is on this account that there are so few kites there.' And, as late as 1829, another observer in Norfolk says, 'This bird is found in woods *in every part of the county*.'<sup>2</sup> Now there are none at all. They have followed the way of the kite. Mr. Hudson was told by the old head keeper on the forest of Exmoor where ravens surely could do little harm, that, a quarter of a century ago, he trapped fifty-two ravens in one year. What wonder that now there is not one to be heard there? In Dorset, besides those spots which I have known, in my own time, to be tenanted and afterwards abandoned by ravens, I have ascertained that a generation or two ago they still built in Sherborne Park in one of the noble Scotch fir-trees planted there by Pope, and in Bryanston Park, on Rempston Heath and Bloxworth Heath, in Came Park and on Galton Common, at Milton Abbey and Buckland Newton, in the Coombe of Houghton and the Coombe of Bingham's Melcombe, and—perhaps the most fitting place of all—on the ruins of Corfe Castle, just as they once built on Glastonbury Tor, in the adjoining county of Somerset. What would not Corfe Castle and Glastonbury Tor gain in impressiveness, if there were ravens there still? If only they were to be strictly protected, as they always have been at Badbury Rings, they might, owing to that strong hereditary local attachment which I have described, be, even now, drawn back to some of their ancestral homes.

'The raven,' says the author of *Birds of Wiltshire*,<sup>3</sup> 'is no mean ornament of a park, and speaks of a wide domain, and large timber, and an ancient family; for the raven is an aristocratic bird and cannot brook a confined property and trees of young growth. Would that its predilection were more humoured and a secure retreat allowed by the larger proprietors on the land.' The great landowner is, in my opinion, not so much to blame, except for the easy-going *laissez-faire* which allows him to put a gun into the hands of an unobservant, illiterate, and often blood-thirsty gamekeeper, and leaves him to do exactly what he likes with it. A great landowner does, as a rule, take some pride in 'showing' a fox whenever it is wanted. A heronry, if he is happy enough to possess one, he regards as the crowning glory of his park, even if the herons do make free with the inhabitants of his waters. He likes to hear that a rare bird is to be seen on his estate, and he will sometimes tolerate, perhaps even rejoice at, the presence of an otter in his osier-beds, or of a badger in his sandy hills. It is the non-resident 'shooting tenant,' or worse still, 'the syndicate of shooting tenants,' who are the arch-enemies of all wild life. A shooting tenant has, with few marked exceptions, hardly any bowels of compassion for anything but his game. A 'syndicate' has none at all. A shooting tenant, of course with the same exceptions, values his land only for the head of game

<sup>2</sup> *Birds of Norfolk*, by H. Stevenson, p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Mr. Hudson in his *Birds and Man*, p. 119.

that he can get out of it, and visits it, chiefly or only, when the time for the battue has come. He pays his gamekeeper so much per head of game, and the gamekeeper makes it his business to destroy everything that is not game.

Under these sinister influences many of our most interesting birds and animals are ceasing to exist. The bustard and the bittern, owing to the increase of the population and the reclamation of the fens, are things of the long past. The buzzard, the harrier, and the peregrine falcon are becoming rarer and rarer. The fork-tailed kite is as dead as Queen Anne. The Cornish chough is nearly as extinct as the Cornish language. The principle of a preserve for interesting wild animals, such as would otherwise be extirpated, has been established by the Americans, on an extensive scale, in the Yellowstone Park. It has been secured by the British Legislature, thanks chiefly to the exertions of Mr. Edward N. Buxton, in a part of Somaliland and elsewhere in Africa; and a similar preserve, on a small scale, which might be well extended to the New Forest, has been set apart by the Crown, in Wolmer Forest in Hampshire. No tribute could be more appropriate to the memory of Gilbert White, none would have given him more pleasure, than the consecration in perpetuity of a region through which he so often wandered, to the wild animals and birds which he so keenly loved.

But why should not every large estate, if its owner be resident upon it, as is still happily the case in most parts of England, and if he have any love for real wild life, become, in itself, a sort of sanctuary? There is a balance in nature which man never transgresses but at his cost. Witness it, the wholesale destruction of owls and hawks, and the portentous increase of rats and mice. There is a principle of 'live and let live,' which enlightened self-interest no less than the public good, sentiment no less than reason, demand. There may be as much game on an estate as any true and moderate sportsman can desire; but is there not also room in it for the wild swoop of the sparrow-hawk, for the graceful hovering of the kestrel, for the solemn hoot of the owl, for the harsh scream of the jay, for the cheerful chatter of the magpie and the jackdaw? And among all the birds which charm the ear with their resonant cries, the eye by the beauty of their form, their colour or their flight, the historic imagination by the memories of the long past which are bound up with it, the raven, if only he can be induced to revisit and inhabit again the home of his ancestors, will always deserve the foremost place.

R. BOSWORTH SMITH.

## REINCARNATION

FOR some years past intellectual Westerns have sought to expound to the West this essentially Eastern doctrine. Presumably deriving their knowledge from Brahminical philosophy, they have enunciated the basic principle of this ancient belief and speculated upon its far-reaching influence upon Hindu thought, Hindu religion, even Hindu art. But one thing they have forgotten, or, remembering, have doubted their capacity to depict—the effect of this doctrine upon Hindu conduct; upon the daily life of the Hindu, prince and peasant alike. Resignation under the cruellest afflictions in the hope of improvement in a life to come; alien domination for seven long centuries; millions swept away by plague and pestilence and famine—the history of India for seven long centuries is a living proof of the practical belief of her people in reincarnation. How could Westerns read that proof, though it be written in letters of fire?

Perhaps an exposition of that belief by a Brahmin not unacquainted with both East and West might be deemed pertinent.

It is a common opinion in the West—to some extent fostered by the writings of Mr. Kipling—that the ways of the Hindu are mysterious; that his motives of conduct are inscrutable; that it is impossible to predict under any given conditions how a Hindu would act. As against this common Western belief, the writer of this article seeks to prove that with one exception (to be mentioned hereafter) the ways of the Hindu are as clear as a crystal brook; that, of all people in the world, *his* motives of conduct can always be known to a certainty; that under any given conditions it is as easy to predict his course of conduct as to foretell that a stone thrown up into the air will surely return to earth; in fine, that the Hindu is the exact antithesis of what he is supposed to be—that his rules of conduct are as clearly defined as the laws of gravitation.

(1) The Hindu is nothing if not religious. His religious frame of mind has been at once his greatest fault and his greatest virtue. As an example of the former, it stopped the political development of his country since the days of Manu. The Roman, intellectually his inferior, outstripped him in the race for political progress; for

he had learnt early to separate religious laws from the principles of political science. The Hindu had not; hence his subsequent political stagnation. On the other hand, his religious instincts have made him the one man whose practice is identical with his belief. Nay, more; in religious principles he is the one catholic in the world. If he sees a beautiful idea in *any* religion whatsoever, he forthwith adopts it into his own and carries it into practice in his daily life. The Sermon on the Mount probably contains the noblest ideals known to man. The present writer, though a Brahmin, has no hesitation in admitting that, especially because the one 'Christian' he has ever met who actually practised those ideals was a 'heathen.' He was a young student in the Calcutta University who had read the Bible in the course of his English studies, and, reading it, had adopted the maxims of the Sermon as the teachings of a great *rishi*. Then, one day, being struck on the left cheek by a fellow student in a moment of anger, he meekly turned to him the right, saying nothing. Such is the practical religion of the Hindu.

(2) As regards his daily life, he has only two leading principles upon which his entire conduct depends—the doctrines of reincarnation and of *karma*. The latter it is not necessary to define; it is equivalent to the Christian maxim 'as thou hast sown, so shalt thou reap.' The former is more subtle. Yet, comparing it with the basic principle of Christianity, the difference between them is not so great as it seems; certainly not essential. Christianity indeed allows man but one life of probation in which to be saved or lost; the Brahminical doctrine of reincarnation several. But in either creed *it is the sum total of good deeds that must save*. In Christianity the probation lasts a portion of a century; in Brahminism several centuries. In the former, the actual moment of death is all-important; in the latter that moment is only like the moment of sleep; there is a new day after it. Yet in Brahminism also there is a final death; only it comes at the moment of attaining perfection, after centuries of expiation, if need be. If then we compare this belief with the doctrine of purgatory in the Church of Rome, or with the general Protestant belief that hell is not eternal, there remains very little essential difference between the basic principles of Brahminism and Christianity.

(3) The Hindu does *not* believe that every man will necessarily be re-born as one of the lower animals. The sinner may be, as a just retribution; but even he not necessarily. Similarly, the just man may not necessarily re-appear as a still juster man. In either case, the Hindu does not limit the *forms* which the soul of man may take in its successive migrations. All that is essential to the doctrine is that in the case of the sinner the next form will be *lower* in moral perception, in the case of the just man *higher*; but the exact nature of the form the Hindu does not profess to know.

For instance, in the higher grade there may be a state intermediate between man and 'angel' (defining angel in the Christian sense); more than man, less than angel; may be, not must be. One just man may pass through the intermediate state; another, higher in merit, leap above it. In any case, this state is not necessarily to be identified with that of the spirit world of popular imagination; beings in that state may or may not have power to manifest themselves to us; the Hindu does not profess to know which. All that is essential to his belief is that in the higher grade various souls will pass through various higher stages, whatever those stages be, each according to its merits. And even as 'angels' may fall, so also may a soul in such eminence. But even then it would not be lost for ever, as Lucifer was lost, according to Christian teaching. Its trials would only be increased by that fall; perhaps, if the sin be very great, it would be set back several *avatars*. And even if it falls repeatedly, *there would always remain the possibility of repentance*. Nay, most Hindu thinkers believe that the usual lot of a soul is to pass through such a vicissitude, rising and falling, but rising on the whole, like the Himalayas from the plains of India, the summit of Gaurisankar being the perfection that is *nirvana*; only the most favoured soul can attain *nirvana* by a continuous rise. And the Creator alone must judge the moment when perfection is attained, applying a test far higher in the case of the soul thus favoured than in that of the average one that has risen and fallen. For even as the Christian, so also does the Hindu believe that the merit of each soul is to be judged by the light it has received, not by the Divine standard of perfection itself. Thus again do Brahminism and Christianity meet.

Bearing these principles in mind, the motives of conduct that rule the daily life of the Hindu should not be difficult to understand. Even as the Christian has two main commandments (to love God above all things and his neighbour as himself), so also has the Hindu these two doctrines of reincarnation and *karma* for his daily guidance. The perfect Christian is commanded to love his neighbour 'as himself.' The ideal Hindu has to obey exactly the same law in the doctrine of *karma*. In any given case if his own interest be in conflict with that of his neighbour, he is morally bound to forego the seeking of his interest; in fine, if he would be perfect, he must consider not merely himself but his neighbour likewise. In connection therewith one could hardly do better than quote some of the Hindu maxims of conduct from a book recently published, and written by an Indian Prince:<sup>1</sup>

Blessed is he that wipes away the tears of others; for his own tears shall be wiped away.

Blessed is he that, seeking his own just happiness, gives up that search because

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<sup>1</sup> *The Romance of an Eastern Prince.* (Grant Richards.)

of the pain it might inflict upon another; for even in the hour that he has abandoned his search he shall have found it.

Blessed is he that, lying on his death-bed, finds the sum total of happiness he has brought to the world to be greater than the sum total of pain he has inflicted upon the world; for the balance shall be given back to him multiplied a thousand-fold.

Then as maxims of conduct for those that seek a yet greater perfection :

If a bee sting you, and you in anger close your hand upon it to crush it, then I say unto you : open your hand and let the bee go. What is the pain of the sting to the life of the bee ? The life is all that the bee has. If you can but kill it or let it go, it behoves you to let it go.

If a murderer come to kill you with a drawn sword, and you have a pistol in your hand and raise it to shoot him dead at your feet, then I say unto you : cast away the pistol and let the murderer kill you. For then your soul, which is in grace, will find rest; but if you kill the murderer, who already has sin in his heart, his soul will burn in fire.

How like the Sermon on the Mount ! Thus again do Brahminism and Christianity meet in the highest perfection !

There is, however, one difference—not indeed between Brahminism and Christianity, nor between the perfect Hindu and the perfect Christian, but between the average Hindu and the average Christian. The Hindu, because of his intense religious tendencies, tries to practise most of the principles of the doctrine of *karma*; the average Christian seldom tries to carry out the sublime precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. Consider the case of even the reprobate Hindu. There never has been known an instance of a Hindu consciously dying what Christians would call an ‘unhappy death.’ Imagine a hardened reprobate, sinning up to the last, accumulating crime upon crime. Then the moment he sees the hand of death upon him and realises the inevitable decree of fate, that instant his whole mental attitude changes. ‘In this life I have been a failure,’ he confesses in his inmost heart. ‘I shall try to do better in the next; shall accept the pain awaiting me.’ Such a frame of mind is not far distant from the Christian notion of repentance, though it be but a death-bed repentance. Even in these fallen days notorious dacoits or commonplace murderers may be seen in India walking to the gallows in calm dignity. ‘Mere apathy,’ says the average English spectator, scanning the immobile face. ‘Stoic indifference,’ perhaps comments his more intellectual brother, noting the steadfast eye. ‘Christian resignation,’ answers the Brahmin, reading the inmost heart.

If such be the case of the reprobate, what shall we say of the average Hindu, one who is neither saint nor confirmed sinner? Secretive, mysterious, uncommunicative indeed to the European; for the European in India has little of human sympathy in his make, little desire or capacity to make friendship that leads to

the communion of minds and hearts. But what is the average Hindu in his dealings with his neighbour? Even this: an ideal 'Christian,' save in one thing—where the interests of his loved ones are at stake. Then the saintliest Hindu becomes a sinner. He would see the whole world go to ruin if thereby he could bring happiness to his loved one—be it parent or child, wife or mistress. From his earliest childhood the Hindu is taught one practical virtue: to love his own people. Reverence for parents, love for brothers and sisters, constitute his chief moral training in his youth; from that, the love for wife and child follows in the course of nature. It becomes the keynote of his external conduct. If he falls, it is for the love of them. Even if his love be illicit, from it there spring the main motives of his conduct, good or evil.

The European that understands this will find no such 'mystery' in the ways of the Hindu as Mr. Kipling has sought to imply in his writings. There are exceptions to everything, but usually let him try to understand Hindu conduct, in the first instance, by the doctrines of reincarnation and *karma*. If he sees the Hindu showing kindness and tenderness to the lower animals, let him know that the Hindu does so out of compassion for fallen manhood that *may* perchance dwell reincarnated within them. If he sees cringing servility suddenly give place to pride and hauteur, let him know that in that instant the debased Hindu suddenly realises that in a future life his position and that of the one to whom he had cringed may be reversed—that then *he* may receive the homage and the other cringe. Let him know also that the so-called 'fatalism' of the Hindu is in reality but another manifestation of this belief in reincarnation. 'What is to be, is to be,' is *not* the true Hindu belief; rather, 'everything will be changed hereafter.' The hope of improvement in one's lot in a new life, not admission of helplessness in this; improvement by one's own virtues, not by Divine mandate alone. The history of India is in itself a proof of this practical belief.

And if these two tests of belief in reincarnation and *karma* fail, let the European that seeks to understand the ways of the Hindu apply the remaining test—his love; alike in deeds of virtue and of sin. In such a case let him try to realise that to the Hindu the ties of affection are stronger far than triple steel. Where that affection is at stake, king, country, the entire world, may go to perdition. The history of India for seven long centuries is a proof of this also. Cannot the European read it? It is fairly writ in letters of fire. Seven centuries ago King Prithiraj of Delhi, Emperor of all India, lost his kingdom, his life, the very destiny of his country for the love of Princess Sanjogini of Kanauj. And since that day the conduct of the humblest Hindu, in sin and in virtue, has been but a reiteration of that sad tragedy.

Both in regard to the love of the Hindu as a motive of conduct, and in his belief in reincarnation, one could not close this argument with a more striking proof than that supplied in the book mentioned above, *The Romance of an Eastern Prince*. In it we have the clearing up of a 'mystery' of Hindu life, the revelation of a motive of Hindu tragedy. The hero, an Indian Prince, is dominated by his love throughout his life. In his earliest youth he gives his entire love to his parents. Then, having lost them, and having no brother or sister, he concentrates all his affections upon an adopted sister, a mere child. She is the sister of another young Prince whose acquaintance he has made in the Raj-Kumar College at Ajmere. Him he learns to love as a brother; wherefore the sister of his 'brother' becomes his 'own sister.' Years pass. To him she still remains a sister, and a mere child. But, unrealised by him, the child has now grown to be a woman. Then to his horror the scales suddenly fall from his eyes. He realises that 'in making her his sister, he had not succeeded in making himself her brother—that in giving her all the love in his heart, a brother's love, he had gained in return all the love in her heart, which was not a sister's love.' Forthwith he resigns his princedom, and disappears. His motive is thoroughly Eastern. Having called her sister he can never call her wife; for in India the law of adoption is equal to the law of nature; once a sister, for ever a sister. Moreover, he knows that according to immemorial custom she will soon be compelled to marry, he likewise. He could not spare her the pain of the first; but he could of the second—of the knowledge of his union to some other woman. He disappears, hoping that she will believe him to be dead.

He comes to London secretly and in disguise. Here, unhappily, he falls in love with an English lady; tries to win her, as man, not as prince; fails.

Meanwhile, a cruel tragedy has been enacted within him. Every nation has believed, some time or other in its history, in the coming of a Messiah. But even as to Israel, so also to India—the Messiah is to come as a national hero and a conqueror. According to ancient Hindu prophecy the tenth and last *avatar* of Krishna is now due; he is to come again to rebuild the walls of Ujjain and Hostinapur, and restore the lost splendour of *Hind*. And from his earliest youth the hero of *The Romance of an Eastern Prince* had sincerely believed himself to be that *avatar* of Krishna! Nay, all the conditions of prophecy were seemingly fulfilled in him. Thus he had yielded up his whole life to fit himself for that supreme destiny.

Then suddenly the whole edifice upon which he had built that destiny lies fallen at his feet. His eyes are opened. He discovers that he is *not* Krishna; that his whole life has been one stupendous failure—one long blasphemy. The shock leads him to suicide. But, refusing to yield up a last lingering hope, he first appeals to the



justice of the Deity to send him back to life in a new incarnation as Krishna.

And there remains one thing more for him to do, to make one last reparation to the Hindu princess whose life he has unwittingly wrecked. Before his death he sends her this message :

Soul to soul, flesh to flesh : thou canst not be my wedded bride till from death I do return ; for in this life I have called thee my own sister. Wait, watch my returning. Seek for me anew amid marble and alabaster.

From the Christian standpoint his last act is indefensible. From the Brahminical, inevitable ; perhaps also heroic.

NARAYAN HARISCHANDRA.

## THE REAL CIMABUE

IN the church of San Lorenzo Maggiore at Naples hangs one of the most beautiful altar-pieces of the Trecento, Simone Martini's *Coronation of King Robert by St. Louis of Toulouse*. This picture is not only a consummate work of art; it is a great historical illustration, and is connected with two names which occupy an important place not merely in the history of the kingdom of Naples, but also in world-history. Moreover, upon the predella of this picture is to be found an original inscription, probably from the hand of the artist himself, which tells both the name and the nationality of the master who painted it. Every line of this altar-piece confirms the inscription. No one now doubts that the *Coronation of King Robert* is a work of the great Sieneſe master. Modern critics agree that it is one of the most sincere, the most characteristic of all existing examples of his achievement.

It seems inconceivable that any successful attempt could ever have been made to rob the author of such a work of the credit due to him. But the parochial patriotism of the Italian archaeologist and art historian is never daunted by mere facts. The feat was accomplished, and most successfully accomplished. Erudite Neapolitans, eager to enhance the artistic reputation of their fellow-countrymen, managed to persuade themselves and the world that this typical Sieneſe painting was the work of a half-mythical local master, Simone Napoletano. In a similar fashion, in the sixteenth and following centuries, this shadowy artist was furnished with a whole catalogue of heterogeneous paintings. Nor was he provided with stolen works alone. Patriotic archaeologists came to the aid of the local art critics. Simone Napoletano was supplied with a biography. Ultimately, not content with stealing Sieneſe pictures for their hero, the art historians of Naples appropriated a piece of Sieneſe history. In a guide book<sup>1</sup> written by local antiquarians for the members of a scientific congress held in Naples—a work which was publicly described in its own day as 'a most learned and accurate book'—an

<sup>1</sup> *Napoli e sue vicinanze: Guida offerta agli Scienziati nel congresso del 1845*, vol. i. p. 296. Quoted by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A New History of Italian Painting*, vol. i. p. 321 (London, 1864).

account was given of the triumphal procession of the clergy and people of Naples that accompanied one of Simone Napoletano's masterpieces when it was borne from the artist's house to San Domenico. This story was evidently modelled upon the well-authenticated historical narrative of the joyful procession that followed Duccio's great *Majestas* when the great *ancona* of the Sienese master was carried in state from his house near the Porta a Stalloreggi to the Cathedral.<sup>2</sup>

The only thing to be said about the Neapolitan version of the Sienese story is that the picture to which it is attached is not by Simone Napoletano, and does not even belong to his age or school. It is by an Umbrian master, and was painted a century after the period in which Simone Napoletano flourished. In no early manuscript, in no printed chronicle of the fourteenth or fifteenth century can be found any reference to such an event in Naples.

Distinguished German and English critics who had not sounded the depths of Italian local prejudice accepted without question some of the most astounding inventions of patriotic Neapolitans like Dominici. Kugler himself acquiesced in the attribution of the *Coronation of King Robert* to the Neapolitan master. At the hotels in Naples foreign *dilettanti* were accustomed to prattle about the masterpieces of Simon of Naples.

In a similar way the works in Naples of the Sienese sculptor Tino di Camaino were given to Neapolitan artists. And vain, over-rated Naples, self-styled *nobilissima*, might have continued to persuade the world that some out of the very few masterpieces of the Trecento she possesses were the work of her own sons had not a humble archivist, in that unfortunate way archivists have, produced documents which silenced for ever the claims of local connoisseurs.

The artistic reputation of Siena was peculiarly liable to detraction by subtraction. In the fourteenth century the influence of her art was felt in every great Italian town, and in some cities across the Alps. Her architects found honourable employment at Rome and Naples, at Orvieto and Perugia. Her school of sculpture was the most prolific in Italy. Even in Florence itself all the most important sculptured monuments executed in the first thirty years of the fourteenth century were chiselled by Sienese artists. Her painters went everywhere. They were employed in Rome and Florence, Orvieto and Arezzo, Perugia and Assisi, Pisa and Pistoia, Città di Castello and Castiglione Fiorentino, Naples and Avignon.

<sup>2</sup> An anonymous chronicler who would seem to have taken part in the festival has left us an account of it. His testimony is confirmed by the account-book of the *Camarlingo* of the Commune for the year 1311. At page 261 of this book we read 'Ancho viii sol. a Marsefetto Buoninsegne, a Pericciuolo Salvuoci, a Certiere Guidi, a Marcho Cierreti, trombatori et ciaramella et nacchare del chomune di Siena, per una richontrata che feciero de la Tavola de la Vergine Maria, a ragione di due soldi per uno, sechondo la forma de' patti ch'ene tra 'l chomunc di Siena e loro.'

They exercised a most important influence on the nascent schools of Umbria and on the school of Pisa. Siennese goldsmiths were employed by Pope and Emperor alike. One of them made the crown of Dante's hero, the Emperor Henry the Seventh. Others were the official goldsmiths of successive occupants of the Holy See.

Siena, however, had no art historians to tell of her early artistic triumphs. The great historians and critics of art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries belonged to the rival city. Only in recent ages has Siena shown any great regard for her artistic reputation. It is quite natural, therefore, that those of her sons who in the *Trecento* made beautiful things for other cities were robbed of the credit due to them. No one wrote much about the early masters of Siena. The very names of some of them were wellnigh forgotten. The local patriot in Florence or Naples who asserted that a Siennese work in one or the other city was by a native master ran little risk of being contradicted.

In Florence, to a much greater degree than in Naples, the spirit of local patriotism manifested itself in her archæologists and art historians. In the latter half of the fifteenth century there was a succession of writers culminating in Vasari who were eager to prove that the whole credit of the revival of the art of painting in Italy belonged to Florence. 'It became an axiom with Tuscan historians that every great artist' in Siena or 'in northern Italy about whose artistic education they knew little or nothing must have been initiated into the art of painting in Florence,'<sup>3</sup> and that every important early picture or fresco that could not be proved to be by an artist of another school was by a Florentine master. They were not content with hymning the mighty genius of Giotto; for Giotto had contemporaries of other schools, who, though lesser men, were also innovators. They were anxious to show that in the previous age when all was darkness elsewhere the new light was already shining in the city by the Arno. Consequently, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, it began to be the fashion to exalt Cimabue. Regardless of the fact that Ghiberti had merely alluded to Cimabue as one of the exponents of the Greek manner of painting, and that Cennino Cennini in his two brief accounts of the revival of his art had made no allusion at all to Giotto's reputed master, Cimabue was held up to admiration as the father of Italian painting.

It was, of course, necessary to provide Cimabue with a list of works and with a legend. This was first done in the early part of the sixteenth century. Albertini, in his *Memoriale* published in the year 1510, gave the first list of his works, and shortly afterwards a contemporary of Albertini, the author of the *Libro di Antonio Billi*, first related very briefly some of the stories in regard to the

<sup>3</sup> Richter, *Notes to Vasari's Lives of the Painters*, p. 105. London: George Bell & Sons, 1892.

S. Maria Novella altar-piece which twelve uncritical generations have accepted. He mentions Charles of Anjou's alleged visit to the artist, and for the first time tells the story of the triumphal procession of the Rucellai *Madonna* from the artist's house to S. Maria Novella.<sup>4</sup> To Giorgio Vasari fell the congenial task of embroidering and embellishing the Cimabue legend. The earlier *Lives* of the Aretine biographer, his biographies of Giotto and Duccio, of Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura, are full of inaccuracies, improbable anecdotes and stories which have been proved to be inventions. But his Life of Cimabue is perhaps the most unveracious of all of them. Vasari did not even know the painter's name. He did not know the name of his family. He considerably ante-dated his career. Beyond Dante's vague mention of the artist, and the scarcely more informing allusions to him of the early commentators upon the *Divina Commedia*, he had no early documentary evidence to help him. Save for some late traditions he had, in fact, little more than his own imagination to depend upon.

But to Vasari his imagination was a very present help in time of need. In his anxiety to exalt his hero by depreciating his contemporaries and predecessors he began his biography with one of the most astounding of the many extraordinary misrepresentations to be found in his great work:—'The overwhelming flood of evils by which unhappy Italy had been submerged and devastated,' he writes, 'had not only destroyed whatever could properly be called buildings, but, a still more deplorable consequence, had totally exterminated the artists themselves, when by the will of God, in the year 1240 Giovanni Cimabue, of the noble family of that name, was born in the city of Florence to give the first light to the art of painting.'<sup>5</sup> This sentence contains at least four errors upon plain matters of fact. To comment upon the first of them would be to insult the intelligence of my readers. As I think upon it, there rise before me the noblest works of the greatest school of architecture that modern Italy has produced—a school that arose in Vasari's own Tuscany, but not in Florence. I see Pisa Cathedral; the cathedral of Lucca, and San Michele in that city; and S. Giovanni Fuorcivitas at Pistoia; I see, too, the noble abbeys of Tuscany built under French influence, S. Galgano in the valley of the Merse, and S. Antimo near Montalcino. And not only had Tuscany produced great architects in the Middle Ages; before the coming of Cimabue there were flourishing schools

<sup>4</sup> See *Il libro di Antonio Billi*, in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Serie V., tom. vii., 1891, dispensa 2a, p. 318. This book was composed between 1506 and 1532. It is scarcely necessary to say that neither Villani nor any other early chronicler mentions either of these supposed incidents. It was from 'Billi' that Vasari obtained his knowledge of these tales.

<sup>5</sup> Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, etc.*, Mrs. Foster's translation, vol. i., p. 34. London: George Bell & Sons.

of painting both in Siena and in Florence in which Coppo di Marcovaldo and Duccio received their training.

The Florentines, as I have said, provided Cimabue with a list of works. Like the Neapolitans, they took the paintings of foreign artists to give them to their hero. Like loquacious Naples, boastful Florence found dumb Siena good to steal from. Just as the *Coronation of King Robert* was filched from Simone Martini and handed over to Simone Napoletano, so the Rucellai *Madonna* at S. Maria Novella was taken from its Siennese author by patriotic Florentines and assigned to a local master, to Cimabue. That this *Madonna* was painted by Duccio of Buoninsegna both *Stilkritik* and documentary evidence prove. One of the most distinguished of the followers of Morelli declared after careful examination of the picture that 'it differed in nothing' from Duccio's great *Majestas* in the Opera del Duomo at Siena.<sup>6</sup> The present writer can indeed detect some slight differences in style between the two pictures; but they are only such differences as one would expect to find in two works painted by the same artist in a period of rapid development in the art of painting. In its form, in its colour, in its technique, the Rucellai *Madonna* is entirely Siennese. The altar-piece at S. Maria Novella is an early work, and it has the peculiarities of Duccio's early style. Something of Byzantine stiffness and Byzantine convention is, of course, to be found in it. In the treatment of the drapery we do not find the same freedom, the same knowledge of the human form, the same traces of Gothic influence that manifest themselves in Duccio's last great masterpiece. The features, too, of the Virgin remind us of the works of his Byzantine predecessors. The Child, however, does not differ at all from his later representations of the Divine Infant. In the figures of the angels supporting the throne we see another type created by Duccio and reproduced in the works of one of his greatest followers, in Segna di Buonaventura's altar-pieces at Castiglione Fiorentino and Città di Castello.<sup>7</sup>

And documentary evidence confirms the conclusions of the connoisseurs. The documentary history of the Rucellai *Madonna* appears in fact to be quite clear and unbroken. On the 15th of April, 1285, Duccio di Buoninsegna agreed to paint a large *Madonna* for the Confraternity of S. Maria of Florence, an altar-piece which was to be placed in their chapel in S. Maria Novella.<sup>8</sup> The chapel of this society in the year 1316 was the chapel of St. Gregory, after-

<sup>6</sup> Richter, *Lectures on the National Gallery*, p. 6. London: Longmans, 1898.

<sup>7</sup> See my *History of Siena*, pp. 338, 339, for a full discussion of the analogies of style in these two pictures. (Murray, 1902.)

<sup>8</sup> Arch. di Stato, Florence, *Archivio Diplomatico. Pergamene spettanti al convento di S. Marco*. See Milanese, *Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese*, vol. i. pp. 158-160. As this document has been known to archivists for the last hundred and twenty years, it is difficult to understand why some scientific critics speak of it as 'a recently discovered document.'

wards the Bardi chapel, which is in the right transept of S. Maria Novella and immediately adjoins the chapel now known as the Rucellai chapel. There is no record that Cimabue or any other Florentine painter of his generation painted a *Madonna* for the Dominican church. When this *Madonna* of Duccio appears again in history in the sixteenth century, it is found hanging on the wall just outside the Bardi chapel. The reason for its removal is quite clear. It was in the year 1335 that the chapel of St. Gregory passed into the hands of the Bardi of Vernio. No doubt the Bardi wished to decorate the chapel themselves and to provide it with an altar-piece of their own choosing. Consequently the *Madonna* of the Confraternity of S. Maria was placed just outside the chapel on the adjoining wall. The Confraternity continued to assemble in the right transept of S. Maria Novella, in that part of the church where they had been accustomed to sing their lauds, and their picture was placed as near as possible to its former home. There it remained until Vasari's day, when it was removed into the Rucellai chapel.

Surely few early Italian pictures have so clear and straightforward a history. The historians of S. Maria Novella, from Padre Fineschi,<sup>9</sup> who wrote in the eighteenth century, to Mr. Wood-Brown<sup>10</sup>—patient archivists who have spent years in the careful study of the documentary history of the Dominican convent—agree that the Rucellai *Madonna* is the picture the Confraternity of S. Maria commissioned Duccio to paint in the year 1285. In the archives of the Convent they can find no reference at all to Cimabue. The leading members of the scientific school of critics, following a different method of inquiry, have arrived at the same conclusions as the students of archives. Dr. Wyckhoff and Dr. Richter maintain that the Rucellai *Madonna* is undoubtedly a work of the Sienese master. But as some ultra-conservative connoisseurs cherished the belief in Simone Napoletano's authorship of the *Coronation of King Robert* after it had been abandoned by the rest of the world, so there are here and there a few critics who still think that a late traditional attribution, the origin of which can be easily accounted for, can be put in the balances against this great weight of evidence, critical and historical.

In a similar manner other altar-pieces by foreign artists were given to Cimabue. In an uncritical age the now obvious fact that they were by several different hands passed unnoticed. It was Florence who produced or adopted the chief writers upon Italian art; and it was Florence who gained the ear of the civilised world. Vasari—who, when to invent was required, always succeeded in outdoing all his contemporaries and predecessors—gave to Cimabue

<sup>9</sup> Fineschi, *Memorie storiche per servire alle Vite degli uomini illustri del Conv. di Santa Maria Novella*, p. 321, also pp. xli and xlii. (Florence, 1780.)

<sup>10</sup> Wood-Brown, *The Dominican Convent of S. Maria Novella*. (Edinburgh, 1902.)

the whole series of frescoes in the choir of the Upper Church of Assisi as well as all the frescoes on the vaults and on the upper part of the walls of the nave—an attribution which not even the most conservative of critics will now defend. Not content with having robbed the Roman and Siennese schools of painting of the credit due to them for the important part they played in the evolution of Italian painting, the Florentines purloined a piece of Siennese history. Like the Neapolitan archæologists of a later age, they appropriated and adapted the historical narrative of the triumphal reception of Duccio's *ancona* at Siena on the 9th of June 1311. On that day a public holiday was proclaimed in Siena. All shops and offices were closed. The forest of towers in whose shadowy avenues the citizens had their homes vibrated with the clangour of a hundred bells. With great pomp the ecclesiastical and civic dignitaries of Siena and the principal men of the city bore Duccio's *Madonna* from the artist's house to its place above the high altar of their cathedral.

The student of comparative mythology knows that a striking story, true or imaginary, belonging to one race was often borrowed altogether or in part by some neighbouring people. The nation that stole it gave it in course of time a new setting, attached it to another place or object, and altered the names of the principal actors whilst preserving intact the main incidents of the narrative. This is what may have happened in the case of this narrative. The story of the procession of Duccio's *Majestas* no doubt reached Florence, and was told and retold there. In course of time the name of the Siennese artist was forgotten, but Cimabue's name was kept fresh in men's minds by Dante's eulogy of him. Ultimately the name of the Florentine painter took the place of that of Duccio in the traditional narrative; and when, at the time of the Renaissance, the Rucellai *Madonna* was attributed to Cimabue the transplanted story of the procession of the *Majestas* was naturally attached to that great picture.

The misdeeds of the Florentines did not end here. There is documentary evidence to show that Duccio was at work as a painter twenty-three years before the earliest documentary mention of Cimabue.<sup>11</sup> Vasari, however, placed Duccio's biography amongst those of the later Giottesques. He robbed the earliest of the great Italian masters whose achievement is known to us of all his most important followers, writing of them as pupils of Giotto. Just as the Neapolitans had done, the Florentines stole also the works of Tino di Camaino of his school and gave them to their own fellow-countrymen.

<sup>11</sup> The earliest mention of Duccio is in an account-book of the Biccherna of the year 1278. Arch. di Stato, Siena. Biccherna, *Libro d' entrata e uscita*, ad ann., c. 84. See also Lisini, *Notizie di Duccio, pittore*. In the *Bullettino Senese*, anno v., fasc. 1., p. 43.



The Florentines made even more dupes than did the Neapolitan archæologists. A whole succession of Kuglers accepted without question the statements of their patriotic historians in regard to Cimabue and his achievement. Florence was the petted darling of the *dilettanti*. When the lie that she had made was *en marche*, nothing could stop it. To the cultured curate the word Cimabue was as blessed as Mesopotamia. The Maoriland extensionist on the plains of Canterbury babbled of Cimabue, and high-toned Californians at 'literary teas' repeated Vasari's stolen story of the Passing of the Picture.

An attempt has recently been made by one of the most distinguished of English art-critics, Mr. Roger Fry, to rehabilitate the discredited Cimabue legend.<sup>12</sup> The Mrs. Harris of Florentine painting has been provided with a new and revised catalogue of works. Morellian methods have been applied to pictures traditionally ascribed to Cimabue, and we have been given a list of his 'peculiarities' of style. It may be well, then, to examine again the evidence both of documents and of style-criticism as to Cimabue's life and achievement. And, first of all, putting aside all late traditions that cannot be traced back to an earlier date than two hundred years after the death of the Florentine artist, and rejecting the discredited stories of Vasari, what evidence can be gleaned about Cimabue from contemporary documents, or from the pages of early writers?

Whilst we find in Tuscan archives many documentary references to Duccio in writings of the thirteenth century, we do not find one reference whatsoever to Cimabue in any manuscript of that age.<sup>13</sup> In the fourteenth century the references to the Florentine painter are few in number. They fall naturally into two groups. We have first of all an allusion in Dante, which was commented upon by the *Anonimo* in a passage I have already alluded to. Dante tells us that, before Giotto, Cimabue held the field in painting. This line does not even prove that Cimabue was the greatest of Florentine painters, and certainly gives no ground for the assumption that he was the greatest of Italian painters. Dante was full of parochial patriotism. He was a Florentine of the Florentines, and was exceedingly partial to his friends. There is an early tradition that Cimabue was a friend of Dante. Whether this was so or not, Dante's reference to Cimabue merely tells us that there was a distinguished artist in Florence called Cimabue. To make it mean anything more is to show ignorance of Dante and of the strength and narrowness of

<sup>12</sup> Fry, *Giotto*. In the *Monthly Review*, December 1900, pp. 145-148.

<sup>13</sup> A notarial deed, quoted by Strykowski (*Cimabue und Rom*, Vienna, 1888, p. 158), dated the 18th of June, 1272, bears the signature *Cimaboue pictor de Florentia*. But there is no proof that this Cimaboue was Cenni de' Pepi, and the best modern authorities hold that it does not refer to him.

his prejudices. But upon this line, and upon a tradition that cannot be traced farther back than the year 1510—that is, two hundred and fifty years after the date Vasari gives of the birth of Cimabue—Mr. Fry builds his whole case. His argument may be fairly summarised thus: ‘Dante tells us that Cimabue held the field in painting. If Cimabue held the field in painting, there is a probability, almost amounting to a certainty, that he helped to decorate the Church of S. Francesco at Assisi.’ At Assisi, Mr. Fry continues, we find two or three frescoes by an artist whose work has some peculiarities of style which are to be found in some of the heterogeneous collection of pictures traditionally ascribed to Cimabue.

This argument is open to criticism in many ways, as we shall presently see. It is enough to say here that Mr. Fry makes too much of this single line of patriotic Dante, and of the unconfirmed *ex parte* statements of sixteenth-century Florentines. So slender a foundation will not bear the huge superstructure he erects upon it. The evidence of documents and of style-criticism alike proves that not from the Florentine, but from the Roman and Sienese schools came the great decorators of the thirteenth century. It was not until Giotto grew to maturity that Florence began to take a pre-eminent position in the art of painting. All early allusions to Cimabue tend to confirm this view, and to strengthen the conviction that in his own day he was merely regarded as one of the many exponents of the Greek manner. Boccaccio and the anonymous commentator on Dante add very little to our knowledge of Cimabue. They do not help us to identify one work of his. The statement of the *Anonimo* only tends to show that the artist’s achievement was small in quantity; as the commentator relates that he had a habit of destroying his own works when they did not please him, however much trouble they had cost him.

The only other contemporary references to Cimabue are to be found in the Pisa archives. From these we learn that a Florentine painter, a certain Cenni de’ Pepi, called Cimabue, worked upon the mosaic which fills the upper part of the apse of Pisa cathedral in the years 1301 and 1302,<sup>14</sup> and that in the latter year he painted a picture, a *Madonna*, for the altar of S. Spirito in the church of S. Chiara at Pisa.<sup>15</sup> As the mosaic has been restored so drastically that nothing of the original work survives, and as the altar-piece of S. Chiara has disappeared and no description of it remains, we cannot say that they tell us anything in regard to the artistic

<sup>14</sup> Arch. di Stato, Pisa. *Libro d’ entrata e uscita dell’ Opera del Duomo*, ad annum, c. 62 v, 69 v, 120, etc. It is my intention soon to publish in full all the entries relating to Cimabue. They have not all been printed, not even in Taftani Centofanti’s *Notizie degli artisti pisani*.

<sup>15</sup> Arch. di Stato, Pisa. *Arch. degli spedali riuniti di Pisa, Contratti*, ad annum.

achievement of the Florentine. All, then, that we know about this Cenni de' Pepi is that he was a distinguished Florentine artist, that he was nicknamed Cimabue, that he flourished in the closing years of the thirteenth century and the early years of the fourteenth, and that he executed a mosaic and an altar-piece at Pisa, of which the latter has disappeared and the former has been entirely renewed.

The fact that no other known works of this painter remain to us excites no surprise in the mind of the student who is acquainted with the kind of evidence that is to be found in the archives of Florence and Siena. He knows that there were many artists who had great fame amongst their own fellow-countrymen in their own day of whom not one single work remains. Of the many painters of the Trecento whose names are to be found in contemporary Florentine documents, the only important master of whose achievement we know anything certainly is Coppo di Marcovaldo, whose works at Siena and Pistoia are the only authentic pre-Giottesque paintings to which we can go for information as to the characteristics of the early school of Florence; and his work rather contradicts than supports the theory that a Florentine painted the S. Maria Novella altar-piece.

There is, then, no early reliable documentary evidence to show that one of the pictures in Mr. Fry's list was painted by Cenni de' Pepi. Cimabue's advocate seeks then to establish his case by style-criticism. But here, too, his position is desperate. It is difficult to form an opinion of the style of any artist when there is not one work that can with certainty be attributed to him, and the difficulty becomes infinitely greater when the paintings ascribed by a late tradition to him do not in the least resemble the only known contemporary works of his own school, or the undoubted works of his reputed follower and pupil, but are curiously like the productions of another and entirely distinct school of painters. Such, however, is Mr. Fry's position. The works he assigns to Cimabue have little affinity with the one important Florentine altar-piece of the generation before Giotto whose date and authorship are known. They are also strangely unlike the paintings of Cimabue's supposed pupil Giotto. And the best of them bears so strong a likeness to the authentic works of a great Sienese master that one of the most learned of modern connoisseurs declares that 'it differs in nothing from his authenticated work,' and that 'it is impossible for an unbiassed critic to ascribe it to any other master.'

Mr. Fry includes in his list the *Madonna* attributed to Cimabue in the Florence Academy, the so-called Cimabue *Madonna* of the Louvre, the *Crucifixion* in the transept of the Upper Church at Assisi—a work of which not one vestige of the original colour remains—the *Madonna Enthroned* and *St. Francis* in the Lower Church at Assisi, and the *Rucellai Madonna*. The selection is somewhat

arbitrarily made. If Mr. Fry wished to settle the question, why did he not take into consideration all of the pictures which are nearly related to the Rucellai *Madonna*? Why did he shut out of the discussion the picture attributed to Cimabue at the National Gallery, and the *Madonnas* by Segna di Buonaventura, Duccio's pupil at Città di Castello and Castiglione Fiorentino, which more closely resemble the S. Maria Novella altar-piece than some of the pictures in his list. An induction that leaves altogether out of account a great deal of the evidence cannot be regarded as satisfactory. No student of early Italian painting can afford to ignore these pictures.

Having made his selection, Mr. Fry proceeds to describe certain 'peculiarities' which, he says, are common to the works he mentions, and which distinguish them from the works of Duccio and other early masters. It would not be difficult, I think, to show that these five pictures are by three different hands, and that the particulars in which they differ are no less important than those in which they resemble each other. But it suffices for my purpose to prove that these 'peculiarities' of style are not peculiar to these paintings, but are to be found in undoubted works of Duccio and of his school. Of the characteristics of Duccio's style we can be absolutely certain; for the great *ancona* that he made for the high altar of Siena Cathedral, which is now in the Opera del Duomo at Siena, is not one picture, but a whole gallery. Upon the evidence it affords we base our conclusions as to the authenticity of other works in Siena traditionally ascribed to Duccio. I will give Mr. Fry's account of the 'peculiarities' of his re-discovered Cimabue in his own words:—

The eye [he says] has the upper eyelid strongly marked; it has a peculiar languishing expression, due in part to the large elliptical iris (Duccio's eyes have a small, bright, round iris with a keen expression); the nose is distinctly articulated into three segments; the mouth is generally slewed round from the perpendicular; the hands are curiously curved, and in all the *Madonnas* clutch the supports of the throne; the hair bows seen upon the halos have a constant and quite peculiar shape; the drapery is designed in rectilinear triangular folds, very different from Duccio's more sinuous and flowing line. The folds of the drapery where they come to the contour of the figure have no effect upon the form of the outline, an error which Duccio never makes. Finally, the thrones in all these pictures have a constant form; they are made of turned wood with a high footstool, and are seen from the side. Duccio's is of stone, and seen from the front.

As I have said elsewhere, I cannot understand how a distinguished critic possessing fine powers of discernment and a wide and accurate knowledge of Italian pictures can have written such a passage as this; for every one of these peculiarities which, according to Mr. Fry, Duccio does not share, is to be found in undisputed works of his. Let us take one of these works, a little *Madonna* in the Stanza dei Primitivi in the Siena Gallery, one of the most beautiful and characteristic examples of the artist's earlier

manner, and let us compare it with the most important of the paintings in Mr. Fry's list, the *Rucellai Madonna*. If we look at this small *Madonna* we see in it that the iris of the eye is larger than in Duccio's later pictures, and that the Virgin's expression closely resembles that given to her in the S. Maria Novella altar-piece. In this little picture, too, the nose 'is distinctly articulated into three segments,' and 'the mouth is slewed round from the perpendicular,' as it is in all Duccio's earlier works. The hands, too, of the Virgin and the three kneeling donors are 'curiously curved.' The drapery is designed in rectilinear triangular folds; and, as in the *Rucellai Madonna*, we fail to find in it the sinuous flowing lines of Duccio's later manner. In an age of accelerated transition, surrounded by the influence of so inspiring a master as Giovanni Pisano and by other vivifying influences, an artist like Duccio naturally acquired greater freedom, greater knowledge, a more perfect command of his medium in the course of a quarter of a century of hard work. In the little early *Madonna*, as in two other early works in the same gallery, Duccio shows that he is still under the tyranny of Byzantine convention. The folds of the drapery are, in a measure, calligraphic; as they are, in a measure, in the *Rucellai Madonna*. Finally—and this is a point of some importance—the throne in the little *Madonna* at Siena, like that in the *Madonna* at S. Maria Novella, is of turned wood, has a high footstool, and is seen from the side. Similar thrones are to be found in earlier Sienese pictures, and are, in fact, one of the characteristics of early Sienese altar-pieces. The earliest Italian panel I know of in which a throne of this kind is to be found is a Sienese work, the *St. Peter Enthroned* in the same Stanza dei Primitivi in the gallery at Siena.

There are other peculiarities, besides those mentioned by Mr. Fry, which the *Rucellai Madonna* shares with the early work of Duccio. The Child, for instance, in the little Siena *Madonna* is identical with the Child in the S. Maria Novella picture in every feature, and has a very similar posture. The hair recedes far back at the corners of the forehead. The nose is short, the ear placed rather far back, the mouth slightly turned down at the corners. In both panels we see the same curious posture of the left leg. The two feet of the Child and the right hand in the picture at Siena differ in nothing from the feet and right hand of the Infant in the Florence altar-piece.

The S. Maria Novella *Madonna*, although it is a much earlier work, and has the characteristics of Duccio's early manner, is closely related, nevertheless, to Duccio's great *Majestas* in the Opera del Duomo. It would be easy to give a long list of similarities; but I will not burden my readers with any more details of style-criticism. I have proved that the alleged peculiarities of the re-discovered

Cimabue are not peculiar to that artist, but are shared by Duccio and his followers ; and that upholders of the late Florentine tradition—a tradition which owes its origin to bigoted parochial patriotism—can no more allege evidences of style in confirmation of their views than they can produce early and reliable documentary evidence in their support.

The fate of Humpty-Dumpty is the fate of Vasari's Cimabue, and even Mr. Fry cannot put him together again. He was at best a composite creature, a kind of artistic Wallenstein's horse, and now that he has fallen down, and the *dissecta membra* of what once composed him strew the ground, the best of showmen cannot persuade us that this Florentine 'fake' was ever a real living entity.

Connoisseurs of the old school may wail that without their Cimabue the whole of the early history of Italian art becomes a dark chaos for them. We have heard this sort of thing before, and in other fields of historical and scientific inquiry. But he who has a single-hearted love of truth will not shrink from acknowledging new facts because the acceptance of them renders necessary a reconstruction of old theories and opinions. Moreover, recent discoveries have in reality made the origin and early history of Italian painting clearer and more comprehensible. To us Giotto is no longer the monster he appeared to be to those earlier writers who thought little of the achievement of Cimabue. Just as we have come to realise that the exquisite technique of Niccola Pisano had no miraculous origin, so we now know that the greatest painter of the *Trecento* had his artistic forerunners. The discovery of the frescoes of Pietro Cavallini at S. Cecilia in Trastevere reveals to us one of Giotto's true masters.<sup>16</sup> We see that he was in part an artistic descendant of the old Roman school, in part a scion of the Pisani.<sup>17</sup> It is now obvious that the two great schools of painting in Italy in the last quarter of the thirteenth century were the Roman and the Sienese. The Roman school brought about a genuine revival of wall decoration, of fresco and mosaic. The Sienese were the leaders of a progressive movement in the art of painting upon panels. Florence lagged behind ; and in painting, as in the minor arts of the goldsmith, the silk-weaver, and the potter, was content to absorb and to make her own the results of the pioneer efforts of her neighbour cities.

LANGTON DOUGLAS.

<sup>16</sup> Ghiberti, who visited Rome before the close of the fourteenth century, gives a list of the works of Cavallini, and praises him as one of the greatest masters of his age. Vasari's account of Cavallini, written a century and a half after that of Ghiberti, is entirely untrustworthy.

<sup>17</sup> Bode, *Die italienische Plastik*, p. 23.

## *AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE NETHERLANDS*

If English farmers are to compete upon equal terms with their foreign rivals they must have similar educational opportunities. Success in farming requires extensive scientific knowledge quite as much as thorough practical training. The truth of this becomes more apparent every day, and every Government but our own has made the ample provision of agricultural education one of its first duties. To some extent the neglect of past years is being repaired. In his Report for 1901 upon the educational work of the Board of Agriculture Major Craigie gave evidence of considerable progress under certain County Councils, and with the small funds placed at the disposal of the Board for educational purposes. But there is nothing in the nature of a national system. There is no central authority responsible for the agricultural education of the whole country. The satisfaction of the needs of each county depends upon the policy of each particular Council. The inevitable result of this absence of State supervision or direction is that, while in some districts there is little to complain of, others, especially those where improved methods of cultivation could alone relieve the present depression, entirely lack the means of appropriate instruction; uniform progress is impossible without systematic organisation under a single department of the State. This has been abundantly proved by the experience of other nations, and nowhere more conspicuously than in the Netherlands.

It was only after repeated efforts in many directions that the Dutch system became consolidated. Nearly a century ago an attempt was made to provide higher agricultural education by the appointment of special professors of agriculture at the Universities of Leyden, Utrecht, and Groningen. It was intended that their classes should be open generally to students in all the faculties, but not unnaturally these students did not frequent them. There was apparently nothing to gain by their doing so. Nor was the sub-

sequent attempt to attract the theological students, whose future would lie in the rural districts, more successful. Ultimately it was decided, in 1840, to admit the public. At Leyden and Utrecht few took advantage of this, but at Groningen the response was not unsatisfactory. Courses in natural and physical science were arranged, and in 1842 a school or college of agriculture was established there. The experience gained in connection with this institution is instructive. An effort was made to combine theoretical with practical training. Theoretical lessons were given at the university from October to April, and during the summer the students worked on a farm of about eighty-five acres. The results were disappointing, and the impossibility of teaching the science and the practice of farming at the same time with success was clearly demonstrated. All this, however, paved the way for the admirable system of to-day.

The law of 1863 upon intermediate education provided for the establishment of a State Agricultural College, and recognised that agricultural interests were a matter of State concern. But for a considerable period little was done beyond the addition of agricultural divisions to the secondary schools at Warfum and Wageningen. At length the Government under continuous pressure from the agriculturists, and largely owing to the influence of Mr. Salverda, took some definite steps. In 1876 the school at Wageningen was converted into a State Agricultural College, replacing the institution at Groningen, which had been closed six years previously. Following upon the agricultural crisis in the early eighties a royal commission was appointed in 1886 to inquire into and report upon the causes of the depression. In consequence of its representations, a special department of the Ministry of the Interior was created, to which the administration of agricultural affairs is still entrusted. Had the last general election resulted differently, it was hoped that a distinct Ministry of Agriculture would have been formed, with Dr. Sickers, to whom of late years Dutch agriculture has owed so much, as its first President. To assist the above department there is a Council of Agriculture, whose duties are similar to those of the consultative councils to the Departments of Agriculture in Ireland and France, the chief difference being that its members are elected by the various agricultural societies and not appointed by the Government. It meets periodically at the Hague, advises the Department on all agricultural matters, and publishes an annual report, based upon statistics supplied by every commune. An exact knowledge of the agricultural condition of the country is thus obtained. Each of the eleven Provinces has its State Professor of Agriculture, whose functions are to inspect and administer the experiment and demonstration stations, give lectures, provide courses of instruction for



primary school teachers who wish to obtain a certificate entitling them to teach elementary agriculture, inspect the winter classes in agriculture in receipt of a State subsidy, and, in those Provinces where winter schools of agriculture are in operation, to act as their directors. Five of the Provinces have also State Professors of Horticulture, whose functions are *mutatis mutandis* the same. Six winter schools of agriculture, the organisation of which is subsequently described, have been established at Groningen, Goes, Sittard, Dordrecht, Schagen, and Leeuwarden. Winter horticultural schools exist at Naaldwijk, Aalsmeer, Tiel, and Boskoop. Beyond the subsidies given to these schools the State also makes grants to the schools of Horticulture, Forestry, and Agriculture established by the Société de Bienfaisance for its colonists at Frederiksoord in Drenthe. About one hundred and twenty classes in agriculture and about twelve in horticulture are annually maintained by the State in different districts. Experts in dairying are appointed by the agricultural societies, but their expenses are largely defrayed by the State. Each Province is now provided with one of these experts, who gives instruction on the analysis of milk, butter, and cheese-making, and supervises the manufacture of butter at the small co-operative factories. The first agricultural laboratory was founded at Wageningen in 1877, and is now the central dépôt for the examination and testing of seeds. Others were subsequently established at Groningen, Hoorn, Goes, and Maastricht. They undertake scientific research, and the analysis of manures, farm produce, &c. for the farmers. At Hoorn (North Holland), the centre of the dairying industry, the laboratory includes a bacteriological department, and in 1901 a dairy of twenty cows and a farm were opened for experimental purposes. At the head of each laboratory is a director, appointed by the Crown, with a staff of chemists, botanists, and other assistants, appointed by the Ministry of the Interior. The directors together form a college, which meets at least twice a year, to draw up reports for the Special Committee of Inspection, a body of eleven members, nominated by the Crown. Agricultural and horticultural experiment stations (*Proefvelden*), under either State or private control, are widely distributed throughout the Provinces. The annual report of their work fills a volume of some 590 pages. Matters relating to veterinary science are regulated by an Act of 1870. The services of nine district surgeons, with 92 assistants, are available for stock-breeders and others. The Veterinary College at Utrecht, founded in 1821, is maintained by the State.

Dr. Sickers, Director-General of Agriculture, courteously supplied me with the following statement of the State expenditure upon agricultural education for 1901 :

	Florins
Inspector of agricultural education :	
Salary . . . . .	3,500
Travelling and other expenses . . . . .	1,100
Agricultural college at Wageningen :	
Salaries . . . . .	108,100
Maintenance . . . . .	83,771
Subsidies granted to voluntary associations for courses and lectures . . . . .	91,722
Winter schools . . . . .	39,200
Teachers of agriculture and horticulture appointed by the Government :	
Salaries . . . . .	38,500
Travelling and other expenses . . . . .	22,075
Training of elementary teachers . . . . .	8,500
Veterinary College at Utrecht :	
Salaries . . . . .	54,500
Maintenance . . . . .	36,700
Subsidies for courses in farriery . . . . .	3,600
Total . . . . .	401,268 Florins.

Holland, it must be remembered, has an area a quarter, and a population less than a fifth, of those of England alone. This sum of 40,939*l.*, therefore, presents a very striking contrast to the similar expenditure here. In the report, already mentioned, Major Craigie estimates that the total outlay, including the 8,000*l.* placed at the disposal of the Board of Agriculture for educational purposes, and the appropriations by the County Councils out of their respective shares of the Residue under the Local Taxation (customs and excise) Act, 1890, upon agricultural education amounts for England and Wales together to between 85,000*l.* and 90,000*l.* Thus the total amount utilised in the interests of agriculture is only twice that expended in a country not a quarter the size. A glance, moreover, at the record of the work done will show how unequally it is distributed, and that several counties are practically without any scientific instruction at all. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the Councils are under no obligation to expend any of their funds upon agricultural education.

The college at Wageningen, founded in 1876 and considerably enlarged in 1897, need not fear comparison with any similar institution. When Mr. Mulhall visited the Netherlands on behalf of the Recess Committee in 1896, it was currently believed that the best Dutch farmers were those who had been educated in Würtemberg. This is no longer the case. Wageningen since its extension has become a model in regard to both its workmanlike methods and the excellence of its equipment. The whole establishment embraces four distinct schools. (a) A Secondary School providing a course of general education up to the age of seventeen, with special attention to chemistry, physics, and modern languages. Pupils who obtain a

diploma at the final examination are entitled to enter the Higher Agricultural School. (b) A Lower Agricultural School for the sons of small proprietors and tenant-farmers. Pupils are admitted at the age of 13, 14, or 15, after passing an examination in the subjects taught at the primary school. The course lasts for three years. The first year is a continuation of primary education, and serves as a preparation for either the agricultural or horticultural schools. During the second and third years the instruction is mainly theoretical, and corresponds to that usually given in intermediate agricultural schools in England, except for the importance attached to the study of English, French, and German. For pupils intending to emigrate to the Dutch Indies—and they are the majority—there is an extra year in colonial agriculture. From what Mr. Broekema, the director of the entire college, stated to the writer upon a recent visit, it appears that there is the usual difficulty in attracting pupils really identified with the land. (c) A Lower Horticultural School, with a two years' course for gardeners, market-gardeners, florists, and nurserymen. A Higher Horticultural School, also of two years, for those who desire more advanced and scientific training. Throughout this section the instruction is more practical. There is a large garden of about 12 acres, excellently planned and well supplied with glass-houses, an arboretum, and a botanic garden. Every branch of horticulture can be effectively taught. (d) A Higher School of Agriculture and Forestry, with a two years' course for Dutch, and one of four years for Colonial, agriculture. For purposes of demonstration and experiment there is a small farm of about 25 acres (10 acres grass and 15 acres arable), where some of the best breeds of farm stock may be seen and the most modern agricultural implements are in use. To anyone at all acquainted with Dutch education it is unnecessary to say that each school is lavishly provided with first-rate specimens, diagrams, and the expensive *papier-mâché* models. In addition to the spacious laboratories there is an interesting museum of agricultural implements and machines, seeds, vegetable products, &c. Diplomas are awarded at the end of each course. The fees for all pupils are 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a year, with a reduction for those attending some of the classes only. The cost of board and lodging amounts to about 4*l.* per annum. Female students are admitted upon the same terms as males, and there are now two or three in the horticultural schools. The present number of students in attendance is 275, distributed as follows:—Higher Agricultural School, 60; Lower Agricultural School, 85; Horticultural School, 34; and Secondary School, 96. As yet no attempt has been made to introduce the system of short courses, and probably they are not required in view of the permanent Winter Agricultural and Horticultural Schools.

These winter schools are established in those agricultural or

horticultural districts where they are likely to prove of the greatest service. The commune has to provide suitable buildings, and the State defrays the rest of the expenses. Pupils are admitted at the age of sixteen, but may attend up to any age. They have to pass an entrance examination to test their capacity to benefit by the instruction, and must possess some previous practical knowledge of agriculture or horticulture, as the case may be. The full course is for two years, and the classes are held during the winter months for three or four hours in the afternoon on five days a week. The scale of fees is determined by the Minister of the Interior, but may not exceed 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year. Frequently it is below this, and the poor may be admitted without payment. The equipment of each school leaves nothing to be desired. In agriculture the instruction is wholly theoretical, but there is always a small demonstration plot, and during the summer the pupils have excursions to well-managed farms and other places of agricultural interest. The curriculum comprises chemistry, physics, botany, zoology, the breeding and care of animals, the properties of the soil, tillage, manuring, the cultivation of crops, dairying, rural economy, arithmetic, and farm accounts. In horticulture the pupils have more practical work, and private associations have provided large gardens. In addition to those subjects which bear directly upon the art of gardening, instruction is given in commercial correspondence in French, German, and English—a matter of considerable importance, having regard to the great export trade in bulbs, flowers, fruit, and vegetables. When the schools are not open, the teachers are available to advise the surrounding farmers and gardeners. The prejudice with which they were at first viewed by cultivators generally has now quite disappeared. The good which the schools have done to their respective neighbourhoods is unmistakable. There is, too, a distinct advantage in thus bringing *systematic* instruction of the highest quality to the people themselves. Even in winter it is not easy for farmers and gardeners to be absent from home and to attend classes at distant colleges.

Wisely it has never been suggested that agriculture should be taught at the primary school. The strong common-sense of the Dutch would at once scout any proposal of the kind. But 'Nature-study' in its widest applications is taught not only in rural but in urban schools. From their earliest years the children are familiarised with the simple facts of nature, and encouraged to take an intelligent interest in them. By object-lessons on plant-life, by frequent country walks, by collecting plants and insects, and by cultivating a few flowers or vegetables in small gardens, their powers of observation are developed, and that spirit of inquiry is aroused without which success in any walk of life is unattainable. This study of nature is rightly believed to be an invaluable element in all education, wholly

irrespective of its relation to agricultural pursuits. Indirectly it lays the foundation upon which the scientific knowledge of farming must be based. At each of the six State Normal (Training) Colleges all the students receive theoretical and practical instruction in horticulture, and in natural and physical science. There has never been any idea that the training of the rural teacher should be differentiated from that of the urban teacher. Courses in agriculture are also, as we have seen, provided by the State for those teachers who wish to obtain a certificate, which will entitle them to teach agricultural subjects in the continuation schools, the establishment of which is now compulsory in every commune.

Self-help on the part of agriculturists and horticulturists has enabled them to improve their position in every direction, and to turn the education which has been provided to the best account. Co-operative associations abound. The value of the chemical manures, seed, forage, &c., purchased by the eleven societies which undertake purchases on behalf of their members, amounted in 1898 to no less than 343,549*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

To facilitate the sale of farm and garden produce some societies, like the Co-operative Agricultural Society of Groningen, sell for the joint benefit of the members. In 1898 the sales of corn, vegetables, flax, caraway, &c., effected by the Groningen Society were of the value of 37,690*l.* 15*s.* Seventy-five per cent. of the net profit is distributed amongst the members; the remainder goes to the cost of administration and into the reserve fund. Other societies, such as the Horticultural Companies of South Holland and the Dairy Companies of Limbourg and Gelderland, find markets for their members. The 'Gelria' Co-operative Society at Tiel, the centre of the orchard district, grades, packs, forwards, and disposes of the produce of its 493 members. The value of the produce, all of which if approved bears the Society's stamp, sold in 1899 was 5,166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The packing and forwarding of produce are also undertaken by the Agricultural and Horticultural Casino at Venlo.

The first co-operative dairy was started at Warga (Friesland) in 1886. In 1899 there were 485 co-operative dairies, 134 of which have steam factories, in operation with a membership of 25,376. Forty-three butter and cheese factories, disposing of the milk of 44,336 cows, are associated with the Dairy Company of Friesland. Its trade-mark, 'Nedraw,' is registered in England as well as in many other countries. The organisation of this company is remarkably complete.

To improve the breed of horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs, 174 co-operative societies have been formed, owning 91 stallions, 169 bulls, 7 rams, and 39 boars.

For the mutual insurance of animals there were 592 banks, with 56,718 subscribers in 1898, and their numbers are still increasing.

This movement emanated almost entirely from the peasants themselves.

Seven local agricultural societies, with a membership of 1,300, provide mutual insurance against injury to crops by hail, &c. The total area insured is about 82,500 acres. In five of the societies the premium is a fixed sum per acre; in the other two it depends upon the value and character of each particular crop, ranging at Groningen from  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. for potatoes to 1 per cent. for flax.

Raffaisen banks are being gradually introduced. From two in 1890 they rose to seventy by the end of 1899. Towards the expense of establishing them the State renders certain assistance. At the suggestion of the Peasants' Unions two Central Banks have been founded at Utrecht and Eindhoven to form a tie between the small local banks, guarantee their credit, and promote new banks. The central organisation at Utrecht is composed solely of co-operative banks, or of those conducted upon Raffaisen principles. One of the most successful is at Lonneker (Overijssel) with 394 members. In 1899 the deposits amounted to 623*l.* 15*s.* and the advances to 1,490*l.*: the rate of interest on deposits is from 3 to 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and for loans 4 per cent. The movement is yet in its infancy, but there seems to be no doubt of its ultimate popularity and extension.

It may be of interest to append a few statistics as to the agricultural condition of the country. According to the Official Register of Lands for 1900 the total area of the Netherlands comprises 3,253,827 hectares, of which about 96 per cent. is distributed as follows:

	Hectares
Arable land . . . . .	847,000
Pastures . . . . .	1,167,000
Heath, marsh, and dunes . . . . .	597,000
Market gardens and orchards . . . . .	59,000
Wood . . . . .	218,000
Land liable to be flooded outside the dikes . . . . .	29,000
Farms and country houses . . . . .	43,000
Properties not taxable . . . . .	80,000
Properties temporarily exempt from taxation . . . . .	87,000

Large estates are the exception, and few of the great owners farm their own lands. The following particulars were prepared by Dr. Löhnis, of the Department of Agriculture, to whom I was indebted for much valuable information when in Holland, for the Paris Exhibition of 1900. The total number of proprietors farming their own land is 96,219, as against 71,394 tenant-farmers. Of these only 113 proprietors and sixty-three tenant-farmers have farms above 100 hectares, whilst there are 45,241 proprietors and 32,036 tenant-farmers with less than 5 hectares. Altogether the number of proprietors with farms under 20 hectares is 83,774, and of

tenant-farmers 58,571. Farms above 20 and under 100 hectares are held by 12,445 proprietors and 12,823 tenant-farmers.

On the diluvial lands of the south and east rye is the principal crop. The north and south, where the soil is chalky, are mostly pasture, and Friesland is wholly devoted to stock-raising and dairying. On the heavier lands of Groningen, Zeeland, Guelderland, and Utrecht the cultivation is more mixed. Beetroot is grown chiefly in Zeeland and South Brabant, and it is spreading into the other Provinces owing to the low price of corn. Thirty-one sugar factories, nearly all in the western districts of South Brabant, are now at work. Market-gardening flourishes in the Westland near the Hague, in the neighbourhoods of Zwiindrecht, Venlo, Vlijmen, and in North Holland. The very profitable bulb industry lies between Haarlem and Leyden. Orchards are mainly in Utrecht, Limbourg, and the Betuwe district of Guelderland. The area under each of the leading crops in 1895 was :

Wheat . . .	61,000 hectares	Peas . . .	24,000 hectares
Rye . . .	210,000 "	Potatoes . . .	150,000 "
Barley . . .	38,000 "	Beet . . .	35,000 "
Oats . . .	130,000 "	Carrots and turnips	26,000 "
Buckwheat . . .	35,000 "	Clover and sainfoin	62,000 "
Beans . . .	36,000 "	Fallow land . . .	12,000 "

The fall in prices caused the area under wheat to drop from 86,000 hectares in 1880 to the above figure. Caraway, flax, chicory, and onions are also largely grown. At one time madder, tobacco, hemp, and hops were cultivated to a considerable extent, but these crops barely pay their expenses now.

There are three distinct breeds of cattle. That of Friesland is a large black and white animal, which does best on the clayey lands of the polders, and is a heavy milker. The Groningen breed is lighter, black with white heads, of a good shape, and carrying a lot of fat. The smaller Guelderland cattle, usually red and white or fawn, thrive better than the others on poor land. Shorthorns were formerly imported for breeding purposes, but of late years pure native stock has alone been raised. The Government and Provinces annually give subsidies for the improvement of cattle-breeding. In 1895 the total number of cattle was 1,543,000, of which 904,000 were milking cows.

Great efforts have been made to improve the breed of horses. Since 1892 the annual subsidy from the State has been 6,500*l.*, and there is Provincial aid as well. The old Dutch black horse is now rarely to be seen, except in Drenthe and some parts of Friesland. It is usually crossed with Oldenburg stallions or with those from the Ardennes. Probably the best horses are to be found in Groningen and Guelderland. Limbourg, Zeeland, and Brabant are noted for their pure Belgians. The stud-farm of the War Office is at Berg-op-

Zoom. It was estimated in 1895 that there were altogether 266,300 horses in the country.

The number of sheep fell from 895,000 in 1880 to 679,000 in 1895, mainly owing to the low price of wool. On good land it is usual to cross them with Lincolns ; on the poorer land of Drenthe and Guelderland there is no imported blood. Friesland has a distinct race of its own, famed for its milking qualities ; the attempts to improve it by the infusion of English blood have not been successful.

The above summary to some extent indicates the agricultural character of the country, and the steps taken by the Government to provide opportunities for agricultural education.

JOHN C. MEDD.



## THE EFFECTS OF THE CORN LAWS

## A REJOINDER

I WAS glad when I was informed that the gauntlet, which I had thrown down in my article on the Corn Laws, had been taken up by the Secretary of the Cobden Club; believing as I did that the question would be fought out 'fairly and squarely' on its own merits.

I must confess my disappointment on finding that Mr. Harold Cox has taken it up in the spirit of a counsel who having a brief employs the 'Old Bailey' methods of damaging the character of a witness on the other side by unfounded personal charges.

Mr. Cox has thought it proper to accuse me of 'skilful mutilation' of quotations, of 'sins of omission,' of 'unfair and misleading quotations and statistics,' of being 'astoundingly inaccurate,' &c.

First let me take the case of 'skilful mutilation.' My quotation from Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* ran thus :

Even the free import of foreign corn could very little affect the interests of the farmers of Great Britain. . . . The average quantity imported one year with another amounts only . . . to 23,728 quarters of grain, so it is probable that one year with another less would be imported than at present.

I then showed that the actual import was 1,800 times the amount on which Adam Smith based this conclusion.

Space did not admit of the full quotation ; moreover, by omitting the reasons which led Adam Smith to this opinion, I was able to give his views concisely in his own words. This omission Mr. Cox has distorted into the accusation of 'skilful mutilation,' insinuating thereby that I had been guilty of entirely altering the sense and thus misleading the public. I give below the quotation in full ; the words which I had quoted being shown in italics.

*Even the free importation of foreign corn could very little affect the interests of the farmers of Great Britain.* Corn is a much more bulky commodity than butchers' meat. A pound of wheat at 1*d.* is as dear as a pound of butchers' meat at 4*d.* The quantity of foreign corn imported even in times of the greatest scarcity may satisfy our farmers that they can have nothing to fear from the freest importation. *The average quantity imported one year with another amounts only, according to the very well-informed author of the Tracts on the Corn Trade,*

to 23,728 quarters of all sorts of grain, and does not exceed one five-hundredth and seventy-one part of the annual consumption. But as the bounty on corn occasions a greater exportation in years of plenty, so it must of consequence occasion a greater importation in years of scarcity than, in the actual state of tillage, would otherwise take place. By means of it the plenty of one year does not compensate the scarcity of another, and as the average quantity exported is necessarily augmented by it, so must likewise, in the actual state of tillage, the average quantity imported. If there were no bounty, as less corn would be imported, so it is probable that, one year with another, less would be imported than at present.

It is obvious then that the quotation given in my article exactly expresses Adam Smith's conclusion in a form which brings it more clearly to the reader's mind than if it had been encumbered with the reasons which led him to adopt that conclusion.

There is not the slightest ground for the disingenuous accusation of Mr. Cox.

I now take up the accusation that my 'quotations are as misleading as my statistics.'

The quotation in question from the *Wealth of Nations* ran as follows :

If the free importation of foreign manufactures were permitted, several of the home manufactures would probably suffer, and some of them, perhaps, go to ruin altogether.

Mr. Cox endeavours to discredit this quotation, and to distort its plain and obvious meaning, by stating that the passage 'is taken from a chapter devoted to the eloquent advocacy of free trade in manufactures as well as in corn.'

Now this statement is put in such a manner as to involve a *suggestio falsi* and a *suppressio veri*. The first portion of the chapter is devoted to an argument against *monopolies* and 'absolute prohibitions' in manufactures as well as in corn, and to 'high duties which amount to a prohibition,' but there is not a word in it which favours the *free importation* of manufactures. After discussing the question of monopolies, prohibitions, &c., the chapter approaches the subject of free import, and then the whole argument proceeds to show that the free import of *agricultural produce* is not open to those objections to which the free import of *manufactures* is exposed. This will be seen by quoting from the chapter a little more fully than I had originally done.

Manufactures, those of the finer kind especially, are more easily transported from one country to another than corn or cattle. . . . In manufactures a very small advantage will enable foreigners to undersell our own workmen, even in the home market. It will require a very great one to enable them to do so in the rude produce of the soil. If the free importation of foreign manufactures were permitted, several of the home manufactures would probably suffer, and some of them, perhaps, go to ruin altogether, and a considerable part of the stock and industry at present employed in them would be forced to find out some other employment. *But the freest importation of the rude produce of the soil could have no such effect on the agriculture of the country.*

The chapter then goes on to explain the reason of this :

If the importation of foreign cattle, for example, were made ever so free, so few would be imported, that the grazing trade of Great Britain would be little affected by it.

The chapter then goes on to dilate upon the difficulties and expense of transport. It then takes up the question of the importation of salted provisions as follows :

The freest importation of salt provisions, in the same manner, could have as little effect upon the interests of the graziers of Great Britain as that of live cattle, &c., &c.

Then the chapter comes to the question of wheat, which has been already quoted.

Even the free importation of foreign corn could very little affect the interests of the farmers of Great Britain, &c., &c. . . . The small quantity of foreign corn imported even in times of the greatest scarcity, may satisfy our farmers that they can have nothing to fear from the freest importation.

It is not surprising that Adam Smith should have failed to foresee the marvellous progress of inventions which have entirely altered the conditions of transport ; but I am fully justified in my contention that Adam Smith would have predicted the ruin which has unfortunately befallen our agriculture if he could have had any conception that the actual imports would have risen to 1,800 times the amount on which he based his conclusion that it would '*very little* affect the interests of the farmers of Great Britain.'

Another 'sin of omission' on my part is that I treated the price of corn as if such a phenomenon as the change in the value of money had never been known. Now this statement is absolutely contrary to fact, and diametrically opposed to my contention, which was expressed as follows :

In fact prices are generally regulated by what may be termed the world's level of prices—a level which is due to the general conditions of exchange, *currency*, and production.

The word '*currency*' shows that I had not lost sight of the effect of changes in the value of our money. Again I pointed out that the distress which led to the Anti-Corn Law agitation was wholly unconnected with the Corn Laws, that it was due to a *monetary* crisis caused by a drain on the reserves of the Bank of England from abroad, that it was caused not by dear bread but by want of money to purchase it. Moreover I specially guarded myself against such an imputation by saying that it was not my intention to ascribe all these changes to the Corn Laws or to their repeal ; but that other influences had been at work, and I pointed out that the low price of wheat, now prevailing, was due not to free imports but to increased facilities of transport and improved processes of tillage, cropping, and shipping, by *machinery*.

Another point on which I am charged with being 'astoundingly inaccurate' is in my argument that the Corn Laws enacted in and after 1773 were inoperative. Mr. Cox argues that because in only four out of fourteen years following 1773 the price of wheat was above the limit of free import, therefore the '*protective duty was fully operative.*'

An examination into the import of wheat proves that Mr. Cox's conclusion is absolutely incorrect. Not only did the Corn Laws of 1773 fail to protect the British farmer from the ruinous influx of foreign wheat, but the import under those inoperative laws was actually far larger than even under unlimited free import. Before the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1765 the import of foreign wheat was insignificant, but as soon as the floodgates of unlimited foreign import were opened the rush was so great, that the attempt to stem it by inadequate Corn Laws entirely failed. This is evident from the following table which I have compiled from a Parliamentary paper.<sup>1</sup>

*Table of Annual Average of Imports of Foreign Wheat and Flour at different Periods.*

Period.	Average Annual Import.	
	Quarters.	
1755-64 . . .	14,954	Corn Laws.
1765-73 . . .	100,707	Corn Laws repealed.
1774-83 . . .	205,242	Inoperative Corn Laws.
1784-93 . . .	189,042	
1794-1803 <sup>2</sup> . . .	655,324	
1804-12 . . .	508,403	

It is evident, therefore, that the Corn Laws were absolutely inoperative not only in the fourteen years mentioned by Mr. Cox, but also in the forty years succeeding 1773. The average importation under these Corn Laws in the ten years period, 1774-1783, was more than double that of the period, 1765-73, under unrestricted free imports, and in the last period, 1804-12, it was quintupled.

I was quite aware that in some years the prices of wheat were in excess of the limit of free import, and this induced me to qualify my expression by the word '*virtually*' free import. Mr. Cox has unfairly endeavoured to put a false meaning on my words, which are to all intents and purposes identical with those of the Committee of 1813.<sup>3</sup>

Let me take another accusation of '*misleading statistics.*' I

<sup>1</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 27.

<sup>2</sup> During this period not only was the import virtually free, in consequence of high prices, but also sums amounting to 2,826,947*l.* were paid for bounties on the import of foreign corn.

<sup>3</sup> For many years previous to the establishing of this system (the Continental system which imposed difficulties on the importation of grain) the trade in grain between this country and the Continent was *virtually a free trade*, the laws for regulating and restraining it being wholly inoperative in consequence of the high prices.—*Report of the Committee of 1813*, p. 7.

stated that during the sixty-four years from the commencement of the eighteenth century the price of wheat, which had remained steady and low at an average of 33s. 3d. per quarter, had risen to 45s. 10d. in the eight years after the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1765. Mr. Cox suggests that I have misled my readers in not taking the prices immediately preceding the repeal, thereby unfairly insinuating that if I had done so the result would probably have been reversed. Now the official figures given by the Committee of 1813, for the average of five years preceding the repeal of the Corn Laws, is only 30s. 10d.; so that if I had quoted this figure it would undoubtedly have strengthened my contention in showing that the rise in price, after the repeal of the Corn Laws, was 15s. per quarter instead of 12s. 5d. No doubt if I had quoted this price Mr. Cox would equally, and even with greater justice, have accused me of unfairness, in taking the shorter period, which was more favourable to my contention, instead of taking the average of a large number of years. There is less excuse for his ungenerous insinuation, because it is evident that he has consulted the report of the Committee of 1813, in which the five-year averages of the price of wheat form a prominent feature—not even shelved in an appendix—but in the body of the report separated in two tables, one before, and one after, the repeal of the Corn Laws.

Another of my so-called misleading quotations is from the report of the Committee of 1813. Mr. Cox states the risk of dependence on foreign corn was a small fragment of the report and ‘a mere incident in the argument.’ It is difficult to conceive a greater perversion of fact. Far from being a mere incident, the risk and inexpediency of a dependence upon foreign supplies pervade the whole report. In fact, the entire argument is devoted to that question. The report commences by stating that foreign corn to the value of 58,634,135*l.* had been imported in the last twenty years and the average price for the last four years had been 105s. 5d. It then proceeds to say :

So great a degree of dependence on foreign countries for a sufficient supply of food, and so great an advance of price of wheat as is hereby proved, require the interposition of Parliament without further delay. . . . Under this impression and with the view of ascertaining what measures it would become your committee to propose, as best calculated to induce our own people to raise a sufficient supply for themselves, from their own soil, and at the same time to reduce the prices of corn, they have examined into the means which the United Kingdom possesses of growing more corn, and into those laws which from time to time have been made for regulating the corn trade.

Then follows the result of this examination, which is summed up as follows :

Upon the whole it appears to your committee to be a fair practical inference to draw from this enquiry into the means which these countries (Great Britain and Ireland) possess of growing an additional quantity of corn, that they are able

to produce as much more corn, in addition to that which they already grow, as would relieve them from the necessity of continuing in any degree dependent for a supply on foreign countries.

Next the Committee takes a general review of the laws for regulating the corn trade, and sums up as follows :

This review of the Corn Laws shows that, so long as the system of restraining importation, and encouraging exportation, is persevered in, Great Britain not only supplied herself, but exported a considerable quantity of corn ; and also that the prices were steady and moderate.

Then the whole argument, part of which I originally quoted,<sup>4</sup> is devoted to the evils of foreign importation, with the exception of a few words devoted to the question of Colonial treatment which are irrelevant to the point in question.

The Committee of 1814, which carried on the investigations commenced by the Committee of 1813, endorse their views in the following terms :

They are convinced that a reliance on foreign importation, to a large amount, is neither salutary nor safe for this country to look to as a permanent system ; and that many of the sacrifices and privations to which the people have been obliged to submit, during the late long and arduous contest, would have been materially alleviated, if their means of subsistence had been less dependent on foreign growth.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> There is much more to the same purpose which for want of space I did not quote. For example, 'The various evils which belong to so great an importation from foreign countries—to so great an expenditure of our money, in promoting the improvement and cultivation of those countries, at the loss of a similar extent of improvement and cultivation in our own—and to the established high prices of corn, are so numerous, and so mischievous, that every one will readily allow they are deserving of the serious attention of Parliament.'—*Report of 1813*, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> The Committee of 1814 then recommended that, while protecting British agriculture, Parliament should, consistently with this first object, '*afford the greatest possible facility and inducement to the import of foreign corn, whenever from adverse seasons the stock of our own growth should be found inadequate to the consumption of the United Kingdom.*'

This is of course needed to obtain proper elasticity in any system of corn laws, and it naturally gives rise to the passing of Acts from time to time to carry out this view.

The array of Acts which Mr. Cox has brought forward in order to discredit the Corn Laws appears formidable at first sight. It is not so, however, when it is considered that it extends over nearly two hundred years, and that probably one emergency may entail several Acts ; for separate needs are met by separate Acts, and each Act entails its corresponding Act of repeal when the emergency ceases. This may be seen in such cases as the following :

- (1) An Act to allow flour to be substituted for wheat.
- (2) An Act to ascertain the price of corn.
- (3) An Act to give bounties on importation.
- (4) An Act to repeal the same.
- (5) An Act to permit importation at low rates.
- (6) An Act to repeal the same.
- (7) An Act to restrain exportation.
- (8) An Act to repeal the same.
- (9) An Act to authorise the King to permit changes in exportation or importation, &c., &c.

How Mr. Cox could have the hardihood to assert that the risk of dependence on foreign corn was a 'mere incident' in the report of 1813 passes my comprehension.

Beyond clearing myself from the unwarranted imputations which have been cast upon me, I do not care to follow Mr. Cox through the haze of plausible misrepresentations with which he has obscured the main points at issue, and I must decline all further controversy with an adversary who has recourse to such weapons.

I would simply remark that while endeavouring to 'throw dust in the eyes of the public' he has not attempted to grapple with the main points of my contention. These points may be briefly summed up as follows :

(1) When an article, like wheat, is or can be produced at home, a tariff stimulates the home production, and does not raise the price, provided that the duty be protective and not prohibitive ; the burden of the tax falling on the foreign producer.

(2) The price of wheat is generally regulated by what may be termed '*the world's level of prices*,' due to general conditions of exchange, currency, production, &c. Unlimited import, however, interferes with this equalisation by enabling the foreign producer to swamp the market, and ruin the industry of the unprotected country.

(3) Corn Laws cannot keep up the price to the limit of allowed importation, nor can free import keep down the price.

(4) The dependence on foreign supplies tends to raise the price in time of war. During the war with France the price rose to 126s. 6d. per quarter, and during the Crimean war our dependence upon foreign supplies had become so great, that the price of wheat rose to 74s. 8d. per quarter, under unlimited free import, although we had complete command of the seas. Should we be engaged in war with one or more strong maritime powers the famine prices of 1810-15 would probably be repeated with the most disastrous consequences to our country.

(5) The distress of 1843 which gave such force to the Anti-Corn Law agitation was wholly unconnected with the Corn Laws or the price of wheat, but was caused by a monetary crisis due to a heavy drain from abroad on the gold reserves of the Bank of England.

(6) The imposition of a tax on wheat is frequently followed by a fall of price, as has been proved by our Consular reports from Belgium, Italy, Germany, France, and elsewhere.

(7) Our policy of free import of wheat has failed to secure for us cheapness, wheat being in many cases cheaper in protected countries than in England.

(8) Under our present policy, our agriculture has been ruined, and its ruin has reacted on the manufacturing industries and

involved them in the common ruin. It has driven our agricultural population to emigrate or to swell the ranks of the unemployed.

(9) Our policy of heavy direct, instead of indirect, taxation has enabled foreign countries to compete with us, and carry off our trade, reacting on our working classes by reduction of wages, short employment, and consequent distress and poverty.

GUILFORD L. MOLESWORTH.



## THE BRONTË NOVELS

'DAMN the curate!' 'Hell!' 'You lie!' 'Silence, eavesdropper! Judas! Traitor! Hellish villain!' These violent expressions are from the novel *Wuthering Heights*, published in the year 1847.

They are justified in dignified language by the sister of the authoress. Charlotte Brontë, in her preface to her sister's novel, says :

The practice of hinting by single letters words with which profane and violent persons are wont to garnish their discourse, strikes me as a proceeding which, however well meant, is weak and futile. I cannot tell what good it does, what feeling it spares, what horror it conceals.

In effect, the sisters Brontë had great courage, a lofty ideal, and seriousness of purpose.

The question is whether we have not in 1903 arrived at the end of the journey on which we started when Ellis Bell wrote *Wuthering Heights* and Currer Bell championed what struck the reading public of that day as alarming realism. It is not very alarming realism to readers of the twentieth century, for we have left fifty years behind us, days when it was necessary to apologise for unrestrained expressions, and have arrived at the time when, thanks to the Reader of plays, we are spared the exhibition of masterpieces which have nothing else to commend them except the lavish use of unrestrained expressions.

In the enchanting parody of a University Extension lecture introduced by Mr. Andrew Lang in *The Disentanglers*, we have in two bantering phrases at once the limitation and the justification of the Brontës' art: 'Impropriety reintroduced by Charlotte Brontë. Unwillingness of lecturer to dwell on this topic. . . . Fallacy of thinking that the novel should amuse.'

Precisely. The object of the Brontës' art was didactic; the means employed by them was to avoid any appearance of squeamishness in recording the facts of life as they appeared to the authoress. The question for us is not so much whether it is disagreeable to discover in classic pages the language of the streets, or whether one is not rather bored by encountering a sermon where one expected to find relaxation, but rather—are the means which everybody extols as indispensable to the ends of true art really indispensable?

Of course what Ellis Bell was trying to do was to present us with an accurate picture of the savage and violent life that lay about her, and she could find no better way of doing this than faithfully recording the violent language in which her characters were accustomed to indulge.

Was her method a success?

It is a partial success if she has succeeded in making her characters alive, even at the expense of employing this questionable method. It is not even a partial success if she has merely recorded violent language without enabling us to realise the violent characters. An artist certainly as great as Ellis Bell came face to face with the same difficulty forty years after the appearance of *Wuthering Heights*. Before the appearance of *Treasure Island*, Robert Louis Stevenson wrote to Mr. Henley: 'Two chapters are written, and have been tried on Lloyd with great success; the trouble is to work it off without oaths. Buccaneers without oaths—bricks without straw. But youth and the fond parent have to be consulted.'

Well, *Treasure Island* was produced—buccaneers without oaths—and surely no more vital characters were ever produced by a great artist. There is not one single violent expression in *Treasure Island*, and yet the impression of ruthless, savage, bloodthirsty villany is complete, convincing, terrible.

Here we have matter for consideration which may enable us without dogmatising to see whether the naturalistic method really deserves the unchallenged supremacy which our generation, though now somewhat reluctantly, still accords it. If John Silver and 'that brandy-faced rascal' Israel Hands and George Merry and Morgan can be made to live and terrify us without the aid of one single expletive, where is the compulsion that Ellis Bell found so urgent? The conclusion surely is that Stevenson was a great artist, and Ellis Bell was not a great artist.

In fact, the habit of relying upon violent expressions to produce violent effects is closely akin to the habit of relying upon italics in composition, which is one of the first weaknesses an author has to overcome. If it were merely an inappropriate monosyllable that one found trying, there would perhaps be little to say, but the free employment of coarse words is not an accident, but only a rather unimportant incident, in a system which has ceased to produce good results.

What, then, shall we say are the abiding merits of the works of the sisters Brontë?

Firstly, their abounding human sympathy; secondly, the infinite patience and conscientiousness with which they observe and record the facts of life. They interested themselves in people as human beings; they did not think it necessary that they should be wealthy or important or adventurous or exceptional in any way whatever.

Clods and ruffians and bores and dowdies, among whom their lives were passed, are drawn with accuracy. The authoress accepts her clods and dowdies as interesting people, which is a tribute to her own wide sympathy, but she expects her readers to find these people interesting merely because they are accurately reproduced. George Eliot could do this because she was a mighty artist; but one yawns over *Wuthering Heights*, because, although Ellis Bell's sympathies are wide, her style correct, and her intentions excellent, she is not a great artist.

But then that is precisely where her champions would take up her case, and tell me that it is I whose sympathies are narrow and whose sense of art is defective, and not Ellis Bell.

That is quite fair; but for my own part, after painstakingly reading the whole of *Wuthering Heights*, I cannot distinguish the Christian names of the characters from their surnames, or one character from another, male or female, or make out what is the story, who is telling it, or what all the anxiety is about; nor can I carry my attention from one page to the next without a strong effort of will. Yet hardly had I laid aside this tedious production, when a lady told me that she had just read *Wuthering Heights* for five hours at a stretch, and been only able to lay it down because she was compelled to dress for dinner.

This is a severe shock to one's convictions, and drives one to the conclusion that there are men's authors and women's authors: to a few, only a very few, is it given to appeal to all mankind. Ellis Bell was assuredly not one of these.

'*Wuthering Heights*,' wrote her sister, 'is hewn in a wild workshop, with simple tools, out of homely material.' This is true, and greatly to the credit of the authoress. But what so many writers of the calibre of Ellis Bell overlook is the fact that inexperience is not necessarily genius. Byron's contempt for 'the mob of gentlemen who write with ease' was only the characteristic expression of a justifiable impatience with people who clamour for our attention to unfinished work. Perhaps the shade of Ellis Bell will not feel affronted if I quote Sheridan's advice to a young writer when he bade him remember that 'easy writing is damned hard reading'; but there again, easy writing may—does—produce that impression upon me, but not by any means upon most ladies who read *Wuthering Heights*. The mountains of detail, the solemn periods, the faithfully reproduced jargon of the peasant, all the other features of Ellis Bell's work, are great recommendations to many readers. They enjoy losing themselves in detail; they admire the accuracy of the dialect; the lack of anything resembling humour is no drawback to their enjoyment.

To my mind it is very depressing to think that all this excellent material, these high intentions, this dogged industry, should be

wasted ; and, without wishing to dogmatise, may one not profitably recall the severe training that Thackeray underwent, and the terrible self-imposed discipline of George Eliot's mind, before their matchless powers were developed to the full? All this was wanting to Ellis Bell. It was not wholly her fault, but still it is wanting ; although, in the circumstances of her life, she wrought wonders.

There remains the question whether she would have had the patience to submit to discipline. Probably not, for the ideal which she set before her did not call for discipline. She 'wished' to 'write what she saw,' and she would probably have urged that drilling the mind destroys its freshness and spontaneity. One can only infer this from the nature of her work, but the phrase is often used and is responsible for much conceited laziness and stupidity.

If one would see how much may be done towards improvement of style, and consequent success in art, in the most untoward circumstances, one need only turn to *Agnes Grey*, a work produced in the year 1847, by Acton Bell.

Here we have dissolute squires and vulgar *nouveaux riches* presented, and convincingly presented, in a style which Stevenson himself could not but have approved.

The story is the familiar one of a young lady whose family misfortunes compelled her to earn her own living at the age of eighteen. *Agnes Grey* is the full and attractive portrait of a type of which Ruth Pinch was but a sketch. We should hardly have realised Ruth Pinch in all her attractiveness without the help of Fred Barnard, but *Agnes Grey* is higher art.

It is needless to say that the incidents in the story of *Agnes Grey* are in themselves tedious and dismal. The daily routine of a poor girl leading the arduous and depressing life of a governess in families where she was despised can hardly be anything else ; but the story is so connectedly told, and the incidents are presented so soberly and touched so lightly, that the impression is great. Nothing is overdone : there is sufficient dialect to divert, not enough to weary. The children of both of the families *Agnes Grey* served stand out each from the other like living beings. The good men are not tiresome, the wicked men are not melodramatic.

There could be no greater contrast to *Wuthering Heights* than *Agnes Grey*.

In the one case the machinery is lavish, the scenery startling, and there is a wild abandon of language, which, if licence could effect anything, ought to result in a horrifying impression, but the impression is *nil* : in the other case we have nothing but the bread and butter of life, but the impression is great.

*The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*, by Anne Brontë (or 'Acton Bell'), is a much neglected book. It suffers from the slight drawback of being a story within a story, which always fatigues the attention ;

otherwise the construction is good. The famous incident of the brother who is mistaken for the lover was probably more or less novel sixty years ago; but the consequences of the mistake lead up to scenes which disclose a very curious confusion of ideas. The hero of the book is supposed to show no more than manly displeasure when he strikes the brother with a loaded crop and nearly murders him. The unhappy victim is, of course, extremely ill. The murderer 'left him to live or die as he could,' overwhelming him with foul abuse. But all this does not appear to have been a bar to quite a cheery friendship when the little mistake was cleared up. This is perhaps creditable to the temper of both parties, who conduct themselves with manly and criminal violence as gentlemen ought to do.

Their conduct throughout was based upon a misconception from beginning to end. In another part of the story a prominent character, Lord Lowborough, really suffers a very deep injury at the hands of one who was formerly his friend, and is applauded for declining to demand satisfaction, in the manner customary among gentlemen, in the following interview.

'Name time and place, and I will manage the rest,' says the would-be second.

'That,' answered the more low deliberate voice of Lord Lowborough, 'is just the remedy my heart, or the devil within it, suggested—to meet him and not to part without blood. Whether I or he should fall, or both, it would be an inexpressible relief if——'

'Just so. Well then?'

'Oh!' exclaimed his lordship, with deep and determined emphasis. 'Though I hate him from my heart, and should rejoice at any calamity that could befall him, I leave him to God; and though I abhor my own life, I leave that too to Him who gave it.'

'But you see in this case——' pleaded Hattersley.

'I will not hear you,' exclaimed his companion, hastily turning away. 'Not another word. I have enough to do against the fiend within me——'

'Then you are a white-livered fool, and I wash my hands of you,' grumbled the tempter, as he swung himself round and departed.

'Right! right! Lord Lowborough,' cried I, darting out and clasping his burning hand as he was moving away. 'I begin to think that the world is not worthy of you.'

Verily the ways of English gentlemen must seem mysterious to gentlemen of other nations accustomed to more rigid codes of honour. A violent and criminal assault on an unarmed man is hardly condemned, but a stand-up fight is a temptation of the devil. Sir Walter Besant humorously explained the abolition of the duel on the ground that men found it simply intolerable to have to rise at five o'clock in the morning for such an uncomfortable purpose. One may with equal seriousness reason that the duel as a satisfaction of honour was reprobated by public opinion, because public opinion came to be the opinion of people to whom the idea of honour was unintelligible.

Apart from this somewhat startling confusion of ideas, there is much in *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* that interests, much that is even absorbing in its interest, but one sees here and there the first appearance of catchwords that may have been seriously meant at the time, but that have not always been useful.

The teaching of the book is on the familiar lines, namely, that 'one should be one's self,' and 'speak right out,' and all the kindred exhortations to awkward manners and disagreeable remarks.

The heroine is one of those blameless people who have served as a model for so many imitators. Blameless herself, she is in a perpetual attitude of reminding all around her of their duty, while weeping hot tears over her curly-headed little boy. Of course she despises clothes, and of course her husband is everything that he ought not to be; although, if one comes to think of it, it could not have been very agreeable to the best of husbands to find the young lady keeping a diary of his married life in which all his peccadilloes were set forth in excellent style and with much *verve*. Of course she runs away, and the husband dies repentant but despairing, while she comforts his last moments.

Equally of course, Society is decried, and the country life extolled. This is how Mr. and Mrs. Huntingdon enjoy London :

He led me such a round of restless dissipation while there that in that short space of time I was quite tired out. He seemed bent upon displaying me to his friends and acquaintances in particular and the public in general on every possible occasion at the greatest possible advantage. It was something to feel that he considered me a worthy object of pride, but I paid dear for the gratification. For, in the first place, to please him I had to violate my cherished predilections, my almost rooted principles in favour of a plain, dark, and sober style of dress. I must sparkle in costly jewels and deck myself out like a painted butterfly, just as I had long since determined I would never do; and all this was no trifling sacrifice.

The obvious comment that occurs to one is this—that perhaps if the young lady had not been so exacting about trifles, and so unreasonably reluctant to accept the small things of life as they came, and so determined to see nothing in life except sitting about in the country doing nothing and keeping a diary of her husband's shortcomings, perhaps her husband would not have taken to drink. We are to remember that the young lady came of a considerable family, was an heiress herself, and now married to a young man with a large establishment and the usual prosperous and dignified surroundings of a country gentleman in the great days of English agriculture. It is therefore only reasonable that her husband should have liked her to wear the family jewels; and a 'plain, dark, and sober style of dress,' which would be the very thing for housekeeping in the morning in the country, is not the right thing for the opera. In short, the young lady did not know how to dress and would not be taught.

This is the obverse of the medal, and here is the reverse :

Mr. Huntingdon discovered his wife keeping her diary and said, 'With your leave, my dear, I will have a look at this.' . . . And drawing a chair to the table composedly, sat down and examined it, turning back leaf after leaf to find an explanation of what he had read. . . . Of course I didn't leave him to pursue this occupation in quiet. I made several attempts to snatch the book from his hands, but he held it too firmly for that. I upbraided him in bitterness and scorn for his mean and dishonourable conduct, but that had no effect upon him. And finally I extinguished both the candles, but he only wheeled round to the fire, and raising a blaze sufficient for his purpose, calmly continued the investigation. I had serious thoughts of getting a pitcher of water and extinguishing that light too, but it was evident that his curiosity was too keenly excited to be quenched by that. . . . Besides, it was too late. 'It seems very interesting, love,' said he ; . . . 'but as it is rather long, I will look at it some other time, and meanwhile I will trouble you for your keys, my dear.'

This is meant to be tragedy, but there has been no more screaming farce in real life since the matrimonial difficulties of Count and Countess Rumford.

*The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* is undoubtedly a very interesting story, but the idealisation of these unrestrained and dubious manners is unfortunate in itself, and has had an unfortunate effect upon the English mind.

It is curious that a family should have existed and presented to the world of letters three remarkable specimens of the same type. If we take up any one work of the Brontë sisters it will be extremely difficult even for a practised critic to say to which of the three sisters the work should be ascribed. In each case we find the same microscopic accuracy of detail, the same indifference as to whether the detail is unimportant or not, the same laudable determination to see the soul of the character through all untoward externals, the same incapacity to grasp the fact that in order to make an impression details must be most carefully sifted and most artfully arranged, the same lack of humour and the same gallant disregard of convention, even of such literary convention as is very convenient and cannot be disregarded with impunity by the most reckless scribes. In short, we have all the elements of the naturalistic school of novelists, not excepting Mr. Andrew Lang's humorous conclusion, 'The novel is the proper vehicle of theological, scientific, social, and political instruction.'

*Villette*, by Currer Bell (or Charlotte Brontë), is a book in which one is alternately exasperated by pointless detail and rewarded for one's patience by positive flashes of insight.

The cook, in a jacket, a short petticoat, and sabots, brought me supper, to wit, some meat, nature unknown, served in an odd and acid but pleasant sauce ; some chopped potatoes made savoury with I know not what, vinegar and sugar, I think : a tartine or slice of bread and butter and a baked pear. Being hungry, I ate and was grateful.

Naturally, and one has eaten many worse meals. If this is a letter of a young lady to her parents after her first experience of Continental cooking, one would say it showed promise; being inserted into a grave and didactic narrative, it produces the impression of mere padding. It reminds one of Mr. George Moore's criticism of the late M. Zola, 'Ce que je reproche à Zola c'est qu'il n'a pas de style.' He proceeds to illustrate this by pointing out that passages worthy of Pascal and Bossuet rub shoulders with police news and downright padding. The Brontë sisters never rise to M. Zola's heights or sink to his depths. They may be described as the Caracisti of the naturalistic school: not that the parallel is exact, for they were hardly inspired and they certainly were not experts; but they do hold an unchallenged position of mediocre attainment which never sinks into baseness, and here and there really invades the realm of excellence.

*Villette*, for example, although dwelling in tedious circumstances, is very faithful work. Even Brontë lovers admit that it is dull. It suffers like all the Brontë novels from the impression of self-consciousness which may or may not have been the just reflection of the ladies' minds, but it cannot be shaken off when we find the entire book occupied with the impression made upon the writer by the most trivial incidents of everyday life, and by introspection which may have been original sixty years ago, but seems quite childish to us now. Of course the most famous of all the Brontë novels is *Jane Eyre*. In this interesting work we find the fervour of Mr. Andrew Lang's enchanting mock lecture in full blast, 'the novel is the proper vehicle of theological, scientific, social, and political instruction.'

In order to make this quite clear to her readers, 'Currer Bell' has prefaced *Jane Eyre* with a dedication to Mr. Thackeray and a few words expounding her principles. She says, writing on the 21st of December, 1847:

There is a man in our own days whose words are not framed to tickle delicate ears, who, to my thinking, comes before the great ones of society much as the son of Imlah came before the throned kings of Judah and Israel, and who speaks truth as deep, with a power as prophet-like and as vital, a mien as dauntless and as daring. Is the satirist of *Vanity Fair* admired in high places? I cannot tell. But I think that if some of those among whom he hurls the Greek fire of his sarcasm, and over whom he flashes his levin brands, were to take his warnings in time, they or their seed might yet escape a fatal Ramoth-gilead.

It is a far cry from Ramoth-gilead to Cornhill, and there is this material difference between the prophet Micaiah and Mr. Thackeray, namely, that the prophet Micaiah did not publish his prophesyings and build a handsome house from the proceeds. Not that Mr. Thackeray was not perfectly entitled to all, and more than all, of the rewards of his industry and genius. But really, Micaiah



and Mr. Thackeray—is not the parallel somewhat strained? And what is all this about Greek fire and levin brands? Is it not to take the novel much too seriously? What have we to do with Greek fire and levin brands when we sit down to be amused for an hour? There again we run our heads against the dictum—‘Fallacy of thinking that the novel should amuse.’

Now the failure of *Jane Eyre* as a work of art lies precisely in this attempt to wield the levin brand and also to amuse us at the same time.

The purpose of the authoress is eminently didactic; the means of enforcing her conclusions are the simple ones of a narrative of love and tragedy, but the melodrama is painfully mechanical; and as for the love, well, let us see what it was.

We are introduced to a character of the later Byronic type—a dark-haired, strong-jawed voluptuary, who commands wealth and all that wealth can buy in a world which is still extremely agreeable for wealthy people. We are given to understand that an unhappy married life has driven this saturnine person to the usual consolations of a vigorous and melancholy maturity. At the age of forty he casts the eyes of regard upon a plain, poor, plain-spoken, dull governess, and we are also given to understand that this virtuous young person arouses in him a passion so deep that all considerations are swept away in the torrent of his emotion, and not even the penalties of bigamy will deter him from the gratification of his desires.

There is nothing impossible in all this, because there is nothing impossible in human nature, but it is so wildly improbable that one is justified in describing a melodrama under the circumstances as purely mechanical. As regards the claim of the authoress to reform or chastise or instruct her generation, it is a claim that has been put forward in the last fifty years by so many people that we can hardly avoid the inquiry, has it any justification?

We may safely say that the immense mass of professedly didactic fiction that has been published since the appearance of *Jane Eyre* has really modified the ideas of two generations. It has had an influence such as might be expected. That is to say, it has impressed the minds of two half-educated generations with the convictions of several educated people.

The assumption of the prophetic attitude is merely ridiculous to anyone with a grain of humour; and on the whole one can only say that the influence of fiction when it has deserted its proper province of amusement and relaxation has been wholly pernicious. It has engendered among the ignorant and half-educated a conceited dogmatical habit of thought which is extremely disagreeable to encounter, and is the source of endless misery to the people who are so unfortunate as to possess it.

‘Currer Bell’ need not have been anxious as to the reception of

*Vanity Fair* in high places; it was incontestably received with delight and admiration—as a work of fiction. If it did not exactly shake a throne or reform a selfish and voluptuous aristocracy, perhaps that is because there really is a substantial difference between Micaiah, or even Voltaire, and Mr. Thackeray.

Yet this mechanical melodrama and painfully didactic composition was received with delight by a generation of readers who are to-day no longer young. Some will say that this is in consequence of the development of the critical faculty; others will maintain that there is no surer sign of our literary decadence than the waning interest in the works of the Brontë sisters.

\* *The Professor* tells a plain tale. It gains by not attempting to teach us anything. The didactic element is wanting; unless we are to infer that to make all the blunders possible in life is to show strength of character. The hero of the story has highly placed connections on both sides. He is sent to Eton, and is then offered the alternative of being pushed forward in the public service by the influence of the generous relatives who paid his school expenses, or of looking out for himself. Common gratitude, as well as common-sense, would appear to suggest that the hero should become an attaché in the diplomatic service or something like that; but he does not like his relatives' manners, so he decides to throw himself on the tender mercies of his brother, who is making a large fortune as a manufacturer.

All this may be very fine and manly, but one would suppose that the natural inclination of a young man who had been ten years at Eton would not be towards drudgery in a mill. Here again one cannot help noting the tendency of all the Brontë sisters to produce their effects somewhat mechanically. Given a young man of leisure and culture and natural refinement set down to be a clerk to a miserly bully, and you get the most distressing situations. The most distressing situations supervene, and the hero, having quarrelled with the people who naturally would have helped him, is now compelled to quarrel with the people who regard him as a poor relation. Finally he lands himself as an usher in a school in Belgium.

All the rest is pretty story-telling; the heroine being the usual Brontë heroine—a deserving governess. The incidents are what one might expect, but one is no longer impatient with them when one is not expected to draw any disciplinary conclusions from them. One is content to admire the grace and ease with which they are told, and does not trouble one's head about the monotony of the story or the exaggerated prominence given to uninteresting people.

Readers who enjoy *Wuthering Heights* will naturally revel in *Shirley*, a story of very great length. It is difficult to say anything more, for if one were to add that it is very tiresome as well as very

long, one would assuredly find one's self contradicted by an eager reader who had studied it for five consecutive hours.

The heroine is a nice, high-spirited girl, who is possessed of a considerable independence. Having been badly brought up, or rather not brought up at all, the consequence is that she affects 'the leopardess,' is fond of describing herself as 'untamed,' throws convention to the winds, and gives her own opinion freely.

The portraits of the three curates are celebrated in many appreciative notices of *Shirley*, but are really, although admirable in their way, quite the least important part of the book. They are the portraits of three very vulgar young men. There were vulgar young men in Holy Orders fifty years ago: there are vulgar young men in Holy Orders to-day, only too many.

In *Shirley* we find the characteristics of independence and self-reliance extolled at the expense of all other mental qualities. When the world was half empty men possessed of this mental equipment, and nothing more, could do much.

Mr. Charles Kingsley added the cold bath and a devotion to field sports, and beyond that, many Englishmen have been accustomed to conclude, manliness cannot go.

'The Squirradical' was 'wooden spoon' in the year 1850, and a very grotesque and pathetic figure he made in 1890. No doubt he would have been to 'Currer Bell' a very earnest young man.

As the world has filled, and the conduct of life grown more and more complicated, this ideal has come to be more and more disastrous to the people who cherish it. Good intentions, honesty, and courage are much. Unfortunately, the teaching of the *Shirley* school of thought tends to engender the companion conviction that anybody can do anything somehow, and that it does not much matter how things are done. The conviction found its most famous expression in the imbecile vaunt ascribed to Lord John Russell, that he would take the command of the Channel Fleet if he were ordered to assume that responsible position. This is quoted with approval, and even with enthusiasm, by numerous people who might be suspected of knowing better, as the last expression of that devotion to duty which ought to animate the Englishman in public life.

These may seem somewhat solemn reflections. Perhaps in the very making of them one is continuing the error of those who take the novel too seriously. But let us go back to our mock University Extension lecturer and quote once more—'The novel is now the whole of literature. . . . People have no time to read anything else. Study of the novel becomes an abuse if it leads to neglect of the morning and evening newspapers.'

Although this is said banteringly, it is hardly an exaggeration. Politics have lost their interest since intelligence was swamped in numbers. History has subsided into a thing of text-books, which

nobody reads unless compelled to do so for the purpose of passing examinations. Conversation is extinct. Consequently it is not unfair to ascribe to the novel a considerable share in moulding and directing the public opinion of the time.

The widely read and deeply studied novels of the Brontë sisters must have had a great influence; an influence growing stronger as other engines for directing public thought wear out.

The school of thought which lays it down that form is essential, that perfection should be aimed at, that slovenliness and disregard of authority is a blemish in otherwise sound work, that maintains that reverence is due to all thought and to all work whether remunerative or not—this school still lives, if it languishes, in one great seat of learning; and this is the school to which the Brontë influence, whether for good or for ill, is antagonistic.

WALTER FREWEN LORD.

## THE CRUSADE AGAINST PROFESSIONAL CRIMINALS

FACTS weigh more with most people than arguments, however telling; and a case reported a few weeks ago from Bristol may serve to convince the sceptical that my crusade against professional criminals is based on facts.

I cannot definitely fix the time when I first heard of 'Quiet Joe.' But during the years of my official connection with Scotland Yard 'Quiet Joe' was a person of note with the police. At first, I confess, I sometimes fancied he was a mythical housebreaker to whom undetected burglaries could be attributed—a sort of 'Mrs. Harris' in the sphere of crime. But my scepticism was soon dissipated. 'Quiet Joe' was a man to be reckoned with; very real, and very difficult to catch. For long experience has made him an adept at all the tricks of the trade. He is famous at what is technically called the 'ladder larceny.' Thieves who practise in that line, having laid their plans to raid some suburban or country house, gain entrance by a ladder placed against the window of one of the principal bedrooms, while the family and guests are at dinner, and the upper rooms are deserted. The outer doors, and any windows opening on the lawn, are fastened by means of screws and wire or rope; and further to baffle pursuit, in case they are disturbed and need to secure their safety by flight, a line is stretched across the lawn as a 'booby trap' to trip up anyone who attempts to follow them.

Such then is 'Quiet Joe,' and such his trade or calling in life. He gave us no little trouble at Scotland Yard, and I felt relieved when, in December 1892, he and his special 'pal' were convicted at Liverpool, and sent to penal servitude. It was with real interest, therefore, that I read 'A Detective Story' in the *Daily Telegraph* of the 19th of December last, for I recognised my old friends at once. They had been watched by the police in London for a fortnight. They met frequently at the Lambeth Free Library to confer together and to study directories and books of reference. Having planned their 'job,' they bought a map of Bristol in one shop, and at another the screw eyelets and ropes needed for their work. On the 17th, they booked for Bristol, and there took observations of the suburban

house which they had fixed on. But the detectives, well disguised as labourers, were on their track; and at this juncture they declared themselves, and arrested the criminals. On the following day the men were brought up and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment.

Now most people can be wise after the event; but even that sort of belated wisdom seems lacking to the Legislature and the law. If these men had been asked ten years ago what they meant to do when again released from penal servitude, they would have answered, 'Why, go back to business, of course; what else?' If the same question had been put to them at Bristol the other day, they would have replied with equal frankness. There is no Jesuitical pretence about such criminals. It appears from the newspapers that when arrested they openly expressed their gratification that the officers did not wait to 'catch them fair on the job,' as 'a long stretch would about finish them'—a playful allusion to their venerable age, for both men are in their seventh decade, and another ten years' sentence would see the end of them. As matters stand, their return to the work of their calling is only deferred till next September. Meanwhile they live without expense, and a paternal government will take care that the money found in their pockets on arrest will be restored to their pockets on release to enable them to buy more jemmies and rope and screw eyelets.

Now, according to my *projet de loi*, the judge who sentenced these men in 1892 would, before sentence, have held an inquiry on the charge that they lived by crime; and, on finding that charge proved, would have declared them to be professional criminals. And as a further result they would, on the expiration of their present sentence, be removed to an asylum prison, there to be detained as moral lunatics, if such a phrase may be allowed. The community would thus be relieved of their baneful presence; and, humanly speaking, the criminals themselves would be afforded some reasonable chance of real reformation in view of what remains to them of this life, and of true repentance in view of the life that is to come.

The objections taken to this scheme in Mr. Crackanthorpe's article of last November are very easily disposed of. He would probably accept my assurance that he is wrong in thinking it would operate to prevent a criminal from obtaining an honest livelihood. It is not by duping employers that the police induce them to give work to licence-holders. And I am surprised that a lawyer should have so misread my words as to suppose I meant that the issue whether a criminal is a 'professional' should be tried by a jury. I spoke of an *inquiry*, not a 'trial.' Indeed, this part of the scheme is not mine at all, but Sir James Fitzjames Stephen's, whose language I quoted in my first article (February 1901). His words are: 'A formal, public inquiry, held after a conviction for an isolated offence.' And the question at issue he explains to be whether 'the criminal really was

an habitual, hardened, practically irreclaimable offender.' I question whether a judge is competent to decide whether a criminal is so hardened as to be irreclaimable; but the issue whether he is a 'professional' is very much simpler than that on which the jury has to find the verdict. If an artist should repudiate a particular picture attributed to him, it might be very difficult indeed to prove that he painted it, whereas it would be very easy to establish the fact that he is by profession an artist, and that he earns his livelihood by painting pictures.

The proposal, I repeat, is not mine, but Sir James Stephen's. And the only point of difference between us is that, when the result of such an inquiry is adverse, he would send the prisoner to the gallows—a clear proof that he never contemplated referring the issue to a jury—whereas I suggest that the criminal should be registered as a 'professional,' and that he should be finally deprived of his liberty if, after solemn and formal warning of the consequences of a further conviction, he deliberately provokes those consequences by going back to crime. And my refusal to advocate the infliction of the death penalty is solely because my knowledge of criminals leads me to believe that, in this country at all events, it is unnecessary. Milder measures would suffice.

My object in taking up this subject is not to air theories or fads. I want, in my humble way, to enlighten public opinion upon plain questions of fact. I want the public to recognise that, however important the reformation of criminals may be, and their treatment whether in or out of prison, the primary duty of the State is to protect society against their crimes; and that this duty is flagrantly violated by setting our 'Quiet Joes' at liberty to prey upon the community. And further, I want the public to realise that most of the crimes which are recorded in our criminal statistics are *preventable*, and preventable by the adoption of measures which would have the approval of the great majority of people in every class of life. I am not a doctrinaire philosopher, or, to use a terse synonym, I am not a fool. I do not dream of making England a Utopia where crime shall be unknown. Human nature being what it is, a project to stamp out crime would be as visionary as a scheme to stamp out disease. But it would be perfectly practicable to reduce the volume of crime as definitely as sanitary reforms have, in our own times, reduced the volume of disease. And if methods analogous to those which have produced such signal results in sanitation were adopted in regard to crime, results still more striking would be achieved. For just in proportion as human beings are more easily dealt with than bacilli and bacteria, so is the crime problem simpler than the disease problem.

The analogy between the two is closer than might at first sight appear. The main efforts of sanitation are directed to dealing, first

with the causes which produce disease, and secondly with cases of disease when they occur. And here attention is transferred from disease to the persons who have contracted disease. And in the same way we should seek to counteract the influences which tend to crime, and when crimes occur attention should be concentrated upon the living human beings who commit them. But while proposals to these ends would have general approval, all preventive measures are decried as 'grandmotherly legislation' by the very people who advocate unreasoning severity in punishment; and any proposal adequate to safeguard the community against the depredations of professional criminals is resisted and denounced by the professional humanitarians.

Most of those who have practical acquaintance with the subject, and are best fitted to speak upon it, testify that the great mass of ordinary crime could be reduced within narrow limits by the operation of reforms of a reasonable and practical kind. Reforms, I mean, such as are calculated to raise the tone of life generally among the masses of the population, and to protect them from temptations and dangers which at present engulf unnumbered victims. Some of our ablest and most experienced judges, indeed, have publicly declared their conviction that most of the crimes which come before the criminal courts may be traced, directly or indirectly, to the one vice of drunkenness. I have before me, for example, a report of a speech of one of the greatest judges of this generation—I mean Lord Cairns—in which he used these words: 'I believe it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the blessings which would come down upon the country from the practice of temperance. *It would empty our gaols.*' Lord Chief Justice Coleridge is reported to have said that 'judges were weary of calling attention to drink as the principal cause of crime.' And, among others, Lord Brampton has from time to time spoken strongly in the same sense.

But it would seem that no legislation upon this question may be looked for at present; and for the simple reason that the political teetotalers are strong enough to wreck any measure in the nature of a compromise, and no other kind of measure is practicable. Moreover, any radical reform of the drink code would, if successful, involve the abandonment of our present fiscal policy; and that policy commands the almost fanatical support of the great majority of the temperance party. It is not my purpose to enter on a discussion of the merits or demerits of what is called 'free trade.' But I wish to point out that it operates to keep His Majesty's Treasury 'in the same boat' with the public-house interest. For the Treasury largely depends for its revenue on the drinking propensities of the population. The contribution to the general taxes paid by an ordinary working man, with a family to support, amounts to not more than a half-penny a day; but his contribution to the excise in paying for his



daily drinks averages, at a low computation, not less than fivepence a day. That is to say, a man who drinks pays some ten times more to the public chest than the teetotaler. Any reform, therefore, sufficiently thorough to ruin the publicans would leave the Treasury bankrupt. It follows that if Local Option is not to be merely a salve for weak consciences—if, in fact, it is to be what its advocates expect, free trade must go before it can be introduced. But this will take time. People are slow to perceive that, whatever the merits of real free trade—and I am expressing no opinion upon it here—the system called free trade in England is an imposture and a sham. If a man's life depended on his explaining on free-trade principles why tea and coffee should be taxed on entering the country, while, *e.g.*, watches and boots come in free, that man's life would not be insurable. An import duty on wine and tobacco can be explained on special grounds; but the only possible explanation of a similar duty on tea and coffee is that everybody needs them, and everybody should be made to contribute to the taxation of the country. And, this being so, there is no reason whatever why watches and boots should not be treated in the same way. Indeed, there are strong reasons for levying a duty on articles of this kind, which do not apply to tea and coffee; for if the tax should limit the importation, our manufacturing interests at home would be benefited.

If I pass away from this branch of the subject it is not because I fail to appreciate its importance. No one could have the exceptional, though by no means unique, experience I have enjoyed of a long official connection with prisons and police, and a still longer practical acquaintance with philanthropic work on behalf of the poor and the fallen, without being profoundly impressed by the fact that to the drinking habits of the people may be attributed most of the crime and a very large share of the ill-health and the poverty of the labouring and lower classes. The police and prison authorities would endorse the dicta of the judges as regards crime. Sir Andrew Clark used to say that 70 per cent. of the cases treated in the great London hospitals were, due directly or indirectly, to drink. And as for the poverty, it would probably be found that very many of the artisans who are at present destitute have spent in drink during the summer enough to keep them from hunger throughout the winter.

It will be objected, perhaps, that in countries where drunkenness is as rare as it is unfortunately common in England there are more crimes of violence than with us. The comparison is fallacious. The Englishman is by nature quiet, well-disposed, and peaceable; and the dull serenity of his temper would be scarcely ruffled by causes which would send an Italian, a Spaniard, or a Frenchman into a fit of ungovernable passion. The *type* theory, moreover, may be ignored in dealing with the crime problem in this country. The main practical questions involved relate to the influences which tend to

crime, and to the inadequacy and (I adhere to the word) stupidity of our present methods of dealing with professional criminals.

Among these influences drinking holds the foremost place. But there are others which must be taken into account. Said the Lord Chief Justice, in charging the Lincoln Grand Jury at the recent winter assizes, 'Judges had constantly to observe how many cases of embezzlement and fraud depended on the miserable habit of betting.' Gambling, indeed, in its many forms is becoming as great a plague as it was before the Lottery Acts. Then, again, there are questions relating to the treatment of the young in years and the young in crime. But from these and other kindred topics I turn back to the special question upon which I have been accorded a special hearing in my efforts to impugn our present system and methods in penology.

The main count of my indictment of that system in my article of February 1901 was that our criminal courts deal with crimes, instead of with criminals. And if any new proof of this be sought, it will be found in the dicta of the eminent judges cited in Mr. Crackanthorpe's article of last November. If I quote Lord Brampton only, it is because Lord Justice Mathew, Sir Edward Fry, and Mr. Justice Channell all speak in the same sense. It is 'the punishment of crime' they have in view. Lord Brampton is remarkably precise and explicit. After referring to the various proposals put forward to avoid inequality in sentences, and the difficulties of dealing with that question, he goes on to suggest that judges, before passing sentence, should 'first reflect and determine what, *within the maximum limits* fixed by statute, would be a just sentence to award for the *particular crime before them.*'

Now I am sure Lord Brampton will not deem it an impertinence on my part to express my admiration for him as a criminal judge. More than once, moreover, in cases of special interest to myself, he has done me the honour of explaining to me the grounds which led to his apportioning his sentences. But while I do not presume to question his judgment in administering the present system of fitting punishment to a particular crime, I deplore and condemn the system itself. That system leads to the imprisonment of not a few who might be much better dealt with than by sending them to gaol; and it brings the law into contempt in the case of persons who commit crimes, not under the influence of passion or poverty, or sudden temptation, but deliberately and of set purpose, and in the course of the regular business of their lives. And my contention is that when a verdict of guilty has been found against a person charged with crime the proper question for consideration ought to be not what sentence it would be just to award for *the crime*, but what, in the interests of the community, should be done with *the criminal.*

I appeal to the reader, whether lawyer or layman, to consider

this whole question on its merits. Such an appeal is not unnecessary, for the English mind is intensely conservative, and clings with tenacity to existing systems and ways. For long years our streets were disgraced by an infamy unknown in most civilised countries; I mean that of permitting men openly to live upon the immorality of women. The police were powerless. They could but report the abominations done under the existing law. Parliament, it was said, would never sanction measures necessary to put down the evil. The story is told that when the inventor of the calculating machine offered it to Government, urging that it was entirely new, the answer he received was that Government could find no precedent for the use of it! And so here. There was no precedent for the needed legislation. But in 1898 a Bill introduced by a private member passed both Houses unopposed; and on the eve of its coming into operation the fraternity of loathsome men against whom it was specially directed disappeared from the streets of London. Doctrinaires may declaim against 'morality by Act of Parliament,' but practical men believe in it implicitly. And in regard to the Vagrancy Act 1898, that belief will be only confirmed by the fact that when, after a time, some of the magistrates, most perversely as I think, refused to accept the evidence of the women in cases under it, the men began to return to their former haunts and their hateful trade.

The main provision of that enactment is that where a man 'is proved to live with, or to be habitually in the company of,' a woman of a certain class, 'and has no visible means of subsistence, he shall, unless he can satisfy the court to the contrary, be deemed to be knowingly living on the earnings' of the woman. My proposal is that a convicted felon who is proved to be an associate of criminals and to have no visible means of subsistence shall, unless he can satisfy the court to the contrary, be deemed to be living by crime, and shall be judicially declared to be a professional criminal. This, I may add, is but an extension of the seventh section of the Prevention of Crimes Act, which has worked admirably for thirty years.

It is fortunately no longer necessary to prove the existence of a class of criminals who deliberately live by crime. It is no longer necessary to prove that such criminals are plainly distinguishable. As Lord Justice Mathew so well says, 'the man who does no work and lives by crime is easily identified.' Neither is it necessary to prove that our present methods are inadequate to deal with these professionals. All this is now raised out of the sphere of controversy by the action of the judges and the last report of the prison authorities. But I want the public to grasp the fact, first, that just as most of the vulgar crimes of violence are due to drink, so most of the serious crimes against property are the work of professional criminals; and secondly that it is perfectly practicable, by dealing

with these criminals in a sensible way, to put an end to the great bulk of crimes of this character.

A good story is always worth repeating. When sitting at luncheon in a country house in Scotland some years ago, my hostess exclaimed, 'Oh, look, there's the thief!' And I saw a hulking fellow slouching past the house. '*The* thief?' said I; 'what do you mean?' The answer was that there was only one thief in that part of the country. After a while my attention was called to '*the* policeman.' They had but one thief and one policeman; and the chief duty of the policeman was to look after the thief. Our grandfathers managed such matters differently. And if our grandfathers came back to life they would probably think our humanity had developed at the expense of our sanity. Would it not be more sensible to shut up the thief and to pension the policeman?

Someone will say, perhaps, that this state of things exists only in remote country districts. But this is not so. There are districts within the Metropolitan Police area, not fifteen miles from Charing Cross, where they seem scarcely to have even one thief. Thieves are professionals, and professional men do not settle down in villages. I am not speaking at random; what I say is based on official knowledge. The inspection of the books in some of the outlying police-stations was a revelation to me. Offences against property I found to be few in number; and of these the petty larcenies were generally attributable to passing tramps, while the serious crimes, reported at long intervals, were almost always the work of experts from town. Honesty and love of order are national characteristics. If the drink curse were removed and professional criminals were caged, 'man's millennium' would be brought almost within the range of 'practical politics' in England.

All this is well known to the detective police of our large cities and towns. But it is not known to the public, or even to the Legislature. And it appears to be unknown also to many of the judges. If it were a crime to make the likeness of anything in heaven above or in the earth beneath, and the police had to trace the author of some particular piece of sculpture, they would look for him among a definitely limited class of men. Now a case of forgery, or coining, or burglary involves an inquiry limited in the same way. Let us take the burglaries—the public always like to hear about burglaries. According to the Commissioner's annual report for 1901, recently issued, there were 547 burglaries in London during the year. In the previous year, by the way, there were only 367. Now some of these cases, of course, were trivial. If a kitchen window is left unfastened, a sneak thief or a hungry tramp can get in and steal his supper. But real burglaries are the work of skilled professionals. And a 'good' criminal may be trusted to do five or ten 'jobs' *at the least* before he is caught. We may conclude, then, that the burglaries

of 1901 were the work of not more than fifty or one hundred criminals. And this in a population of over 6,000,000.

Now an increase by nearly 50 per cent. of burglaries in a single year is serious enough to call for action. But what action shall be taken? 'Increase the Police Force,' it will be said. But every 1,000 constables added to the Force means an addition of 100,000% a year to the rates. And 1,000 more constables would not be of much account in this huge 'province of brick,' in which upwards of 600 miles of new streets and about a quarter of a million of new houses have been built since I became officially connected with Scotland Yard. Here my Scotch story comes in. When it is a question of one thief in a population numbered by thousands, common sense suggests getting rid of the thief. A like remedy is quite as obvious in the case of a proportionate number of thieves in a population numbered by millions.

But are not the burglars shut up when they are caught? Yes, no doubt; for a few months or years. And then they are let out again to resume the practice of their profession. And while they are 'doing time' another fifty or hundred carry on the business. And when these in turn are caged, a third lot are at the work. And so on, and so on. Treat the matter on the basis of statistics; and, finding that the criminals are a very trifling percentage of the population, we shall pride ourselves on our twentieth-century civilisation and enlightenment. But look at the matter from the point of view of those with whom the burglars are not mere units of the population, but well-known members of a skilled trade—for 'Quiet Joe's' case is not unique, but representative—and our system, instead of savouring of enlightenment worthy of our own century, seems to give proof of folly unworthy of any century.

Take the case of that other well-known cracksman 'Red Jim,' who, after committing ten or twenty crimes since his last discharge from prison, has once again been brought to justice. What shall we do with him? Under our present 'punishment-of-crime' system he of course receives a sentence of five years' penal servitude. The man himself knew that perfectly well as he planned and executed each of his successive crimes. And the sentence affects him much as an accident on the football field affects a player who has to retire from play for a while. Or if a 'strong' judge should impose a severer sentence, or a 'weak' judge a lighter one, the result is dismissed as a mere eccentricity, and it fails to influence 'the trade.' But I ask the reader to consider the case of 'Red Jim' on its merits, as if the problem it involves were a new one. What, then, should be done with him?

We have got beyond the mingled profanity and folly of regarding a criminal judge as 'a viceroy of the Deity,' who can apportion the penalty to the sin. We recognise that the reformatory and

deterrent elements in punishment, important though they be, are secondary and incidental. The essential element in the problem is, how can society be protected against a man who has outlawed himself by deliberately choosing crime as the business of his life, and whose only conception of liberty is license to prey upon his neighbours? To turn him loose again in five years does not betoken quite as much imbecility as to release him in as many months or weeks. But the difference is only one of degree. All sane and sensible people would agree that he should be got rid of. Sane and sensible people, I say; for we must take account of Bedlam, Earlswood, and the humanitarians. But how got rid of? It would have been possible formerly to send him across the seas to a distant penal colony. But nowadays we are reduced to one of two alternatives: we must deprive him either of his life or of his liberty.

If criminals are sent to gaol on superstitious grounds, or as a matter of routine, then the reasons for committing them may be adequate to justify releasing them. But if imprisonment is imposed on intelligible and reasonable grounds, it should be continued as long as those grounds demand it. 'Red Jim' gets five years, not because he broke into a house—that, if it stood alone, would possibly have involved only five months—but because he is a professional burglar. And at the end of his term he remains a burglar still. If it was reasonable and right to shut him up on this account, it is stupid and wrong to let him go again. If beasts of prey were let loose at intervals from the 'Zoo' we might surely expect a preliminary warning. Equally so if burglars are released from gaol. And though Government and the law ignore this duty, Scotland Yard tries to discharge it for them. Every week men are turned out of prison who, it is well known, will at once begin to commit crimes; and so their descriptions and photographs are sent to the various police forces, in order that a look-out may be kept for them. Such a system would be really amusing if the matter were not so serious.

And if I dissent from Sir James Stephen's proposal to send such men to the gallows, it is not because I question the justice of such a measure. But the object to be attained is the protection of the community, and this can be assured by keeping the criminal in confinement. Two objections, however, are urged against this scheme. The first is that no man is irreclaimable, and therefore no man should be permanently deprived of his liberty. The second is that the irreclaimables are so numerous that to shut them up in this way would be impracticable. These objections are mutually inconsistent. Both are fallacious; and the second is not only fallacious, but the basis on which it rests is false.

If professional criminals are reclaimable, their reclamation would be expedited by increasing the penalties of impenitence. And to make the possibility of their reclamation a reason for turning them

loose in an impenitent condition is but a weak concession to ignorant sentiment. Even under our penal servitude system criminals are in fact reclaimed. But the probability of a criminal's reclamation in an asylum prison, managed as such a prison ought to be, would be far greater than if he were left at liberty to pursue a life of dissipation and crime. Any man who is really capable of reformation ought to be thus reformed; and upon adequate proof of genuine repentance he might be restored to liberty. But the reformation of criminals is a secondary consideration. In any case the main object of all practical penology, now thrust into the background, would be attained; I mean the protection of society. What compensation the prisoner should be required to make to the victims of his crimes; what provision he should be permitted or compelled to make for a wife or children dependent on him—the discussion of these and kindred questions of great importance I must once again defer.

The second objection claims a fuller notice. It is complicated by elements which might be eliminated. The question whether the hospitality of our shores ought to be extended to alien paupers is at this moment under inquiry, and I will not discuss it here. And the question whether political criminals should be allowed an asylum is one upon which opinions differ. But surely there can be no second opinion as to whether England should be made a refuge for the common criminals of other countries. If a British subject is convicted of any offence abroad, he is deported to England on the expiration of his sentence, and severe penalties await him if he goes back. But a foreign thief or cut-throat who is convicted of crime in England is treated in every respect as 'one of the family,' and when released from prison he can at once resume his career as a criminal. We learn, from the Home Office answer to Sir Howard Vincent's question on this subject in Parliament on the 20th of November, that 'during the twelve months ended on the 31st of October last 4,943 persons of foreign nationality were charged at the Metropolitan police-courts.' And this return relates only to the Metropolis. It takes no account even of cases in the City of London. If the figures could be obtained for the whole kingdom, or even for our chief seaports and manufacturing towns, the number would of course be very much greater. It is plain, therefore, that our criminal population would be appreciably reduced if criminal aliens were expelled from our shores.

Nor is this all. In dealing with the crime problem we must take account not merely of the *number* of the criminals, but of their *quality*. And the recent great forgery prosecution is one of several cases which have occurred lately to awaken judges, magistrates, and the public to the fact—well known to the police—that the foreign aliens include many of the most skilful and dangerous of the 'professionals.' And my respect for the genius of the Americans leads

me freely to acknowledge their eminence in this particular sphere. These criminals, moreover, are better known at Scotland Yard than are the King's Ministers. There would be no difficulty in putting our hands upon them. But with a depth of imbecility which it would savour of profanity in anyone who reverences the Creator to call *natural*—it is altogether acquired—these men are allowed freely to 'enjoy the hospitality of our shores'!

But our home-grown criminals must also be dealt with. What I have written about those who have not merely the brains but the means both to organise and to finance crimes against property has, I fear, been received with incredulity. But what I have said, I adhere to. While the influence of such men is widely felt, their number is ludicrously small. I doubt whether the police could name a dozen of them; I am certain they could not name a score. And these men are largely responsible for the organisation of crimes against property in this country. But most of the crimes of every day are not the result of organisation. They are due to the predatory instincts and habits of the criminal classes. And we have to take account of criminals of various types. There is the common 'hooligan,' who works by mere brute force; the snatch thief, who relies on his swiftness of foot; the trained pickpocket, whose nimble fingers can relieve a man of watch or purse without even attracting notice. And then there are the housebreakers and burglars of different types and different degrees of skill; to say nothing of coiners, forgers, &c. Now many of these doubtless are so far gone and have so little power of recovery that, humanly speaking, their only chance for this world or the next is in prolonged confinement. But of the rest there are not a few who pursue a criminal career because its penalties seem to them to be more than counterbalanced by its advantages. They are prepared for the risk of imprisonment measured by months or years; but if they were confronted, not with the risk, but with the certainty of final deprivation of liberty, they would turn in despair to honest labour. A scheme such as I propose would avail to divert many of them from crime, even without its being put in force against them. Still more marked would be its effects on the class of persons who are now tempted to a career of crime by the influence and example of successful criminals.

The objection here under consideration is sufficiently answered by the last report of the Prison Commissioners; for my scheme would require less prison accommodation than theirs, and therefore it may be assumed to be practicable from an official point of view. Were I to attempt an estimate of the numbers that would have to be dealt with, I fear my estimate would be received with as much distrust as in the case of the organisers of crime. And yet I speak with knowledge. The details of statistics often mislead the uninitiated, but experts may learn much from them. If, for example, a dozen sepa-



rate cases of murder are reported, we assume there were a dozen murderers; but, as I have noticed already, we do not look for hundreds of burglars to account for hundreds of burglaries. And a like observation applies to the figures in the case of all those crimes which the police know to be the work of professionals. And lastly, I would urge that to make the difficulty of disposing of these professional criminals a reason for allowing them to keep the community in a state of siege is a shameful policy of despair.

Sir James Stephen declared that 'if society could make up its mind to the destruction of really bad offenders, they might, in a very few years, be made as rare as wolves.' And this was not a chance dictum uttered by him as a judge, but his deliberate opinion when writing his *History of the Criminal Law*. The 'destruction' of offenders is unnecessary. Their seclusion would avail to achieve the same result. Great reforms often work so slowly that their benefits are not apparent in the lifetime of their authors. But in this matter the resulting benefits would be immediately declared. If a statute were passed providing for the banishment of criminal aliens and the permanent confinement of native professionals, its influence would be felt before a single case had been dealt with under its provisions. And as one criminal after another disappeared by the operation of the Act, the army of crime would be further weakened by desertions.

'In a very few years, really bad offenders might be made as rare as wolves.' That statement I would modify by saying that criminals of the classes I have specified might be made as scarce as foxes. A small share of the intelligence and patient, plodding care to which we owe immunity from cholera and the plague would soon accomplish this result. And the task, I once again repeat, would be a vastly easier one. Even if 'Red Jims' and 'Quiet Joes' were far more numerous than in fact they are, they could be dealt with far more easily than bacteria and germs and all the intangible and subtle influences which produce and spread disease. How long, then, will the public tolerate the present state of things? Is it possible that a nation which has sacrificed over 20,000 valuable lives to put down Krugerism in South Africa would refuse to sacrifice a tenth or possibly a twentieth of that number of mischievous lives to put down crime at home?

ROBERT ANDERSON.

## *LAST MONTH*

THE meeting of Parliament has been attended by a remarkable phenomenon, the significance of which ought to strike the imagination even of the casual observer. This is the sudden and very substantial reduction of the Ministerial majority in the House of Commons. That majority, according to the calculations of the Party whips, ought to be more than 120. No doubt if a great issue were called, and Ministers had to fight for their lives, a majority approaching this figure would still be forthcoming. But what are the facts? In the debate on the Address there were, during the first week of the session—and it is only of the first week that I am able to write—five divisions. These were taken upon amendments any one of which, if it had been carried, would have been equivalent to a vote of censure upon the Government, and they were defeated by majorities of thirty-nine, forty, fifty-one, thirty-eight, and sixty. It will be seen, therefore, that Ministers never once in these five divisions had half their normal majority, whilst on three occasions the majority was not one third of what, according to *Dod*, it should have been if the Unionist Party had put forth its full strength. Of course there are many easy-going people who will say, 'what on earth does the reduction of a Ministerial majority matter, so long as there *is* a majority, and we know that the reserves are all right in the back-ground?' Reasoning of this kind may suit the slipshod observer, but it cannot satisfy any capable Parliamentary tactician. Let it be remembered that the questions on which Ministers could only command these maimed majorities were all of them of importance. They included the housing-of-the-poor question, the state of the unemployed, the refusal of the Public Prosecutor to institute proceedings against the persons connected with the London and Globe disaster, the holding of directorships in public companies by Ministers, and the condition of the Navy. Yet, despite the variety and interest of these questions, it was only on that of the Navy that Ministers secured anything like half their normal majority. Many explanations will doubtless be offered of this strange state of affairs. The two explanations which will alone hold water are, however, the

extraordinary apathy which has characterised the political world during the last few weeks, and the fact that in the eyes of both friends and foes, the present Ministry seems to have lived too long. The first explanation, the prevailing apathy, is, I think, one about which all will be agreed. By common consent the House of Commons has never been duller than since the present Session began. The almost joyous excitement which used to prevail not only in the House but in its precincts at the commencement of a Session in the old days is invisible now, and members speak in the Chamber, or creep about the lobbies, with a curious air of lassitude and weariness. Is it something in the air that has robbed them of their old spirit? Or is it not rather the consciousness of the fact that there is a barrier between themselves and the rest of the nation. They got their khaki mandate in 1900, and there is not one of them who does not know that it is now exhausted. The dissolution may still be some years distant, but for all that they act as if they were ciphers, with nothing more than a mechanical duty to fulfil. What is true of the House of Commons as a whole is still truer of the Government. Despite the changes which took place in 1900 and the retirement of Lord Salisbury, it is still to all intents and purposes the Government which came into office in 1895. Nearly eight years of Ministerial servitude have weighed upon the nerves of its leading members, and probably there is not one of them who does not sigh for release. Their ministerial life has been stormy and trying. They have 'muddled through'—the expression is that used by one of themselves—the greatest crisis which the country has had to face during the last half-century. And now, when they are literally exhausted by the strain they have had to bear so long, they find themselves confronted by a whole series of new problems, some of them extraordinarily difficult and complex. Is it surprising that they are visibly faltering in their task, and stumbling into strange and inexcusable blunders which would only be possible to men who were suffering from fatigue and over-strain? These seem to me to be the facts which furnish a key to the present situation, and to the ominous reduction of the Ministerial majority. I have no wish to exaggerate the importance of that reduction, but it is unmistakably significant. The Government Whips will probably be able to effect an improvement in the division-lists at an early date. But Ministers have received an emphatic warning, and unless they forthwith set their house in order, their position cannot fail to become critical.

The position of the Ministry, as it is revealed to us in the dry records of the division-lists, is the real key to the political situation, and the story of the month is, in consequence, a subject of minor importance. The programme of the Government for the coming Session, as it has been set forth in the King's Speech, is not of a nature to excite the enthusiasm of any political party. We are pro-

mised an Irish Land Bill, a London Education Bill, and measures dealing with the Sugar Bounties, South African loans, the Port of London, and the Scotch licensing laws. Perhaps the most curious feature of the speech was the fact that it said nothing whatever about Army reform, and this is, of all others, the question upon which a very large body of the Ministerialists are most in earnest. Mr. Balfour, however, in his speech at Liverpool, made a statement on this subject which, to some extent, atones for the silence of the official programme as it fell from the lips of the King. I shall revert to the Prime Minister's utterance later on. At this point it will be more convenient to deal with the actual proposals of the Government with regard to the legislation of the session. To begin with, the scheme for bringing the educational system of the metropolis into harmony with the Education Act of last session must tax the resources of the Government and the fidelity of its followers very severely. At the moment at which I write, nothing is known of the provisions of the Ministerial measure, but it is already evident that there are two hostile parties in the House of Commons, and that the division extends to both sides of the chamber. A certain number of Conservatives are anxious that the future educational authority for London should be a body composed on what has been called the Water Board principle; that is to say, it is to be a body in which the Borough Councils are to have the preponderating authority, the County Council taking only a secondary place. It is difficult to understand how anyone who realises the necessities of London in the matter of education, and the nature of the local borough councils, can dream of accepting such a body as this as satisfactory. The Borough Councils, despite their mayoral and aldermanic dignities, have so far proved themselves to be nothing more than the old vestries writ large. One does not wish to disparage the men who devote themselves to purely local work, but it is a matter of notoriety that the type of citizen attracted to these Borough Councils is not equal to that from which the larger and more important County Council obtains its recruits. Moreover, the experience we have had so far proves that the great body of citizens do not take the interest in elections for the Borough Councils which they undoubtedly feel in the elections for the County Council, not to speak of the elections for the old School Board. Possibly there might be some improvement in this respect if the Borough Councils became the principal school authorities for London; but the opinion of most, if not all, authorities in education is that it would be a bad day for our London school system when it was placed under the control of men who are at present no better than slightly glorified vestrymen. The other party in the approaching controversy is anxious that if there is to be no authority elected *ad hoc* for the management of the educational system, the power should be placed

in the hands of the County Council. That body is not popular with the supporters of the Government, but despite its errors of judgment, it has undoubtedly secured the confidence of the majority of the people of London. The metropolis, which is so stubbornly Conservative in its attitude towards Imperial politics, has shown itself to be just as stubbornly Progressive with regard to its local affairs. The elections for the County Council are watched with interest by the whole community, whilst the publicity which is given to its proceedings, and the magnitude of the operations in which it is engaged, attract to it the unceasing attention of the public. It is difficult to believe that Ministers will ignore the advantages that the County Council thus possesses, or will attempt to place it, in a matter of such importance as the education of London, in a position subordinate to that of the inferior local bodies. But whatever the Ministerial decision may be, there is certain to be a severe battle over the Bill in the coming session. The struggle will not be made less acute by the fact that throughout England the controversy over the Education Act is still being carried on. There are still many Nonconformists and advanced Liberals who adhere to their determination to make that measure unworkable except on lines which they regard as equitable; and the great body of Liberals, though they may not favour the extreme measures advocated by Mr. Lloyd George and Dr. Clifford, are pledged to an agitation for the amendment of the Act of last year. Ministers will have to face this situation when they are dealing with the schools of London, and it is safe to predict for them a stormy time between now and next August.

As for the Irish Land Bill, the second measure mentioned in the King's Speech, nobody can yet form any conclusion as to its fate. It is clear, however, that it will not satisfy the Irish people unless it provides for a free use of the Imperial resources in order to meet the demands of landlords and tenants. This can only mean an additional levy upon the taxpayers of the United Kingdom. Possibly, if the burden which is thus to be imposed upon England—for, after all, it is the predominant partner that will have to pay—is a moderate one, the measure may be carried without much difficulty. But everybody knows that the great danger of the administration lies in the financial position of the country, in the enormous increase of expenditure, and the alarming growth of taxation. The Opposition are well aware of this fact, and it would be strange if they were not to direct their attack, when the time comes to appeal to the country, against the weakest spot in the Ministerial defences. Here again, therefore, we may anticipate a stormy and difficult passage for the Irish land proposals of the Government. Even the fact that at last the two parties to the agrarian struggle in Ireland seem to have come to terms, and that a prospect is thus opened up of the cessa-

tion of the long warfare, will hardly silence the more resolute members of the Opposition, who believe that this country is gradually being weighed down to the earth by the pressure of the taxation which it has now to bear.

There is an additional cause for anxiety on the part of Ministers, owing to the increasing prominence which social legislation and social ideas are gaining among the members of all Parties. I have spoken of the reduction of the majority on the amendments moved to the Address. Two of those amendments dealt with the housing of the poor, and the condition of the unemployed. It was made plain, not only by the division lists, but by the debates, that many Ministerialists were, to say the least, secret sympathisers with Dr. Macnamara and Mr. Keir Hardie, who moved these amendments. The truth is that the reaction, foreseen by everybody as certain to come after the war, has set in, and the British working-man is demanding that Parliament shall give some portion, at least, of its attention to his wants. The country, if it has not yet actually fallen upon bad times, is skirting perilously near to them, and there is an uneasy apprehension on all sides as to what the future may have in store for us. It is only natural in these circumstances that social legislation should once more become a subject of popular attention. During the past month London was called upon for several weeks to witness a dismal and sinister spectacle. This was a daily series of processions of the unemployed through its streets. The processions might not in all cases be those of *bonâ-fide* working men thrown out of employment by industrial depression; but nothing sadder than these columns of half-starved men, whose hollow cheeks and wasted bodies testified to the cruel privations they were enduring, could well be imagined. Nothing could be more orderly than these demonstrations of the sufferings of the poor in the richest city in the world. They could hardly be regarded as a menace. They were nothing more, perhaps, than a hint; but it was a hint pregnant with meaning, and not even the most sympathetic words from the Treasury Bench could efface its effect upon the minds of our legislators. The question of the housing of the poor stands, happily, upon a different footing from that of the unemployed. But in London, at all events, it is a very pressing question, and a most difficult one. The highest influence in the land has been openly manifested in favour of a work which is absolutely necessary if the working poor of London are to be saved from a slow but sure process of physical and moral deterioration. Here, then, are two social problems of the first magnitude awaiting the attention of the Ministry and Parliament. During the present session the House of Commons may have little more to say about them, but assuredly they will be heard of again, and that, perhaps, when Ministers are least prepared to deal with them.

I have said that a notable feature of the address was the absence from it of any reference to the army. The subject, however, is one that has been in most men's minds during the past month. There is a general consensus of opinion that Mr. Brodriek's ambitious scheme of army reform has collapsed. He may not himself be personally answerable for the fact, but he has to bear the responsibility in public, and for the moment, at least, he is probably the most unpopular member of the Administration. An incident in itself perhaps trivial has, during the last few days, aroused increased anxiety as to the state of things in the army, and especially as to the training and morale of the officers. This is the affair of which the first outward sign was the summary removal of Colonel Kinloch from the command of the First Grenadier Guards. I need not go at length into a narrative to which great publicity has already been given, but the exact facts of which have not yet been made public. Suffice it to say that cases of 'ragging' of a peculiarly odious character had occurred among the subalterns of the regiment, that the fathers of the young men aggrieved had complained to the authorities, and that Colonel Kinloch, a man of high character and brilliant military service, had been deprived of his command. The affair, of which we have not as yet heard the last, created no little excitement, and it increased the anxiety of the Parliamentary critics of the army to have their say in the House of Commons. The incident must be passed over here as being still incomplete. It will be more to the purpose to refer to the Prime Minister's utterance at Liverpool on the subject of the Committee of National Defence. This Committee, consisting solely of members of the Cabinet, has been in existence for more than seven years. Nobody knows what it has done during that period, or whether it has done anything. We certainly heard nothing of it during the critical period of the South African War; but, speaking at Liverpool, Mr. Balfour announced that it had undergone an almost revolutionary change. Curiously enough, before he made this announcement, he went out of his way to pour a stream of elaborate ridicule upon Lord Rosebery because of his preaching of the gospel of efficiency in the management of our national affairs, and more especially because of his suggestion that Lord Kitchener might be invited to join the Cabinet in order to carry out the reform of our military system. It is difficult to resist a suspicion that the Prime Minister attacked Lord Rosebery in order to dispel from men's minds the idea that the announcement he was about to make had really been inspired by Lord Rosebery's advice. Whether this be the case or not, it is clear that Ministers, in dealing with the Committee of Defence, have not only striven to put in force the doctrine of efficiency, but have shown an easy way of carrying out Lord Rosebery's suggestion with regard to Lord Kitchener. In future, the Committee of Defence is not to be a mere Committee of the Cabinet,

a body which keeps no records, and has no tangible existence. It will consist, not merely of the President of the Council, the Prime Minister, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Secretary of State for War, but of the Commander-in-Chief, the first Naval Lord, and the directors of military and naval intelligence. Furthermore, it will keep records stating its decisions and the reasons for arriving at them. Thus a very important step towards the necessary concentration of supreme authority over our defensive forces has been taken, the future only can show with what results. In the meantime the friends of army reform in Parliament have not allowed the subject to pass unnoticed in the debate on the Address. During the last days of the month—too late for comment here—the whole question was to be raised on an amendment moved by Mr. Ernest Beckett from the Ministerial benches. I have spoken of Mr. Brodrick's unpopularity, even with his own party. It seems a pity that so grave a question as the state of an army should be mixed up with the personal qualities of a particular official, or that we should be invited to turn aside from the great topic of national defence to discuss the manner in which the Minister for War was received in Malta during his recent visit to that island. But personal topics of this kind have an irresistible attraction for the House of Commons, and more than once they have had serious political consequences. Onlookers during the opening week of the Session undoubtedly recognised the existence of a widespread desire to treat Mr. Brodrick as the Jonah of the crisis.

He is not the only member of the Government who since the opening of the Session has been threatened with this fate. The Ministry unquestionably ran great risk of being defeated on the amendment moved by Mr. Lambert censuring the Attorney General for his refusal to assent to the prosecution of Mr. Whittaker Wright and his colleagues. For some time past a vigorous newspaper agitation has been kept up in favour of such a prosecution, and hints have been freely circulated as to the reasons why the Public Prosecutor had failed to act upon the report of the Bankruptcy Court official, who clearly intimated that a fraud had been committed. Plain men could not see why, if this was the case, Mr. Whittaker Wright should not be treated like Mr. Jabez Balfour, and compelled to submit to the ordeal of a public trial. It was evident when Mr. Lambert moved his vote of censure on the Attorney General that he had the sympathy of the House, and unluckily for the Government the way in which the chief law officer of the Crown defended himself only served to increase that sympathy. If the Prime Minister had not come to the rescue, and, by adopting a line altogether different from that of Sir Robert Finlay, rallied his wavering supporters, the probability is that Ministers would have been defeated. It was only by throwing over the Attorney General and his dry legal pleadings that Mr. Balfour succeeded in



averting the catastrophe. And this incident happened before the Session was many hours old! I have said enough to show how small is the probability that the present Ministry or the present House of Commons will be able to live until their term of existence reaches its natural limit. One must now wait for the developments which the new Session is likely to witness.

One event has happened since I last wrote, that has caused a feeling of general and unfeigned relief. We have at last succeeded in getting out of the Venezuelan 'mess.' (Here again one has to adopt the word of a Ministerialist speaker in order to describe the affair accurately.) After prolonged negotiations and the awakening of a rather dangerous excitement in the United States, England, Germany and Italy have succeeded in shuffling out of their entanglement by means of a conditional resort to the Hague Arbitration Court. It is not a very dignified termination of the incident, but it is one that has been accepted with thankfulness in both London and Berlin. Now that we are out of the mess we are more than ever inclined to wonder why we were allowed to get into it. The official papers furnish no explanation of the conundrum. They show that so long ago as the beginning of last year the English Government knew that Germany contemplated taking action against Venezuela, and that in July last the German Ambassador made the first overtures to us for an alliance against the peccant State. How it came about that those overtures were listened to, and that the United States Government was not taken into our confidence at the earliest possible moment, nobody can tell. All we know is that the Foreign Office conducted the business with an unthinking levity that was almost unprecedented even in its own history. Without cause, without excuse, we were entangled in an alliance that public feeling in this country resented with almost passionate indignation and that for a time seriously imperilled our good relations with the American people. As an instance of the inefficiency of a great department, nothing more striking could have been presented to us. Yet it is not the only instance of the way in which our foreign affairs are mismanaged that we have witnessed during the month. The belated embassy to Teheran, to present to the Shah the Garter which, if he was to have it at all, he ought to have received during his visit last summer to London, has accomplished its mission; and on the very day on which the Shah received his coveted decoration his Ministers signed a commercial treaty with Russia by which British commercial relations with Persia are seriously jeopardised! When one has to add to this simple story the statement that the Japanese—our allies in the East—are much piqued at the fact that the Shah has received an order of Knighthood which has not been conferred upon their own Emperor, the picture of muddle and mismanagement seems to be complete. And yet the Prime Minister regards any

demand for greater efficiency in the public service as being nothing more than a copy-book platitude! In common fairness, however, one piece of good work that has been successfully accomplished during the month must be credited to the Foreign Office. This is the settlement of a treaty with the United States for submitting the Alaska boundary dispute to arbitration. We may not succeed before the court of arbitration—the luck of England in such matters is proverbially bad—but at least the question will be settled in a business-like and honourable way.

Mr. Chamberlain's visit to South Africa is now at an end. He has been engaged upon a remarkable enterprise that cannot fail to secure a place in history. He has, if we except one or two trivial occasions, been successful in divesting his mission of any merely partisan character. He has been followed in his course by the good wishes of his political opponents as well as his political friends, though the former have had some reason to feel irritated by the daily dithyrambics of his ardent supporters in the press, who have chanted his praises almost as loudly and copiously as if he were a new edition of an encyclopædia. All this is to the good, and to the good also seems to be the general result of his mission. He has not obtained the contributions to the cost of the war which he expected to get when he set out. But he has gained something, and, what is still better, he has had many straight talks with the representatives of all parties. Mere words cannot, of course, close wounds so deep and bitter as those from which South Africa is now suffering, but they may at least extract some of the poison from the sore and accelerate the healing process. Yet, now that Mr. Chamberlain's immediate work on the continent whose destinies he has so profoundly affected is finished, men are bound to confess that they must wait to see whether his mission, worthily designed and not unworthily carried out, has been a substantial success. Its greatest immediate success is probably in the impression which it has created among the Boer population in South Africa of the resolute determination of the British people and Government not to falter in pursuit of the course they have marked out for themselves, and not to allow themselves to be 'bluffed' by men who in the past have shown a singular degree of proficiency in that art. Next to this the best result of the memorable journey lies in the knowledge which the Colonial Secretary has obtained at first hand of the real conditions in South Africa. This should enable him at least to avoid some of the pitfalls into which he and his predecessors have too often fallen.

Rather unexpectedly a change of great importance in our scheme of naval defence has been made during the month. The journalists and public men who seem to regard it as their chief duty to inspire the country with a dread of Germany's possible designs against us have for some time been clamouring for the creation of a North Sea

squadron, the purpose of which would be to act as a counterpoise to the German fleet. It is to be regretted that any necessary steps for the improvement of our naval forces should be associated in this manner with our distrust of a particular Power. It is still more to be deplored that in both countries the press should be so eager to inflame rather than to assuage international bitterness. So far as naval reforms are concerned, however, it is fair to remember that every increase in the maritime force of Germany is officially supported by comparisons with the fleet of England. Whether the Board of Admiralty has acted in deference to the agitation out of doors, or independently of it, is not a matter of much consequence. The essential fact is that whilst refraining from a provocative measure like the creation of a North Sea fleet, which Germany could not fail to regard as a challenge, it has decided to create out of the reserves a sea-going Home Fleet, and has placed it under the command of Sir A. K. Wilson; Lord Charles Beresford being once more withdrawn from the House of Commons in order to take charge of the Channel Squadron. The step is one of great importance. It leaves the Channel Fleet to fulfil its appointed duty as the support and reserve of our squadrons in the Mediterranean, and it provides at the same time a powerful fleet, constantly mobilised, for the protection of our shores in other directions. Even if no strategical value attached to this important change in our system of naval defence, it would still be of use as enabling us to send a larger proportion of our bluejackets to sea instead of leaving them as at present to waste their time and forget their seamanship in barracks.

The occupation of Kano by a British force came as a surprise to everybody, for none of us knew that we had been let in for another little war on the borders of Nigeria. Colonel Morland's successful expedition against the city and its king was a surprise even to the Colonial Office, which has gently intimated to Sir Frederick Lugard that operations of this nature ought not to have been undertaken until the sanction of the Home Government had been obtained. Sir Frederick can, however, point to the success that he has achieved, and to the relief that has thereby been given to the situation in Northern Nigeria as his justification, and Parliament is evidently inclined to accept his apology as sufficient. The Macedonian question, which more than once during the past month wore a very threatening aspect, has been, temporarily at least, placed upon a more satisfactory footing by the acceptance by all the Powers of the Austro-Russian proposals for dealing with the crisis. Nobody, it is clear, desires another war in Eastern Europe at the present moment, and it is possible that the pressure of United Europe upon Bulgaria and Turkey may suffice to prevent a conflict which a month ago seemed to be imminent.

WEMYSS REID.

## *SOCIAL REFORM: THE OBLIGATION OF THE TORY PARTY*

PROCESSIONS through the streets of London, hemmed in by police on their front, rear, and sides, with skirmishers on the pavement collecting in money-boxes alms for the 'unemployed,' are a spectacle disgraceful to our civilisation. They do nothing to cure the social disease of which lack of employment is the symptom; they are the very worst way of relieving hunger and misery which lack of employment produces. The class of casually employed is ever present in our great cities. It is not a class shifting from place to place; it is permanent in its residence. It is not a class of persons perpetually changing their employment: its members are not intelligent enough to seek new occupations; each remains conservatively attached to the one he has always practised. It lives in ordinary times on the edge of destitution, now in comparative comfort, now in dire straits of poverty. Economic causes or inclemency of weather plunge it from time to time in the depths of starvation and misery. Public compassion is awakened, the public conscience is aroused. An immediate remedy is imperatively demanded, but none is forthcoming; none has, indeed, ever yet been suggested for dealing with lack of employment as an isolated evil, which does not tend to increase the very mischief it is intended to correct. The disease can only be cured by measures for improving the general health of the body politic. If the general condition of the people were sound, the class of 'unemployed' would cease to exist.

The happiness and welfare of the people have always been a vital article of the Tory creed, just as important as the maintenance of our Constitution and the defence of our Empire. Mr. Disraeli, the great leader of Tory Democracy in the last century, always insisted upon social progress as the most essential principle of his policy. He incurred the ridicule of his opponents, who dubbed his proposals 'a policy of sewage.' His last administration was as distinguished by measures for improving the condition of the people as by the revival of the Imperial position of Great Britain. The present leaders of

the Tory party hold the same principles: they secured their accession to power in 1895 by definitely pledging themselves to an active and creative policy of social reform. The Radical party, pledged to the impossible task of devising a practicable system of Home Rule for Ireland, had become incapable of satisfying the aspirations of the people for social progress. An accumulation of problems, such as the prevention of strikes, the treatment of the unemployed, and the housing of the working classes, were awaiting solution, with no prospect of being taken in hand. Even reforms which raised no great economic questions, and on which public opinion was ripe for action—in the treatment of children, the sick, and the aged—had been put on one side to make room for purely political controversies. At this crisis the Tory party came to the rescue. 'We have no plans,' they declared, 'for the dismemberment of the United Kingdom. We have no designs for again taking to pieces the parliamentary machine so recently adjusted, in hopes of gaining some party advantage. We desire to use the machine for some benevolent purpose. The welfare of the people is our old party principle; trust us: we have leisure to address ourselves to social problems and social reforms: give us a majority, and we will do something by practical legislation to improve the condition of the people.' This was the platform of all the Unionist leaders of the Tory Democracy. Every blank wall in the towns displayed the legend, 'Vote for the Unionist Candidate and Social Reform.' In the rural districts, where the poor-law is the one institution of our country that the agricultural labourer hates and dreads above all other, because he knows that, if he lives long enough to grow old and infirm, he must ultimately fall into its clutches, the legend ran, 'Vote for the Unionist Candidate and Reform of the Poor-law.'

These are the antecedents and promises of the Tory party on the subject of social-reform. For these, if we were false to them, the constituencies would bring us into judgment at the next General Election. It would go hard with us if we were unable to show that our pledges had been substantially redeemed. The difficulty of the task, imperfectly appreciated in 1895, would afford no adequate excuse. Our opponents, while pointing out the shortcomings of the Tories, would in turn make promises themselves. One of the most deadly arguments with which the candidate of a party that has been long in power has to contend in an election is this: 'We have seen all that these people can do for us—let us give the other side a turn.' I remember a county member boasting of the length of time during which he had represented his constituency. A voice from the crowd cried out, 'Then it's high time we had a change.' Against this sentiment reason fights in vain. How long the people of the country will continue to put their trust in one or other of the two political parties alternately, and to feed on promises that are

never effectively fulfilled, it is impossible to foretell. If they should ever come to lose their faith in both parties at one and the same time, the system of party government would be shattered.

How, then, is the obligation of the Tory party to be fulfilled? Experience shows that social reforms are not likely to originate spontaneously in the public departments of the central government. The established practice of speaking of our public departments in terms of conventional flattery received a rude shock by the revelation during the late war of the incapacity of the War Office. But whatever their excellence may be in the carrying-on of their ordinary routine work, the constitution of public offices does not promote those qualities which are requisite for the creation of great schemes of new legislation. The Civil Service, it is true, is recruited from the best-educated young men of their generation; but few of these brilliant intellects can survive the blighting influence of routine, of having always to act on precedent, and of seniority promotion. Should a person possessed of the rare qualities necessary in a reformer arise in a government department, he would, except under some happy chance, be driven forth from the service before he had attained a position in which his genius would be useful to the State. Neither are public departments likely, under present arrangements, to be stimulated into the proposal and construction of great measures of social reform by their parliamentary heads. These are seldom, if ever, selected for their previous knowledge of the matters with which their department has to deal. The most industrious Minister must spend a long time in learning the routine of his office before he is fit to propose amendments in its procedure. Meanwhile he is liable, just as he feels competent to act, to be whisked off from his post and placed at the head of some other department, of the work of which he is equally ignorant. If he has energy enough to persevere in his efforts to serve the public, he must, Sisyphus-like, begin to perform his task anew. For this, among other reasons, the duty of administering a public office is not generally taken very seriously by politicians. It is only one amongst many distractions of 'society' life in London. A respectable reputation for efficiency and freedom from disquieting criticism are best attained by following the cautious advice of permanent officials down the beaten paths of routine and precedent. Originality and enterprise are troublesome and dangerous. When it is further remembered that almost every proposal for social reform affects many offices—the Home Office, the Board of Trade, the Local Government Board, the Board of Agriculture, the Board of Education, the Scotch Office, and the Irish Office—and that the legitimate criticism by each Office of a proposal may give rise to an infinity of delay, it will be manifest that in such matters no initiative and little help is to be expected from the public departments of the central government.

If, for the reasons above stated, initiative is unlikely to proceed from the wisdom and prescience of the individual departments, what is the prospect of a government collectively taking the matter in hand? Modern governments embark on schemes of change with great reluctance, and only under the overpowering compulsion of public opinion. Not only do they wait, 'whistling for a wind,' but when the wind comes it must increase to the dimension of a gale before it can set them in motion. The history of the education question during the last eight years is a good illustration of how slowly collective governments in these days move. The election of 1895 was regarded by the Government as having given an imperative mandate for educational reform. In the following year, in obedience to this mandate, a large and comprehensive measure, identical in principle with that ultimately passed, was framed and submitted to Parliament. But so soon as the Government appreciated the magnitude of the task they had undertaken, the enterprise was abandoned. Instead of pursuing their great scheme of 1896, Government in 1897 passed an Act to give relief to Voluntary school managers out of the taxes. Its policy and provisions were so inconsistent with the carrying-out of their larger plan, that in the Act of 1902 the Act of 1897 had to be repealed. Had the Exchequer grants of 1897 permanently relieved the financial difficulties of the managers of Voluntary schools, it is probable that little more would for the present have been heard of education reform. The partial measures laid before Parliament, Session after Session, were not pressed. But the increased grants of 1897 were soon swallowed up by the increasing cost of elementary education, and the 'intolerable strain' became as great as ever. A certain amount of public opinion as to the need of education reform had been stirred up by people genuinely interested in the subject on national and not party grounds. Well-founded alarm had been created amongst the commercial and industrial classes by the superior technical instruction attainable by foreign workmen. Finally, the judgment of the Court of Appeal in *R. v. Cockerton* stopped the successful attempts that were being lawlessly made by the School Boards in the great towns to give some sort of secondary education. Unless a number of excellent secondary schools already in full operation were to perish, legislation of some kind or other was inevitable. It was as well to be hanged for a sheep as a lamb, and the combination of forces was strong enough to compel the collective Government to reintroduce and pass a comprehensive scheme of reform.

Social reform, it is said, is easier for a government to deal with than education reform, because it does not excite the same religious passions. In enabling a government to carry through a measure of reform, religious passions are not an altogether unmixed evil. They ensure zeal and interest if they lengthen controversy. But social

reforms have for a government peculiar perils of their own. They may affect in an unexpected manner the votes of large classes of electors. It is the nervous dread of producing electoral difficulties that has prevented successive British governments from dealing frankly with the recommendations of the Berlin Labour Conference. The scope of that conference was narrowly limited, but within the narrow limit laid down the administrative ability of the German Ministers secured business-like and effective treatment. The discussion related to the hours and conditions of labour of children and young persons, including women. Continental countries have a very patent and immediate interest in the health and strength of the rising generation. The boys are the stuff of which the army, on which the national safety depends, is composed. The girls are to be the mothers of the next generation of soldiers. Conscription brings any incipient degeneracy at once to the notice of the authorities. Great Britain has really just as great an interest in the condition of her young people, upon which the future greatness of our country also depends, and, if she would but use the eyes of her school teachers, just as good an opportunity of supervising the growth of mental and physical qualities in her boys and girls; but we prefer to shut our eyes and leave things to chance. The result of the Berlin discussions was the drawing-up of a number of clear and definite propositions relating to the labour of children and young persons in industries and mines. They might have been adopted by any government in block, and carried into law, and the result would have been a very useful and substantial measure of social reform. But all that the nations represented at Berlin pledged themselves to was that these reforms were 'desirable'; the time and manner of adopting them was left to each nation's discretion. A year afterwards the British Government of the day proposed a Factory Bill to the British House of Commons. One of the reforms 'desired' by them at Berlin the year before was the restriction of the labour of children in factories to those twelve years old. The limit of age at that time in English factories was ten. No change was proposed in the Government's Factory Bill. A motion was made in the House of Commons to raise the age, not to twelve, but to eleven. This was resisted by the Government which had 'desired' twelve in the face of Europe the year before—doubtless on somebody's representation that it was for their electoral advantage to do so. The limit of eleven was, however, imposed upon them by a vote of the House of Commons. No attempt has ever been made by any British government of either party—and both parties have held office since the Berlin Conference—to bring up the conditions of labour of children and young persons to the 'desirable' Berlin standard. The condition, for example, of children and young persons in underground mines still leaves as much to be 'desired' as



it did in Berlin days. Quite recently a private member of Parliament carried through a Bill for raising the age of children employed in industries to the Berlin standard of twelve. The British Government, though largely composed of the same persons who had 'desired' the Berlin reforms, doubtless again influenced by electoral considerations, took no part whatever in the affair; the members of the Cabinet were absent from all the debates and all the divisions. A subordinate member who took part in the passing of the Bill announced to the House of Commons that he was there to represent his individual opinions, not those of the Government to which he belonged.

British Governments have in modern times made free use of those admirable instruments for hanging up questions with which they do not know how to deal—Royal Commissions and Select Committees. A Royal Commission on Labour was appointed the year after the Berlin Conference, with a great flourish of trumpets. It was composed of men of the highest eminence in social and political circles, of philosophers and political economists, of representatives of employers and employed in all the chief industries of the country. It sat for several years in three divisions; it took an enormous mass of evidence—and it attained no practical result except that of gaining time. The main purpose of its appointment was to devise some method of putting a stop to strikes and lock-outs. It was recognised that these industrial wars often inflicted grievous hardship upon the people at large, upon men and women who had no part in the dispute, no voice in its adjustment, and were merely sufferers by its continuance. It was thought that the collective public, whose interests and whose people were injured, had some right to interfere and put a stop to the contest, if some effective method of doing this could be invented. But the report of the Commission, though it contained a most interesting and valuable description of the state of industry in the United Kingdom, did not suggest any scheme by which strikes and lock-outs could be restrained by public authority. Its chief practical suggestion was that the funds of trade-unions should be made liable for injuries inflicted by trade-unions on other people's rights. A recent decision of the House of Lords appears to show that this recommendation of the Royal Commission has been the law of the land all along, although the Royal Commission and the learned lawyers upon it were unaware of the fact. A report was also made by a minority of the Commission, declaring State socialism to be the only cure for the economic evils under which modern society suffers, and containing very interesting views of the results of the nationalising of land, capital, and the instruments of production; but it contained no practical suggestions applicable to the state of society which is at present subsisting. The problem which was before the Royal Commission has continued to

occupy the attention of statesmen in other countries and in our own colonies, and plans have been actually put in force for stopping industrial war by public arbitration of various kinds. But in Great Britain we have given up the problem in despair, and we can only stand by and witness the ruin of such an industrial community as that of Bethesda in Carnarvonshire, in a dispute about which the public has no means of obtaining accurate information, and no opportunity of knowing who is in the right and who is in the wrong. The only outcome of the Royal Commission was a sham Act of Parliament, empowering the Board of Trade to do that which it could very well do without any Act of Parliament at all—act as an arbitrator in cases in which both parties agreed and invited it to do so, and give a decision when both parties pledged themselves beforehand to abide by it.

A Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed by the Government of the day in 1895 to consider the case of the unemployed, which was at that time in one of its phases of urgency. It was composed of the best men the two parties in the House of Commons had to offer. It was to make an immediate report of any measures that could be at once taken to relieve the existing distress. It failed to find any palliative that was likely to be accepted by Parliament and could be immediately applied. It continued its labours till interrupted by a dissolution of Parliament. It failed to discover and recommend any permanent remedy. A second Committee, appointed in the following year, was equally unsuccessful. It, however, negatived, at the bidding of the Local Government Board, one small practical suggestion made by its predecessor.

If experience has taught us that modern British governments, with the help of permanent officials, Royal Commissions, and Select Committees, are in themselves incapable of introducing to Parliament and carrying into law great measures of social reform, can they look for much help from the modern House of Commons? The answer is that for purposes of legislation the House of Commons has become almost effete. The machine is out of order and will no longer work. After a generation of perpetual change in its rules of procedure, the House of Commons is a far less efficient instrument for law-making than it was thirty years ago. For anyone but the Government to get a public Bill through the House of Commons is almost an impossibility. It must be short; it must have no opponents or only a few that can be 'squared'; and the member who has charge must have great perseverance and luck. To carry such a Bill as that before mentioned, which raised the age of labour for children, was a quite exceptional achievement. Government measures, even if strongly opposed, have frequently now to be carried through the House of Commons by rules specially made for the occasion, which amount to a temporary suspension of the Constitution. The law in

such cases is made, as in Russia, by the determination of officials, and not, as it used to be in the United Kingdom, by the consent of the representatives of the people. The House of Commons has always, as the late Mr. Bernal Osborne used to say, shown a 'great love for painful personal questions,' and in the decay of its real power of influencing public affairs it shows a much greater preference for questions which affect the character of individuals, or which make or mar ministers and governments, than for those which affect the general interests of the public at large; the importance of these does not make up for their lack of excitement. A scandal in the Guards draws a much bigger attendance than a debate on the condition of India or the efficiency of the navy.

The story of a small matter of social reform, about the necessity of which there is probably no difference of opinion, will illustrate what I have endeavoured to establish—the impossibility of attaining satisfactory results through the agency of central bureaux, central governments, and central Parliaments. It will also lead us to what I believe to be the true solution of our difficulties. Many years ago a lady, who has, unfortunately for society, not lived to carry through her work to its consummation, became impressed with an evil affecting the children attending our public elementary schools. Many of them were employed in industrial pursuits, outside school hours, to an extent which injured their health and rendered them unfit to receive the instruction provided for them at the public expense. She set forth the evil very clearly in an article published as long ago as 1897<sup>1</sup> in this Review. The facts were derived from inquiries in certain London schools only, but they established quite conclusively the reality and magnitude of the evil. The disease was correctly diagnosed, and was as ripe for remedial treatment then as now. She next determined to lay the facts collected before one of the State Departments concerned, and after some difficulties a deputation on the subject was ultimately received by the Education Department. That Department thus became officially 'seised of' the case. It was proposed to call for a return from the school teachers throughout the country; but difficulties arose with the Home Office and Local Government Board, both of which had a voice in the matter, which caused some delay. At last, in the Session of 1898, a member of the House of Commons moved for a return of the kind, and, as there could be no objection made to it, it was granted. The return was presented in the spring of 1899. It was startling and terrifying. The speech of the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on the Education Estimates in that year was almost exclusively taken up with a description of the return and an attempt to impress on Parliament the gravity of the state of things disclosed. The House of Commons, however, was indisposed to entertain a question of

<sup>1</sup> 'School Children as Wage Earners,' by Mrs. Hogg (*Nineteenth Century*, August 1897).

this kind, and went off into a discussion of the supposed personal relations subsisting between the President and Vice-President--a matter neither then nor at any time of the slightest public importance. But, although the subject was neglected by the House of Commons for matter of more personal interest, it was very seriously taken up by local authorities throughout the country: it was discussed by municipal councils, by school boards, and by boards of guardians: and the conscience of the public appeared to be so thoroughly aroused that the Government was constrained in the autumn of 1899 to appoint a joint Departmental Committee of the Home Office, the Education Department, and the Board of Trade to consider and report on the evil and recommend, if they could, a remedy. The proceedings and report of this Committee are deserving of the highest praise and the most careful attention. In them we can perceive the clue to the general solution of the problem of social reform.

The Committee did not impose upon themselves the task of rediscovering all the facts already well known. They recognised that to ascertain the exact number of children overworked was of no consequence. The examination of a few witnesses convinced them of the reality of the mischief and that the return furnished by the school teachers to the Board of Education rather understated than overstated the case. They reported it to be proved that a substantial number of children, amounting probably to 50,000, were being worked more than twenty hours a week in addition to 27½ hours at school, that a considerable proportion of this number were being worked to thirty or forty, and some even to fifty, hours a week, and that the effect of this work was in many cases detrimental to their health, their morals, and their education, besides being often so unremitting as to deprive them of all reasonable opportunity for recreation. They had found that attempts had been successfully made by several municipal authorities, especially the City Council of Liverpool, to deal with a part at least of the employment of school-children--namely, that in the public streets; and they recommended, as a remedy for the grave evil of which they recognised the existence, that power should be conferred on municipal and county councils of making by-laws with regard to the occupations of children. A Bill to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee was laid before the House of Commons by the Government in 1901; but the whole attention of Parliament was occupied with burning questions about catechisms and formularies, to which the material interests of the children had to be postponed. The Bill, though unopposed, was not proceeded with. Its re-introduction in the present Session is promised; and should it become law in 1903, the local authorities will be in a position to begin to consider how to remedy a social disorder the existence and gravity of which had been discovered and pointed out six years before.

We must then, like this Committee, abandon the central, and look to the local, authority as the quarter from which public action directed to the improvement of the condition of the people is to be expected. Government officials, statesmen, and Parliaments, though animated by the most sincere desire to promote social reform, have failed. The time has come to recognise that failure and the impossibility of the wishes of the people being ever carried out by them, to cast on local authorities the responsibility for the social condition of their people, and to confer upon them the necessary powers for efficiently discharging a public duty of this kind. It is the old policy of Mr. Disraeli's Government as regards public health; it is the recent policy of the present Government as regards national education. The plan of trusting education to local authorities was tried at first partially and tentatively by the creation in a part only of the country of school boards with very limited powers relating to elementary education alone. It was afterwards supplemented by giving to the ordinary local authorities very limited powers with regard to technical education. These embryo education authorities proved, in the great centres of population, in which social problems in their most acute phase are to be met with, an immense success. The school boards gave a great stimulus to the elementary education for which they were appointed, and, by a beneficial though illegal stretching of their powers, to higher education as well. The county and municipal councils, in spite of the interference and competition of school boards, established and improved secondary and technical schools in their districts. By the new Education Act the principle of local responsibility for education has been finally established. Powers greater than those previously enjoyed by school boards or local authorities, relating to education of all kinds, have been conferred on county and municipal authorities covering the entire country. This, the great principle of the measure, was scarcely understood and appreciated either by friends or foes. Both sides have insisted on introducing some regrettable restrictions on the discretion of local authorities. But notwithstanding these limitations the principle of local authority and local responsibility in matters of education is by the new Act firmly and for ever established. Any restrictions which now appear potentially to hamper their complete and absolute control will either by the good sense of parties concerned never come into actual operation, or will hereafter, as the result of wider experience, be discarded. Social reform, which is so ardently desired by the mass of our people, and upon which the safety of our Empire so vitally depends, must be carried out on the same principle as the establishment of a national system of education. Give up the dream of a benevolent central government, which is to do everything for the people—to diagnose the social disease, to invent and apply the remedies, and to superintend their operation. That may come hereafter in some

future generation, but we are in a more primitive and elementary stage as yet. We are in the condition of towns a generation ago, when they cleansed away their snow by every householder sweeping his own doorstep. Let each county and municipal authority become absolutely and entirely, as it is already partially and imperfectly, responsible for the health and welfare of its own men, women, and children, the care of its own sick and aged, the provision of healthy dwellings and of light, air, and water, the prevention of strikes and lock-outs, and the treatment of its own 'unemployed.' Let the county and municipal councils be summoned by public opinion to a recognition of their duties in these respects, and to a collective demand of additional powers in those matters in which the powers that they possess already are insufficient for the due promotion of the public welfare. Let the central Government abstain from vexatious meddling, from tying up local authorities by useless and vexatious regulations, and from obstructing schemes as to which local authorities are more competent to judge than they: let them restrict themselves to their proper function of inspecting, so as to prevent jobbery, of giving suggestive, not authoritative, advice, of collecting information whereby the experience of one district may become available for all, and of acting as a 'clearing house' for the various authorities in their mutual relations. Under such a system we might hope to make similar progress in social reforms to that already attained under school boards in elementary, and hoped for under the new authorities in general, education.

Local authorities have, in regard to domestic legislation, many advantages over central ones. A much greater number of minds can be engaged in the solution of the problems: instead of a single group composed of a few permanent officials and one or two amateur ministers, there can be as many groups at work as there are local authorities. There would be more than one hundred such groups if domestic legislation were reserved for county and county-borough councils. The quality of their members would exhibit much more variety. The politician thinking of parties and of offices, and the official thinking of precedents and routine, need not be excluded. The full advantage of their administrative experience and political sagacity could be retained. But to them could be added keen men of business, accustomed to carry through transactions rapidly to a practical result, persons of both sexes having ripe knowledge of the condition and needs of the people, and some of the workers themselves. The advantage of being able to secure the co-operation in domestic legislation of educated women, whose advice can rarely penetrate Government offices, is inestimable. Labour representatives can much more easily find a place in local legislatures, and can much more effectively secure there the recognition of the needs and aspirations of working classes. In a London House of

Commons they are stifled by the atmosphere of wealth and birth in which they are immersed. Amongst groups of thinkers and workers thus composed, there is a better chance of the solution of social problems being evolved. Then local bodies are not under the obligation to invent a scheme of social legislation that will fit the infinitely varying circumstances of the entire country. They can adapt the domestic regulations they make to the condition, the character, the occupations, and even the prejudices, of the people to whom they are to be applied. This is to a central authority an impossibility. The very best general measures inflict a great amount of local hardship and cause much local discontent, because, however admirably they are suited to most places, they are not suited to all. No social reform can be effective unless it is in accord with the feelings and desires of the people themselves. There must be public opinion to support it. Laws which are passed in advance of, and in opposition to, public sentiment are generally disobeyed. It is much more easy to create and instruct a popular opinion in a limited area than in the country at large. If the interest of the people is first evoked, if they are made to see the necessity of some new regulation for the health and welfare of themselves or their children, if they themselves press its adoption on their local representatives, it has a much better chance of being obeyed and carried out than if it is imposed by a remote government over which they exercise little influence, and whose members are to them inaccessible.

One of the greatest advantages of local over central legislation is that the former is so much more easily amended. All regulations which affect the order of society are empirical and experimental. Social reformers make many mistakes and ought to have an easy opportunity of correcting them. But although the legislative activity of Parliament is almost entirely absorbed in passing Acts to amend Acts which have themselves been passed only a few years before, it is a matter of extreme difficulty to get any particular error of Parliament rectified. If our statutes are not so absolutely unchangeable as those of the Medes and Persians, yet they alter only after the expenditure of a considerable amount of labour and time. Local by-laws, on the contrary, which prove unsuitable to the people, or ineffective for the purpose for which they were designed, can readily be changed. If a number of bad shots are unavoidable before the mark is hit, the happy consummation will be arrived at in a local far sooner than in a central assembly.

It is objected by some that local bodies as they exist are not fit to be entrusted with such powers as I have above suggested. There is no surer method of raising the character of an elected body than that of conferring upon it more important functions. The electors become more desirous of exercising their franchise, and it becomes

more indispensable to bring forward as candidates men whose character will command public confidence. The result of the new Education Act is already felt in the greater readiness of the best men to offer themselves for election on local bodies and the greater interest taken by the electors in the elections. Improvements in the constitution of local authorities will properly follow a great accession of responsibility and power. Independent and rival authorities, such as school boards were, and boards of guardians still are, within the sphere of a local authority, must cease. There must be one single rating authority, with complete control over all local legislation, all local finance, and all local administration, in every district; but there is nothing to prevent the paramount authority from acting—as, indeed, it would have to do—through committees composed of its own members and of persons co-opted, and through the agency of subordinate local authorities, such as the councils of urban districts.

The last objection to social reform remaining to be considered is the cost. It will entail, like reform of every kind, some expenditure. But it will be infinitely less costly to the nation in the end to set up now the machinery that will make, so far as governments and laws can, the condition of the people satisfactory, than to drift on and let the country decay without an effort to save it. Devolution to local authorities need not throw the entire expense on the rates: subventions can be made out of the taxes. But nothing is more remarkable in politics than the success with which politicians have established amongst the masses a horror of rates which they do not pay themselves, and a preference for taxes which they do pay themselves. Rates are ultimately in the long run a burden on the profit which the owner of houses or lands makes by letting them for occupation. In the case of occupiers holding under a lease, the rates no doubt fall on them until the expiration of their term. But the mass of the population of the country live in houses or rooms taken by the week or month, and pay a price for the use of their house settled, like the price of any other commodity, by the law of supply and demand. What the occupier pays goes partly to the owner as rent and partly to the public authority as rates. If rates are raised, the owner gets less rent; if they are lowered, he gets more. Where the sum that has to be paid by economic law for the use of a house or room is rising, as it is at present continually doing in most English towns, the incidence of a higher rate gives the occasion for raising the rent or price; but the rise in such a case could take place without the incidence of any increased rate, so that the real cause of a rise is the demand for houses, not the rate. But owners of property are more interested financially than any other class in the prosperity of the people: a large share of prosperity means greater power of production, and the additional produce finds its way into the land-



owners' pockets. If the increased rates have the effect of increasing the happiness and welfare of the mass of the people, the expenditure of them is a very good investment for the owner. In Germany the intelligent owner thoroughly understands this. In many towns the local authority is constituted thus: the largest ratepayers, whose properties together amount to one-third of the rateable value of the town, appoint one-third of the authority; the next largest, whose properties amount to another third, another third of the authority; the rest of the ratepayers appoint the remainder. In some cases the result is that a single individual appoints a third of the authority. But authorities over which property exercises so enormous an influence are found to be just as free as more democratic ones in spending the money of the ratepayers upon works and institutions of public advantage.

I have now done my best to set before the Tory party their obligations on the question of social reform, and the direction in which that reform can with the least difficulty be effected. It is no good to sit down in idleness and call to the leaders who now form the Government to proceed. The leaders are entitled to a mandate from their followers, and to be backed up by an energetic public opinion, which it is the business of the rank-and-file of the party to create. If we do our duty, there is no reason to doubt that they will do theirs; and we can then, as a party, face the electors with our pledges redeemed and with a fair claim to retain the confidence of the nation.

JOHN E. GORST.

THE  
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No. CCCXIV—APRIL 1903

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*THE CRISIS IN THE CHURCH*

It is asserted that a wave of anti-clericalism is passing over the country, that there is a growing distrust and dislike of the clergy, that recent events in Parliament are a symptom of this distrust, and that it much concerns those who have the interests of the Church at heart to consider why this is, and, if they can, to remove the causes of it.

Much is also being said in this connection of the rights of the laity, and a Bill is now before Parliament, which has passed a second reading in the House of Commons, for the purpose of asserting and securing those rights. That nine millions should have been voluntarily subscribed for Church work and in support of clerical objects in 1902 is proof conclusive that this alleged distrust of the clergy is not very general. What may be admitted to exist is a distrust of the clergy amongst certain classes—amongst persons who have found seats

in Parliament, some of them friendly in their way to the Church, but who have little acquaintance with Church principles and derive their knowledge of Church matters chiefly from the newspapers, the reports in which are often inspired by a hostile purpose and written with ulterior objects. There exists also a dislike of the clergy which is due to the same cause as that which is largely responsible for the persecution of the religious Orders in France. A Church which is identified with the world excites no opposition. A Church which makes no inconvenient claims, and which insists on an answer to no awkward questions, which is content to allow its members to ignore the supernatural, acquiesces in a standard of morals which is not too strict, and insists on just that amount of respectability and of religious observance which enables the conscience to close its eyes to its real condition, and to make the best of both worlds—such a Church excites little hostility. Why, indeed, should it? The day may come when, like any other institution, it is attacked, and when that occurs such a Church falls like a house of cards, for no one cares to defend it; but meanwhile it is at peace. The world knows its own. No wondrous works are being performed within its borders, and it occurs to no one 'to beseech' the clergy 'to depart out of their coasts.' Reverse the picture. Let the Church proclaim the Catholic Faith, let it declare 'This is the truth: you can accept it or reject it, but you reject it at your peril.' Let it insist on the doctrine of the Cross and the crucifixion of self, on the grace conferred by the Sacraments, on the Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, on the power of the keys and the gift of absolution, on the fact that we are here and now brought into contact with God through the ministrations of His Church—and the different forces which make up the world rise up at once in opposition. The charge is made of mediæval superstition, of clerical assumption, of an attempt to revive the domination of the clergy, of a desire to create an *imperium* in an *imperio*. Under the plea of anti-clericalism the clergy are attacked, while all the time it is the world, under the disguise of anti-clericalism which is refusing to be brought face to face with the Divine life of the Church.

There is, then, a distrust and dislike of the clergy, which, far from being a discredit to the clergy or a symptom of danger to the Church, is a witness to the Church's life, and a proof that the clergy are true to their vocation. What Archbishop of Canterbury in later times appeals to the heart and imagination of Churchmen like Archbishop Laud? Who has so deep a place in their veneration? What Archbishop has so unmistakably left his mark on the Church of England, on the whole Anglican Communion? Did he meet with no opposition? Was there no anti-clerical feeling excited in his case? The scaffold and the block on Tower Hill may be left to answer those questions; but though he died his work lives on. The seed he sowed

grows and shows no sign of decay. He may have been mistaken in his political aspirations, in his methods of repression by the civil power, but is there one who cares for the Church of England who would have had him less keen to assert the Catholic Faith, one who would have had him shrink from the opposition he encountered? It is the mission of the Church and every member of it to bear witness to the truth in the teeth of opposition, and there is therefore great need to discriminate between the kinds of opposition to which the Church and the clergy may at any time be exposed.

Again, there is an anti-clericalism and a distrust of the clergy due to politics for which it would be most unjust to make the clergy always responsible. Such anti-clericalism has existed in Italy when the clergy have seemed to be in opposition to the popular aspiration for national unity, in France when they have seemed to be identified with the cause of the Bourbons or of the Empire, in England when the necessity for an alliance between the Church and a Conservative Government has been insisted upon. Such anti-clericalism will depend upon whether the Church is in harmony with the popular feeling of the moment, whether it happens to be in opposition to the political aspirations of a particular party. It shows, indeed, very clearly the disadvantage it is to the Church to be entangled with or committed to any particular Government or any one political party, but in itself it has to be discounted, and the responsibility for it will depend on the causes which have produced it. The anti-clericalism of Dr. Clifford and his friends, for example, need not, I should suppose, disturb the consciences of the clergy in England at the present moment.

There is a third form of anti-clericalism which is due to the fear of interference on the part of the clergy with matters outside or only indirectly connected with their office. The feeling expressed by the words 'we don't want the parson interfering with us; if we give him an inch he will be taking an ell' is not unknown in England, especially in the country; but this, so far as it exists, results more from dislike of the methods and character of a particular clergyman than from dislike of the clergy as a class. What those have in view who insist on the development of anti-clericalism in England at the present moment is dislike of the clergy as such—a feeling that they have ulterior objects which they do not avow; that as clergy of the Church of England they are pledged to teach one thing, but do in fact teach another; that they are disloyal and disobedient to their own superiors, insisting on the duty of obedience in others, but disregarding that duty themselves.

Now, even here I believe that it will be found on examination that much of this feeling, so far as it exists, is due very largely to causes of which some, in view of the history and the circumstances of the Oxford revival, were practically unavoidable, while others

were the direct and certain consequences of the principles and aims of that revival itself.

That revival forced those who were interested in religious matters to take definite sides in regard to them. By its sacramental teaching it brought men face to face with the supernatural, and such teaching repels if it does not attract in a way that an easy-going religion which exacts very little—and such religion still widely holds its ground in all ranks of society—is quite unable to do.

Take the mere fact of the restoration of the Holy Eucharist to its proper place as the one service of Divine obligation. In face of such restoration you must either accept or break with the Church's teaching in a way which was by no means necessary when such a modicum of religious observance as attendance at the reading of two chapters of the Old and New Testaments, some Psalms, and a few collects was all that was necessary for maintaining a character of ordinary religious respectability. The Eucharist put back into its proper place as the distinctive Sunday service—and no one can pretend that primitive Christianity did not so consider it—brings men face to face with the question how far they really accept the Christian religion in all its supernatural character. It is a test they cannot avoid. The preaching of the duty of confession in cases of grave sin, its expediency in many others, does the same thing; so does an insistence on the strictness of the Church's law as to the indissolubility of Christian marriage and the Church's prohibition of divorce. It is not so easy in the face of such a revival of Christian doctrine and practice to make the best of both worlds. Such teaching exemplifies the truth of the saying 'I came not to send peace, but a sword.' It constitutes an attack on the ordinary life of the world, its principles, and its convenience, which cannot fail to excite opposition. No one, whether friend or foe, not even Mr. Walsh, the author of the *History of the Oxford Movement*, will deny these to be the principles and teaching that have inspired the Oxford Movement, or will refuse to admit that they suggest a cause for a development of an anti-clerical feeling in England, the absence, not the presence, of which would be a source of anxiety as to the future of the Church, and the occasion of just reproach to the clergy.

One other fact in the history of the Oxford revival in England must not be lost sight of. The clergy—for it was their own more immediate business—were naturally the first to be influenced by that movement, and in a greater corresponding degree than the laity, who had other interests. The consequence has been that their theological and ecclesiastical standpoint has often come to be in advance of that of the general mass of the laity. Hence not unfrequently a divergence of view, a loss of mutual contact and understanding, with the further consequence of misunderstanding, and not unfrequently of misrepresentation on the part of those who

wished to discredit the movement. Mr. Walsh's History of the Oxford Movement is the signal instance of such misrepresentation. Dr. Fairbairn, the distinguished Nonconformist Head of Mansfield College, is a better witness than Mr. Walsh, and well describes<sup>1</sup> the impulse which, under the influence of the Oxford Movement, has inspired the clergy of the Church of England. They were inspired, he writes, by the belief that the Church to which they belonged was 'one of Apostolic descent, of continuous life, supernatural endowment, and Divine authority; they studied how to make again significant and symbolical her homes and temples of worship, how to deepen the mystery of her Sacraments, how to make her live to the eye of imagination, as to the eye of faith, arrayed in all the grace of the Lord, clothed in all the dignity and loveliness of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.' The spirit which animated the Oxford Movement can hardly be better described. It placed before the eyes of the clergy the vision of a Church which corresponded to all their wants, supplied all their needs, provided them with just the weapons they required for the winning of souls: it also revealed to them as they looked around not only how little the actual condition of the Church in which they ministered corresponded with the vision which had so fired their imagination and had spoken so strongly to their hearts, but how little that Church carried out the plainest requirements of her formularies, how completely she professed one thing and did another. Was it wonderful under such circumstances that they should sometimes have revolted against the stupidity, the want of spiritual preception, and the blindness to all the ideal side of things which had made such a falling short possible in the past, and which now in the present was for ever putting obstacles in the way of its realisation—was it wonderful, I say, that they should have resolved that this ideal which had appealed so strongly to their hearts should be realised even at the price of much opposition, and that the great Church to which they belonged and which they desired so ardently to serve, should once more re-enter, even at the price of the alienation of some who in fact hardly belonged to her, on her inherent rights, her full Catholic heritage?

It was, it is, a noble vision—one for which a man might well give his life; but a price had to be paid for its realisation, and the price has been that period of ecclesiastical strife and unrest which has marked the history of the Church of England for the last sixty years, and of which the difficulties of to-day are but a further stage and development.

If there is any truth in these statements—and I think they can hardly be denied—they go a long way to explain the difficulties, the perplexities, and ambiguities of the present state of ecclesiastical affairs. The Liverpool Church Discipline Bill, which obtained a

<sup>1</sup> *Catholicism Roman and Anglican.*

second reading in the House of Commons on the 13th of March, introduced with the express object of securing the rights of the laity to have the services of the Church ministered to them as the Church has prescribed—a right no one would deny—provides that any layman is to be enabled to institute legal proceedings against any clergyman, whether the Bishop approves of such proceedings or not, for enforcing what is assumed to be the law of the Church; and every clergyman who does not obey the law thus declared is to be summarily deprived of his living, and declared incapable henceforward of holding any preferment in the Church of England.

Now, if the Bill, as it professes, had merely been a measure to enforce a better observance of the law of the Church, no one would have objected to it, least of all those who represent the Oxford Movement. Such a measure would have contemplated an enforcement of the rubrics which insist that Mattins and Evensong shall be said daily in every parish church, that there shall be a Celebration of Holy Communion at least on Sundays and Saints' days, that the Athanasian Creed shall not be omitted when ordered to be recited, that the use of the vestments prescribed by the ornaments rubric shall be enforced on all the clergy, and that the clergy who pretend to marry divorced persons shall be punished, with many other like things; but it is quite notorious that the Bill in question contemplates nothing of this sort. Its object is to set Courts in motion which it knows have no authority over the consciences of those who are to be dragged before them, in order to stereotype and bind upon the necks of both clergy and laity an interpretation of the rubrics for which the Privy Council alone is responsible, and which has very generally been repudiated both by the Episcopate and by the Church at large.

If this had been generally understood—if it had been perceived that the Bill was one which, if it had been passed and acted upon forty years ago, would have deprived Mr. Keble of his living and declared him incapable of holding preferment in the Church of England—can anyone suppose that it would have obtained a second reading, or that any doubt could have existed as to its real purport and scope? It would have been seen to be what it is—a measure directed not against this or that doctrinal exaggeration and ritual excess, but against the whole High Church party and the underlying principles of the Oxford Movement.

The most cursory examination of the debate shows how false the issues are that were raised, how completely the very points in dispute were assumed, and, I may add, how absolutely incapable Parliament is of dealing with such a subject. Indeed, if the matter were not so grave, there would be something almost ludicrous in the childlike unconsciousness of the difficulties which beset the whole question with which members not unfriendly to the Church voted

for a measure the results of which, were it ever to become operative for the real purposes of its promoters, would be so very different from those they had been led to expect.

Does anyone deny that the laity have a right to have the services ministered to them as the Church has prescribed? No one. Does anyone deny that the law of the Church ought to be enforced? No one, again. The whole point is, What services has the Church prescribed; how does she require them to be performed; what is the law of the Church; what is the doctrine and discipline which the clergy have sworn to accept? These are the questions which through the whole of the debate were persistently begged. For example, it is assumed throughout, notably in Sir William Harcourt's speech, that it is the right of Parliament and of the Crown to deal with the Church. Does the insistence on such a right mean the right of Parliament—*i.e.*, in theory, of the Church laity—to clothe with legal sanction and to invest with coercive power the enactments of the Church, and on the part of the Sovereign the right to see that Church law is properly and justly carried out; or does it claim for Parliament as it is—*i.e.*, the representatives of the country irrespective of Church membership—a right to make and alter the law of the Church as they see fit, and for the Sovereign through the machinery of civil tribunals to determine what that law is? The first, however little it may correspond with the present constitution of Parliament, is in theory unobjectionable, but it is the second which is assumed by Sir William Harcourt when he asserts the right of the Crown and Parliament as representing the laity to deal with the doctrine and discipline of the National Church.

It is an old and acknowledged right which appears to be asserted, but it is a new right which in fact is claimed—a right which nullifies the indefeasible right of the laity and clergy of the Church of England to determine their own affairs free from the interference and intrusion of those who are not members of the Church. It was said in the course of the debate that such a claim was inconsistent with establishment. The case of the Established Church in Scotland contradicts that assertion; but can any reasonable man pretend that Presbyterians and Nonconformists, Jews and Mahomedans, Agnostics and non-Christians—and there are representatives of all such in Parliament—should be entitled to discuss the affairs of the Church and to interfere in Church matters to the infringement of the rights of the laity and clergy of that Church, and to the great detriment of the Church herself? Can there, indeed, be a more flagrant claim, as Dr. Fairbairn, the most distinguished representative of Nonconformist opinion at Oxford, admits, 'than that those whose distinctive note is dissent from the Church should be invested with legislative power over a Church they dissent from, or that men whom the Church cannot recognise as fully or adequately Christian



should be law-givers for the very Church that refuses them recognition'?

It is quite plausible, if you assume the position asserted by Sir William Harcourt, to insist that 220 or indeed any number of incumbents who reject the interpretations put upon the formularies and rubrics of the Church by the Privy Council should be deprived at once; but the matter becomes less simple when it is remembered that the position is one which has always been emphatically denied by the largest and most influential section of the Church, and that a man like Mr. Keble could declare that it was a duty to make 'the whole of Christendom ring with a protest against it.'

Again, it is assumed that anything which offends ordinary Protestant susceptibilities is necessarily at variance with the law of the Church. Is this the fact? The late Dr. Neale once said, 'England's Church is Catholic though England's self is not,' and it is a remark which sums up and explains the whole of the present situation. Clergy are not unfaithful members of the Church because they offend Protestant susceptibilities. They are unfaithful if they contravene the law and principles of the Church, and a little examination will show that it is not the conduct of the clergy except in so far as they are no longer content to allow great portions of the Prayer Book to remain a dead letter, but the principles of the Church itself, that are the real grounds of offence. Parliament has the power to do many things: it can disestablish and disendow the Church if it pleases, it can endeavour to alter the constitution of the Church, it can attempt any other revolution: but it has no right to brand those as disloyal who are merely carrying out principles and practices enjoined by the existing formularies of the Church.

It is worth while to examine this point in some detail, for it is the key of the present controversy.

It has to be asserted, and asserted most emphatically—it was a point that was constantly being pressed in the debate on the Liverpool Bill—that the laity possess the most undoubted right to have the Church services and privileges as provided by authority at their disposal, and not to have that right infringed by the private taste and fancy of the officiating minister. But it has to be asserted no less emphatically that this right is not to be infringed by (1) influential persons, inhabitants of the parish or persons from the outside, or even the man in the street, who likes to attend church but does not like Church principles, and by pressure manages so to get them tampered with as to suit his own tastes and convenience; (2) Dissenters, Nonconformists, Agnostics, Jews, who by the constitution of Parliament as it now is claim to interfere in Church matters to the infringement of the rights of the members of the Church. Nothing, indeed, can be more monstrous or contrary to the

fact than the assertion that Englishmen as such have a right to interfere in the internal affairs of 'the National Church.'

Consider what the position is and what the rights are which the Church of England claims for herself and her members.

To make this matter plain, I would draw attention to the fact, which has been shown over and over again in a perfectly conclusive manner, notably by Sir John Seeley in his book *Ecce Homo*, which created so great a sensation some years ago, that Christ saves mankind through incorporation in a hierarchical society: that He came to found a Kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

Consider the character of that Kingdom. As witnesses to that character I will call three writers, two of whom are entirely opposed to my own convictions, while the third is a writer in the *Guardian* whom no one has ventured to contradict. 'Sacerdotalism,' says Dr. Fairbairn, the Nonconformist Head of Mansfield College, Oxford, in the interesting and instructive book from which I have already quoted, 'was full blown by the time of Cyprian.' Now, S. Cyprian was martyred in the middle of the third century—that is, before the first of the Ecumenical Councils to which the Church of England appeals. 'It is no justification,' says a writer in the *Pilot* newspaper, 'to say that a practice obtained in the fourth century.' 'The Church system of the Nicene period was in almost all essential respects the same as' what the writer calls 'Romanism,' and he adds, 'We must protest against both.' It is a far-reaching statement, and one to which exception might be taken, but it is true in so far as it expresses the fact that no trace of Protestantism is to be found in the Church system of the Nicene period.

'The Catholic Church,' says the writer in the *Guardian* to whom I have referred, 'of the age which settled the Canon of Scripture and was responsible for the Catholic Creeds, was the Church which, beyond dispute, invoked the Saints.' I quote this, not for its bearing on the practice of invoking the Saints, but for the light it throws on the position claimed by the Church of England. What is important to remember is that it is precisely to the teaching and practice of the Church of the first four Ecumenical Councils that the Church of England makes her most explicit appeal—a fact no doubt remembered by Dr. Wace, who is a brave man and a perfectly independent witness, when he declared, as reported not long ago,<sup>3</sup> in the journal of the Ladies' League, Lady Wimborne's organ, that he would have no clergyman prosecuted for any practice which could

<sup>2</sup> Within this idea of a Kingdom of God upon earth the question whether the supreme government of this Kingdom is vested in S. Peter and his successors (either in union with or independent of the rest of the Episcopate) or in the *Corpus Episcoporum*—that is, the whole body of the Episcopate holding our Lord's supreme authority in commission—though a point of the utmost importance in view of the history of the Church, does not affect the main issue.

<sup>3</sup> Vide *Ladies' League Gazette*, January 1903, p. 311.

appeal to the sanction even of the first five centuries. Were that understood and acted upon, we should hear no more of disloyal clergy or of the need of prosecutions. For of course there is no real doubt as to the character and teaching of the Kingdom founded by Christ by the end of the fifth century. No one pretends that by the time of the fourth General Council the doctrines and practices for which the clergy are now being attacked were not everywhere recognised by the Church. To justify those clergy it only remains to show how clearly and unmistakably the Church of England makes her claim to be a portion of this one Kingdom of God upon earth—that is, to be a part of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, a sharer in all the rights of that Church, bound by all her doctrines and principles, and not a mere collection of units associated together in virtue of their Protestantism and by the exercise of their own free will, as is the case with all those religious societies which have set themselves up outside and independent of the Church of Christ.

Let me give three illustrations which shall make this claim on the part of the Church of England perfectly clear.

I will take first the question of Ordination.

Consider the official attitude of the Church of England towards converts who are 'ministers.' From the Roman Communion they are received as priests. For example, no incumbent can be instituted unless ordained a priest. A convert priest from the Roman Communion is instituted to a benefice on exhibiting his letters of Orders from a Roman Catholic Bishop. Others—Dr. Clifford, for example, or a minister from the Established Church of Scotland—have to be ordained: their status on reception is not that of a priest, but of a Confirmation candidate. The fact speaks quite unmistakably as to the position the Church of England claims, and on which side she ranges herself in the controversy between Catholics and Protestants.

Secondly, I will take the Mass. In spite of its simplicity, which is only saved from baldness by the wonderful beauty of its English, and by the dignity of full Western ceremonial with which the ornaments rubric orders it to be clothed, the English Communion service is on precisely the same principle as the Roman Mass.

First, Preparation—Collects, Epistle, Gospel, Creed; secondly, Offertory and Oblation; thirdly, Preface, Sanctus, and Consecration; fourthly, Communion; fifthly, Post-Communion and Dismissal. The identity is further emphasised by the fact that the manner of executing the rite by virtue of the ornaments rubric is generically the same.

It is the Mass of the Catholic Church so arranged as that Church has allowed individual portions of that Church to arrange it. By consecrating in both kinds the priest who celebrates makes the Sacrifice, by Communion in both kinds he consummates it, in a prayer he asks that the action may be acceptable: what matters whether

that prayer be made before or after the consummation of the act? The act is the same, and there is not a single Roman Catholic theologian who, admitting the validity of the Orders conferred by the English Church, would deny it. The Archdeacon of Liverpool, indeed, agrees with Cardinal Vaughan in denying the validity of English Orders, but, granting their validity, the fact of the substantial identity of the Latin and English rites is one which cannot be contested.

The Confessional shall be my third illustration. Consider the form of ordination, 'Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven;' 'the moving' of the sick man, 'if he feel his conscience troubled by any weighty matter'—and what mortal sin is not a weighty matter indeed?—to make his confession in order that he may receive absolution; the invitation before Communion to those conscious of and distressed by grievous sin to come to the priest for confession, ghostly counsel, and absolution, which imposes on every parish priest the moral obligation of making himself accessible, and to qualify himself as a confessor. Could any provision more emphatically emphasise the character the Church of England claims for herself in regard to a matter of doctrine and practice which more than any other is a red rag to popular Protestantism and self-satisfied worldliness? Yet Mr. Balfour in the debate on the second reading of the Liverpool Bill seemed to imply that to preach this doctrine as to confession and absolution was the crowning proof of the disloyalty of the clergy, and the justification of stern measures, could such be effectual, to repress the practice. Would it not be more honest to drop any insinuation of disloyalty, and to say what is, indeed, the truth—that such teaching is to be put down if possible, not because it is disloyal to the Prayer Book, but because those responsible for the present agitation dislike it? The present agitation itself testifies to the fact. What is it that the promoters of that agitation denounce? Not this or that detail of ritual, not the use of incense or any such matter, but, to use their own words, 'the Mass' and 'the Confessional.' These were the matters expressly insisted upon by the speakers, Mr. Mellor and others, at the meeting in St. James's Hall called in support of this Liverpool Bill a short time before its introduction. But 'the Mass' and 'the Confessional,' as everyone knows who understands the question, *can* only be put down by altering the Prayer Book; and when that fact is generally discovered—for it is a fact, and the more these matters are threshed out the plainer it will appear—the country will then begin to see what these charges of disloyalty are worth, and who are the faithful and who the unfaithful members of the Church of England.

One thing is already apparent. Both the conduct of the Liverpool Bill and its provisions show, not for the first time, how hopelessly out of touch its promoters are with that great mass of Church

feeling and principle represented by what it is the fashion just now to call the 'Moderate Party' in the Church of England. The fact has been proved over and over again. It will be remembered that Bishop Harold Brown, when Bishop of Winchester, at the time of the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act, threatened to resign his see if Parliament attempted to deprive him of his veto on any threatened prosecution. There are many bishops to-day who would refuse to be relegated to the position of nonentities in their own dioceses. But to a consideration of that sort the promoters of the Bill are profoundly indifferent. They care nothing for the fact that were it ever to pass and to prove more than a dead letter, it would not make for peace, but, on the contrary, would be the source of confusion and strife. They do not concern themselves with the awkward questions which would arise in regard to the canonical position of the deprived clergy and their relations to their successors and their congregations. They are indifferent to the certainty that the advocates of disestablishment would assuredly seize the opportunity of pressing that question forward, and that under such circumstances they would be reinforced by a strong detachment of High Churchmen who have long ceased to regard disestablishment as a positive evil, and are only asking themselves whether the time has come to work for it as a positive good. It never occurs to them to consider whether the Church of England is doing less or more for souls than she was twenty-five or thirty years ago, or who is to benefit by this arrest of all good work and the setting up of congregation against congregation.

They assume that a state of things which was the result of a total indifference to all the requirements of the Prayer Book in the past represents the true mind of the Church of England. They have to be undeceived. They have to be shown that they are in the position of the lodger who is trying to turn the rightful owner of the house out of doors, that those against whom this Bill is in reality directed do not ask for toleration, but that they intend to insist on their rights.

They have to learn that 'perjured priests,' 'faithless ministers of a Church whose bread they eat, and whose principles they betray,' 'Jesuits in disguise,' are not phrases they can continue to apply with impunity to men who have learnt what the requirements of the Prayer Book really are and whose lives are spent in one round of self-denying work, for the most part in the poorest livings and in the most unattractive neighbourhoods. Such men are indifferent to what is said of them. Their Master's work and example are enough for them; but will their friends always be so patient? That patience may be exhausted.

The laity who know what the Church of England is do not intend to see their clergy turned out. If the rights of the laity

are to be insisted upon, let them be insisted upon impartially; let the laity of the Church insist on having the rites of the Church ministered to them in their entirety. Let them see that every parish priest is compelled to say Mattins and Evensong daily, that he is not allowed to shelter himself under the plea, which the *Times* newspaper puts into his mouth, that the rubric which orders the recital of the daily office is obsolete, or to pretend that family prayers are a substitute for Mattins and Evensong said in the Church. Let them see that the Athanasian Creed is not omitted or mutilated in order to please those who think it signifies nothing whether men reject God's revelation of Himself or not; that doctrines like those of the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection of the Body are not denied. Let them require—what more important right does a layman possess?—that the Holy Eucharist be celebrated in every parish church at least on Sundays and Saints' days, that the Holy Eucharist be restored to its proper place as the chief service on Sunday, and that opportunities be provided on Sundays and Saints' days for Communion at an hour which does not impose too great a strain in observing the Church's rule of fasting Communion. Let them insist on the Blessed Sacrament being always reserved in some safe place in every parish church, so that no one may run the risk of being deprived of Communion in the case of any sudden emergency, that the Friday abstinence and the fast of Lent be duly observed, that a proper regard be had for vigils and Saints' days, that priests be punished who read the marriage service over divorced persons; and let them also insist, and vehemently insist, on their right, as Catholic Christians, not to have the cure of their souls entrusted to any priest who does not believe in and will not give facilities for practising the Catholic religion. To intrude such into the ministry and to place them in positions where they have cure of souls is a plain infringement of the elementary and most essential right of the laity of the Church. Let the laity also assert their right to have the formularies of the Church, if occasion arises for their interpretation, interpreted apart from any preconceived and assumed background. The neglect of this lies at the root of many existing difficulties. The mass of the decisions given by the so-called Ecclesiastical Courts did not attempt so to interpret them: they considered only the later formularies and interpreted them by the imaginary background of a sort of Protestant Common Law. This is especially true of the decisions of Bishops' Chancellors. If the formularies were taken by themselves and *all* the formularies were considered, not those only subsequent to an imaginary date, the Catholic background which belongs to them would be self-evident, and might safely be left to take care of itself. By what authority, it should be asked, are the Canons of 1603 to be obeyed and *previous* Canons to be ignored? What becomes of the authority of the Church

if such arbitrary distinctions are to be allowed? The great need of the present time is a reassertion of the true principles of ecclesiastical authority. How is the exercise of that authority to be vindicated if the principles on which it rests are violated? The Church is an organised army in which those who fight her battle against the forces of evil are not mere units, but parts of a whole—in which none is isolated from or independent of the rest.

The affairs of S. Michael's, Shoreditch, which have recently been the cause of so much distress, are more than enough to prove this. It is an unhappy business about which many untrue things have been said; but can anyone think that the late incumbent, whose self-denying work amongst the poor was beyond all praise, and who had done so much to make those whom he found absolute heathens into good Christians, had in the least considered as he ought the circumstances of the Church as a whole, and the difficulties he was creating, not only for himself, but for the Church at large? Could there be any doubt that the Bishop had the right, if he insisted upon it, to require that the services ordered by the Prayer Book should be given without omission and without addition? The root principle of the Church revival is the recognition of the authority of the Church. Doctrines are preached and practices restored not because they commend themselves to us, but because they are ordered. Can we think this was sufficiently kept in mind by Mr. Evans? Has it always been sufficiently kept in mind by others? Has the legitimate authority of the Bishops always been sufficiently remembered? Cannot instances be cited in which things have been done which are really irreconcilable with a due recognition of Church order and Church authority?

In matters touching their religion people are naturally and rightly conservative. Nothing is so irritating as changes which are supposed to be due to the arbitrary will of another. When a suspicion is aroused that such a change is only due to the arbitrary will of a particular priest it arouses opposition and provokes the assertion on the part of the layman that he will only accept so much of the priest's teaching and practice as he likes. Under such circumstances the whole principle of Church authority is apt to disappear.

The layman feels that he has a right to the services prescribed by the Church, and not to have imposed upon him any fancy service inaugurated by the individual clergyman; and as many laymen (and indeed some clergymen) are often very imperfectly instructed as to what is prescribed by the Church, it ends in the right to have what the Church orders being too often confounded with a right to prescribe what the services of the Church should be, and results not unfrequently in much irritation on the part of the laity if they do not get exactly what they like.

So far as there is any distrust of the clergy at the present time,

I believe this to be at the root of it, and the only remedy is a frank acceptance all round of that principle of authority in matters of faith and practice which distinguishes the Church from the sects. I say all round, because if in this matter there is blame attaching to individual clergy and laity, there is also blame—may I be forgiven for saying so!—attaching to the Episcopate. The vindication of true ecclesiastical authority has been and is the one thing needed in the past as in the present to secure the Catholic revival from the various dangers which beset it. Does the Episcopate ever seem to have considered this matter as it deserves, and to have faced the question whence it derives its own authority, what is the extent of that authority, and what are its limitations? Is it not true that throughout the whole course of the Church revival the Episcopate has been constantly banning what as time goes on it has come to bless—permitting, sometimes even encouraging, the stoning of the prophets, and then building them sepulchres? I will venture to say, and it is a matter upon which I have some right to speak, that from the beginning of the ritual controversy about the year 1866 to the present time there has never been a moment when the Bishops might not have regulated the whole course of the revival, if they would frankly have asserted their authority as Catholic Bishops and acted on Catholic principles. Instead of that, what has been their conduct?

While they have not ventured, at least in later times, or perhaps even wished, to enforce the interpretations of the Privy Council as a true exposition of the law and rubrics of the Church, they have never had the courage or the principle openly and unmistakably to vindicate their own authority as against that of the Privy Council. The consequences are such as might have been foreseen. They are the present disorganisation in which ecclesiastical authority finds itself, and the attack which is now being made on the Bishops themselves for failing to enforce what the general laity have every excuse for believing to be the discipline and law of the Church.

The Lambeth Opinions are the latest and most conspicuous example of an opportunity to vindicate the spiritual authority of the Church completely thrown away. If in regard to the use of incense the Archbishops had given no reasons, but had said, 'In our opinion as Heads of the Church, we think it desirable, under existing circumstances and in view of present prejudices, that incense should not be used in the services of the Church,' they would have been obeyed—with regret and under protest it may be, but obeyed. As it was, the decision was one which not only in itself, but much more in regard to the principle on which it was based, was implicitly destructive of any claim the Church of England could make to continuity with the past and the possession of true spiritual authority.



Would Mr. Keble, would Dr. Pusey, have admitted the right of an Act of Parliament (for it was on the words of the Act of Uniformity of Elizabeth, expressly dissociated from any claim to ecclesiastical sanction, that the Opinions were based) to determine the ritual of the Church?

If it was right to refuse obedience to the Public Worship Regulation Act, could there be any duty to render obedience to a ruling which entirely based itself on a similar Act of Parliament? There can only be one answer to that question. While it might be expedient, while it might be prudent, in view of the matter under dispute, to conform to such an Opinion, there could be no duty in the matter; and so the clergy as a whole felt and acted—some conformed their practice to the Opinion, and some did not. Meanwhile, the use of incense is practically allowed with only such modifications in the manner of use as show the intrinsic futility of the original decision.

I insist on this because it is this attitude on the part of the Episcopate which makes the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline so difficult, I might say so impossible, until the only principles on which obedience in spiritual matters can be rightly claimed and rendered are once more frankly and fully recognised by the authorities of the Church. The great need of the present time is that decisions should not merely be pronounced by ecclesiastical persons, but that they should be arrived at and delivered on principles recognised by the Church. As it is, the authorities of the Church of England make a boast of the Church of England's independence from the rest of Christendom. They erect her isolation, and the state of practical separation from the rest of Christendom in which, largely by the fault of others, she finds herself, into a principle—something to be almost proud of, instead of one to be deeply deplored. They refuse to recognise that they owe any duty of obedience to the rest of the Church. The authority of the whole Church is nothing to them; '*securus judicat orbis terrarum*' seems to be a phrase without meaning in the ears of our rulers. In resisting the mediæval and temporal claims of the Papacy the English Episcopate seems to have lost all sense of the duty it owes to the Primate of Christendom and the rest of the Catholic Episcopate East and West. Rome may reject our Bishops' claims, but that rejection cannot relieve them from the obligations those claims impose—assuming those claims, as we believe them, to be well founded. But Anglican Bishops appear to care absolutely nothing for, they do not even pretend to consider, the teaching and practice of the great majority of those who are sharers with them in the episcopal office. What the other Bishops of Christendom believe and teach might for all practical purposes, so far as they are concerned, be non-existent; and yet they have no misgivings about insisting on the duty of obedience

to themselves on grounds which in their own case they totally disregard.

To claim obedience on Catholic principles yourself you must not abandon the ground on which your own authority rests. You cannot totally disregard the authority of the rest of the Church, and at the same time claim for a part the authority you deny to the whole. The authority of the part must obviously be exercised in subordination to that of the whole from which it is derived. Is it wonderful when all this is ignored—when, as in regard to reservation for the sick, all deference for the authority and practice of the whole Church, East and West alike, all respect for the appeal of the Church of England to primitive practice, and that in a matter vitally affecting the need of souls, is wholly thrown on one side—that English Bishops find it difficult, often impossible, and rightly impossible, to vindicate their own authority in the eyes of their own clergy and laity, and still more impossible to do so in the eyes of a critical and unbelieving world? What respect, indeed, does the Protestant agitator pay to the authority of the Episcopate except when it can be invoked to torment a ritualist? What, indeed, is the attitude of the mass of our countrymen towards all these subjects? What is their attitude, for example, towards the Prayer Book? Half of the community—I am talking of the religious part of it—neither believes what is in the Prayer Book nor pays the slightest attention to its directions. The proportion of Nonconformists to professing Churchmen is a proof of this; and even of professing Churchmen what proportion of them either know or attempt to conform to the precepts and practices of the Prayer Book? As to the other half, the majority of them, so far as they believe in the teaching of the Prayer Book and conform to its practice, do so in their own way, and without any real regard to or understanding of the principles it enshrines, and which alone make it a serviceable instrument for the salvation of souls, and the satisfaction of more spiritual wants which it is the business of the Church to supply.

No doubt, owing to the Oxford Movement, there has been a great change for the better in this respect, but taking that change at its best, what little realisation there is still of the Church as an organic whole!

It is not felt to be a living *Body* indwelt by the Holy Ghost, really one with and summed up in Christ, of which no part therefore can be independent of the rest, and of which the authority must ever at all times be the same.

Instead of this, the Church is conceived of as a collection of units, each really separate, and only accidentally brought into relation with each other. That we are saved as members of a Body, and in a Body—the Body of Christ—is practically forgotten; that *Totus Christus* is Christ and His Church is ignored. We see the fact

unmistakably evidenced by our whole attitude towards the Departed and towards the doctrine of 'the Communion of Saints.' We do not believe in the Communion of Saints because we do not believe in the Church, and we do not believe in the Church because we have got into the habit of looking upon the Church of England as a body separate from and independent of that whole Church of which she is but a fragment, and of interpreting her rules by themselves instead of by the practice and teaching of undivided Christendom.

If the present troubles should compel us to face these difficulties and to realise our duties in respect to the great principles of Church authority and Catholic obedience, and teach us to recognise a little more clearly what the Church is, they will prove, instead of a misfortune, a blessing indeed.

I will conclude by some general observations which are suggested by the present state of ecclesiastical affairs.

Since the sixteenth century Protestantism has effected a *de facto* lodgment within the borders of the Church; an anomaly in itself hardly tolerable, which hampers the Church in her office of proclaiming the truth at every turn, and which makes any really consistent action on the part of her Bishops as Catholic Prelates—and they will not deny that they profess to be such—to be at the present moment almost impossible.

An English Bishop could only act really consistently with that Catholic Faith and those Catholic principles which he professes to hold, by deliberately making up his mind from the outset of his episcopate—and no harder thing can be asked of any man—to take a course which he would know beforehand would scandalise and do harm to all sorts of good people whom he would most wish to win, and which would in all likelihood make his whole episcopate, during his lifetime at least, and until death had put its seal upon his work, a complete failure. At this price he would do a work of incalculable value, not merely to the Church of England, but to the whole of Christendom, but it would be at the price of a life of which every day was a martyrdom. 'I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile,' would, *mutatis mutandis*, as once before in the history of the Church, sum up such an episcopate.

The personal difficulty is not, however, the only one which results from the existing state of things. It is possible to minimise the conflicting elements and the points of divergence within the Church of England; but minimise them as you will, make what allowance for them you like, recognise even, up to a certain point, their providential character, and the consequent duty of bearing with them, dealing tenderly with them, and of utilising them in the interests of truth—it remains true that within the Church of England there are practically something very like *two* religions, and that it is only possible to tolerate a condition of things so

contradictory of the nature and office of the Church on condition that nothing is done by the rulers of the Church to make the recovery of Catholic doctrine and practice more difficult, or to consolidate the position of those within the Church who, from a Catholic point of view, ought never to have been allowed to occupy the position they now hold.

Once it is made clear that Catholic doctrine and practice are only to be tolerated, still more if it should appear that they are not to be tolerated, and that the compromises of the sixteenth century—the failure of which to retain the people of this country in the faith of their fathers is only too obvious, as witnessed by the spiritual state of the population and the developments of dissent—are to be enforced for all time, and that they are to be appealed to as decisive in every dispute as to doctrine or practice which may arise, and it will cease to be the object of any who put the Catholic religion in the first place to endeavour to maintain a state of things so little favourable to what they believe to be the truth or to the highest interests of the Church. In view of the past anything would be better than to have such a yoke riveted on our necks. Much may be borne which is admittedly only temporary and provisional, nobody distrusts heroic remedies more than I do; but some things are impossible, and among them are the surrender of what has been already won back from past neglect, and the acquiescence in a hard-and-fast line determined by the *ipsissima verba* of sixteenth and seventeenth century formularies interpreted and enforced with no regard to the teaching and practice of the whole Church and the peculiar and altogether exceptional circumstances of the entire history of the Church of England. Those formularies, as Mr. Keble insisted, interpreted by Catholic consent are one thing, interpreted merely by themselves quite another.

The Church exists to proclaim the Catholic religion and to bring all men into the obedience of the Faith. Consider what the attitude of Englishmen generally, and of the great mass of the population amongst the English-speaking races, is towards the Catholic Faith, and what a lesson that attitude teaches. What on the Anglican theory is the purest portion of Christendom, with every advantage of wealth, position, and privilege, has proved absolutely incapable of retaining within its fold, not only the great masses of its population, but a very large proportion of those (I say nothing of the irreligious and the careless) who are really alive to their souls' needs and care for spiritual concerns. If one object of a Church is to bring men to the obedience of the Faith, why has the Church of England been so eminently unsuccessful? I should reply, amongst many and other obvious reasons, because she has been so little true to her own principles; because she has professed one thing and done another.

The result has been, instead of the system of the Prayer Book,

the practical establishment of a respectable form of Christianity with very little power to attract, very helpless in those cases where help is most needed, claiming little authority, insisting upon no practice as of obligation, making no appeal to the imagination, owning little connection with the past, and generally ignoring those counsels of perfection and those heroic virtues which really attract souls and convert the world. Why—the connection of ideas is obvious—have the Roman Catholic body in England been able to build a Cathedral which rivals some of the greatest works of the ages of faith, while Liverpool Cathedral is still a dream? The answer to that question, if honestly given, is not one which suggests that the policy of such measures as the Liverpool Church Bill or the principles which inspire it are likely to be anything but an unmitigated misfortune to the Church of England.

What the needs of the Church of England require is a very different policy indeed. In the first place it should be resolved to have no recourse to Parliament, not even to obtain the most needful reforms: they will not be obtained from Parliament, and it is dangerous to ask for them. Besides, a recourse to Parliament, constituted as it now is, admits a right which cannot be admitted. What right have Nonconformists, to say nothing of Jews and non-Christians, to discuss the internal affairs of the Church? These are matters which do not affect them. The Acts of Uniformity are dead. They were a tacit Concordat which is now broken by the State. Under such circumstances the Church reverts to her original and inherent liberty. She must organise herself under her own leaders, the Bishops; she must do for herself what her needs require. She must take what will not be given. If done wisely and prudently, there need be no insuperable difficulty in such action. Governments and Parliament will only be too glad to be rid of ecclesiastical affairs. In a word, what has to be done in this respect is to disentangle the existing relations of Church and State from their present confusion. Those relations are relics, and, in view of the deadlock which they produce, harmful relics, of a time and circumstances that have passed away. They were the result and expression of a general agreement in regard to religion. That agreement has ceased to exist: we must recognise the fact. We have also to admit that those who really hold Church principles are in a minority. In view of that fact our present relations with Parliament are only a source of weakness. A gradual process of disestablishment has, in fact, been going on for a long time. Everything that has been said and done in regard to Education is evidence of it. How can a Church be said in any real sense to be 'established' when its Catechism is not allowed to be used in any State school? We have to admit the fact, utilise it, make the best of it. We ask for no privilege, for no favour, but for equal treatment and for the protection of the right of all.

Such things as the King's Declaration, the restrictions on the offices of Lord Chancellor and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland must be got rid of. If Jews may present to livings, why not Roman Catholic patrons? The right of institution inherent in the Episcopate is a complete security in both cases. It would be an advantage in many cases if the Heads of the Roman Church, the Heads of the Established Church in Scotland, and of the chief Dissenting bodies had seats in the House of Lords. Dr. Clifford's opposition to the Education Bill would probably have been conducted on different lines had he possessed a seat in that assembly. Should the House of Lords ever be reformed and strengthened, should the development and unification of the Empire lead to any changes in its constitution, as is not improbable, such admissions may perhaps be considered. For similar reasons the clergy should not be debarred from sitting in the House of Commons.

If there is occasion to proceed against such men as, *e.g.*, Mr. Beeby or the Dean of Ripon, they should be tried as the Bishop of Lincoln was tried, or even in a less formal manner. It would be quite enough in the case of such a man as Mr. Beeby, if he has indeed said what he is accused of saying, for his Diocesan to warn his parishioners against his teaching, and to authorise another priest to perform services in the parish in some temporary church till such time as it pleased God to remove Mr. Beeby elsewhere. It would be a scandal no doubt, but nothing like the scandal or the injury to the Church which indifference to such a doctrine as that of the Virgin Birth would be on the one side, or the danger which a legal trial before Courts incompetent to try such cases would be on the other.

The twentieth century will not be as the nineteenth. We are on the eve of great changes. It is in more senses than one *la fin d'un siècle*. There is a movement of unrest and expectation on all sides. The foundations are being shaken everywhere; the state of Biblical criticism both at home and abroad is alone sufficient to prove this. There is a movement towards reunion at home and abroad which must in the end bear fruit. It will be a fatal mistake if the rulers of the Church despise it. They have to be brave about it: a price has to be paid, something has to be risked, for all things that are worth doing. There are defeats which are the necessary steps to victories, present failures which spell future success. It is not unlikely that the question of disestablishment may be brought forward at no very distant period. An accident might bring it within the range of practical politics. The present state of parties, much that has recently happened, and the general current of opinion on such matters throughout the world make such a contingency probable, certainly possible. The difficulties which such a conflict must involve are such as to inspire the gravest anxiety. No one could wish to precipitate such a conflict. Few but would desire to

avert it, but should it prove unavoidable, it is hardly possible to doubt that whatever the troubles and dangers, whatever the heart-rending anxiety, which those who fight that battle will have to go through, its ultimate end and result, as things are, will be for the ultimate good of the Church.

It would in any case relieve the Church from a claim which is absolutely intolerable—the claim that those who do not belong to the Church shall determine her discipline, dictate her doctrine, and arrogate to themselves the rights which belong only to the Divine Head of the Church and to those He has invested with His authority and empowered to rule in His name.

HALIFAX.

## *THE CHURCH'S LAST CHANCE*

IN writing a few lines on the present condition and future outlook of our Church, I can lay no claim to approach the subject from the standpoint of the scholar, the historian, or the theologian, but merely from that of an ordinary member of the Church of England, and as one who has, through the force of circumstances, been led to take some small part in the all-absorbing movement of what, for want of a better word, has been called the Church crisis. And although it may seem presumptuous to deal with such grave questions without higher qualifications, I am inclined to think that there is a value in trying to express and define the views of that large class of persons who may come under the category of more or less intelligent on-lookers. The vast mass of the world are neither historians nor theologians, and however much the labours of these more erudite men may contribute insensibly towards the crystallising of beliefs and the directing of public events, the history of a country is more or less shaped by the consensus of opinion of men and women whose education has been rather the inherited traditions of the race than the accurate learning of the scholar. My justification, therefore, for dealing with this question is because it is in the hands of this large class of persons that the ultimate decision of the Church question will lie. Their voices in the polling booth will decide on the fate of our Church, and when that critical day arrives it will be the voices not of Churchmen only, but of Englishmen in general, that will pronounce the verdict. If this be so, there is an obvious importance not only in ascertaining the views of this large class of individuals, but, if possible, in bringing to bear on them an influence which may, when the occasion arises, lead them to such an exercise of their power as will be for the benefit of the country. And it is with the deepest sense of the responsibility which is incurred by any indiscreet handling of these questions, and with a conviction of the extreme gravity of the present position of affairs, that I venture to endeavour to describe the situation as it presents itself to the ordinary Church-people of to-day.

There is no argument more frequently used than that extreme



clergymen and extreme churches are few, that such as exist are mainly in large towns where the worshippers have a choice of churches, and that consequently the hardship inflicted on those who disagree with the form of service adopted is not great. I believe that neither of these arguments is borne out by facts. *The Tourist's Church Guide* for 1901-2, published by the English Church Union, furnishes a complete answer to the first. A careful perusal of that book will show the vast number of churches both in England and the Colonies where an extreme ritual is practised, where the services carried on imply a teaching at variance with the spirit of our Prayer Book; while a comparison of this volume with the one issued two years before will bear testimony to the large increase of the number of such churches. Then as to the hardship to the individual worshipper. It is generally assumed that the congregation sympathise with the service. Those who frequent it may, but how about the large class who are driven away from their church in consequence of its character? I can speak from personal experience when I say that a hardship is being inflicted both on rich and poor which is easier imagined than described. The English are a religious nation, and to an earnest mind the fact of being debarred week by week from attending the service of your church, from receiving the Holy Communion, from any of the ministrations of religion in any sense congenial to the mind of the true member of our Church, is not only a trial hard to endure, but an injustice which leaves a deep and indelible mark, and accentuates the loss tenfold.

The rich and powerful, indeed, have no experience of the trials that are endured by people of small incomes and humble circumstances in this matter. They have for the most part their own churches, of which they have probably the patronage, and can at any rate through their influence control the actions of the parson, or they have the means of driving to any church they may prefer in the neighbourhood; but it is very different with those whose position in life deprives them of such privileges. The sick person desires to receive the Holy Communion, and begs that the clergyman may come and administer it; the response is the advent of a priest who brings the consecrated wafer, and omits the main portion of that service, every word of which is replete with consolation and hope to the dying. The widow settles in a district where she hopes to end her days, the retired servant of the State seeks a locality where he can make a home, the man of business is compelled to live in such a place as his work calls him to, and to all these comes the question, Where is the church I can attend and to which I dare take my children? Twenty years ago such a question would have been unheard of; to-day it is the burning one, and such examples illustrate

the position at which we have arrived. Those who frequent these Ritualistic services, even if the number be increasing, as perhaps it is, form but a fraction of the community at large, and from some of the parishes in London which seem to command the largest following I have received letters from working people urging the painful situation in which they are placed through the line adopted by the clergyman both in church and school. 'Our churches are being taken from us' is a common remark from the respectable poor, and these people have no one to intercede for them or to make their cause known. I think few, except those who have come in contact with what is called the aggrieved parishioner, have any conception of the depth of feeling which is being stirred throughout the length and breadth of the country by the Ritualistic aggression, a feeling none the less strong because it is patiently enduring, and what is more, silently praying, but which, when the occasion arises, as arise it assuredly will, will be a mighty force to be reckoned with. The walls of episcopal palaces and the entourage of episcopal thrones prevent the occupants of our Sees from knowing the real mind and temper of the people, and there is an atmosphere which surrounds these ecclesiastical centres adverse to the free breath of public opinion. That public opinion is taking shape. A sense of injustice and injury is growing, and from town and hamlet are to be heard indications of a coming storm. We are rapidly arriving at a point where, to speak broadly, we shall see a Romanised Church in the midst of a population who cling tenaciously to Protestantism. The ordinary Englishman is no theologian and cannot always give an answer for the faith which is in him; he is patient and enduring, not always farsighted enough, or rather perhaps too honest in his character, to discern in the first approaches of Ritualism the Romanising aim and tendency of the movement; he is unwilling to interfere with a form of worship which often attracts the female portion of his family, and consequently for the moment his voice is not heard; but once he detects the finger of Rome, or finds the priest exercising influence either in his home or in the political institutions of the country, there is no manner of doubt as to what his action will be, and that it will show itself in a rebellion against the whole system. The consequence, then, of the continued growth and spread of Ritualism in our churches is that the country is in many places seething with unrest, and that a bitter feeling against the clergy is growing. It is showing itself in indifference to religion in general, but it would need only a small matter to produce an open revolt.

The condition thus created is most grave. It can hardly be contested that the present position of the Church is one of the utmost peril; and yet there are many who believe her to be secure as a rock. In outward appearance she was never so strong. In

possession of temporalities and endowments resulting in an income of several millions a year, in dignity and importance second only to the Throne, there are yet growing up around her, for the most part unheeded and almost ignored, forces which threaten to imperil her continuance as the established Church of the country. The Church is growing out of touch with the mind and intellect of the rising generation; it is losing that old English character which bound both clergy and laity together, and made the Church a truly national one. All this is due to the importation of the foreign element, which makes Italy and not England its ideal and dream, which is seeking to force upon Englishmen a system from which their forefathers revolted, and which, no matter what apparent success it may achieve in certain directions, will never be accepted by the people of this country. A clergyman at a recent meeting of the English Church Union, in cautioning his hearers against too much exultation, uttered these words, which I think contain a profound truth (taking the words from his point of view): 'Remember England's Church is Catholic, but England's self is not.' England will never accept an Italianised form of worship, and the only result that will be achieved, if the influence of this party remains predominant in the Church, is what we see already occurring, that the intellect of the country is being driven into Nonconformity.

The growth and increasing power of Nonconformity is indeed one of the most startling facts of the day. The late meetings of the Free Church Council in Brighton; the large audiences that have gathered to hear Mr. Campbell, the young successor of Dr. Parker, audiences larger by far than an ordinary English clergyman can attract; the vast sums of money raised by the Wesleyan bodies, all show the rapid advance which is being made by religious organisations outside the Church. Such indications prove to us the existence in this country of men whose deep religious convictions must exercise an enormous influence upon its thought, and when to this are added the feelings of deep and heartfelt indignation with which Church-people of the old school view the practical monopoly of patronage in the hands of men who are alienating the Church from the mass of the people, and inculcating sacerdotal teaching foreign to the spirit of the Prayer Book, we may realise how insecure is the basis of an institution which is rapidly becoming the Church of the minority of the population. Meanwhile the country at large is organising itself in defence of Protestantism, and a very dangerous situation for the Church is being created. Church-people to whom Protestantism is dear are being driven, in support of its principles, to ally themselves with a party which makes no secret of enmity to the Church and to join forces with those whose Protestantism is of such a character that it would force the Church into its own narrow

limits, and utterly destroy that comprehensiveness which has been hitherto its glory and the source of its power.

The result, then, of the success of the Protestant organisation, if carried on as is now being done, and in the channel in which it is now being forced by the apathy of those whose business it is to steer the ship, and by their blindness to the reality of the crisis, will in the end be the disruption of our Church. When the contest comes, Romanism and its ally are bound to go to the wall. The allied forces of Protestantism inside and outside the Church, in conjunction with the free thought and secularism of the day, are far too mighty for any eventual triumph of Rome in this country. But at what a cost will Protestantism be saved! Will it, moreover, be that form of Protestantism that has commended itself to the mind of English people in the past? We may and we do say that in the ultimate resort almost anything is better than Rome; but we have in our English Church a heritage of a peculiar beauty. The constitution of the English Church has had much to do with the building up of our Empire; it can accomplish more than any other form of Protestantism for the welding together of our great Colonial possessions; and it has been used by God in the past, and is being used by Him in the present, for the spread of Christianity in the world. The triumph of ultra-Protestantism means the destruction of our old English ideal of Churchmanship as evolved at the Reformation, and to save this ideal should be the aim of every true English Churchman. Some would say it is too late, the situation is past saving; but we believe that there is still a chance, although, as I have indicated, it would appear as though that chance were the last one.

To define to ourselves what that English Churchmanship really means, why it is so precious and worth preserving, and who are the men in whose power it is to preserve it, is the aim and object of these lines. A short glance at the history of the Reformation in this country will assist us, and will tend to clear away many prejudices and misconceptions which lie at the root of the want of concerted action on the part of the defenders of Protestantism. In doing so, one especial qualification seems necessary, and that is that we should look at the matter from a broad point of view. The tendency of most people, especially the uninstructed, is to form opinion from some narrow basis and to generalise from some particular instance, and as a consequence to arrive at the most erroneous conclusions. We find persons who adopt with ardour the Ritualistic cause, and even uphold its entire creed, because of the saintly life and self-sacrificing zeal of some exponent of these views; and in the same manner others will adopt a contrary attitude with equally irrational ground for their argument. This narrow treatment of the subject, like that

of a painter who devotes the utmost care to the expression of the minute details of the picture, to the loss of the general effect he desires to produce, is disastrous in its results on questions of a great and complex character like the one before us, the treatment of which needs a breadth of view and a distance of perspective to insure the formation of a correct judgment. Such a broad way of looking at matters is, however, very difficult to those who are in the thick of the fight, and before whose eyes the small and petty details of the ritual controversy seem all-important and obscure the great principles at stake. Those, therefore, who have the real interest of the Church at heart, and desire to take this broad and wise view of current events, will find, in the great causes which brought about the English Reformation and in the course of events of that period, the lessons which should teach us both the path to pursue and the pitfalls to avoid in the present emergency. And such a study is the more useful because to a great extent the conditions are repeating themselves, and the different lines of thought which fought for the mastery in the English Church of those times are finding their counterparts in the present situation. England was then as now the battle-ground of contending parties, and then as now the extremes on either side exercised a baneful influence on the decision of affairs.

The Reformation in this country, though part of the great wave which swept over Northern and Western Europe, took, in some very important particulars, a different colour from the movement on the Continent. Owing, perhaps, to our insular position or to the character and intellect of our people, it was distinguished by a more judicious and sober treatment of the problems that presented themselves to the nation. Amidst the many causes which contributed to our breach with the Church of Rome, political, religious, and social, two main lines of thought seem to have possessed the minds of the English people, and in the end guided our Reformers in the great task which they carried through to such a successful termination. The one might be described as a great idea which penetrated the heart of our people and which is to-day the root of the Protestant feeling of the country, and the other the assertion of a national sentiment which, then as now, binds Englishmen all over the world in a spirit of proud independence of all foreign control. The idea which brought about the Reformation was born in the heart and mind of Luther. The somewhat hackneyed phrase of justification by faith contains a principle which cuts to the root of sacerdotal pretensions, and levels, when accepted, at one fell swoop the power of the Church of Rome. As long as men believed that heaven, as a rule, was only attainable and sin only forgiven by means of the priest, the Pope was the ultimate ruler of the souls and bodies

of men ; but as soon as they based their faith on the Bible and its view of salvation, the special Roman creed fell to the ground. When the English people had grasped this ideal, they were determined to do away with everything in their services which justified these pretensions of the priest. Everything in the Holy Communion service distinctive of the Mass was swept away, confession to a priest was no longer enforced, and practices inconsistent with the Bible were abolished. How far this ideal permeated England is evidenced by the ease with which the Reformation was brought about. Henry the Eighth, autocrat as he was, could never have destroyed the monasteries and scattered the religious bodies if he had done it at the point of the sword, in the teeth of the opposition of the people. One significant fact proves that this great idea pronounced by Luther had conquered the ground formerly held by the Church of Rome, and that is, that whereas at the commencement of the sixteenth century every man and woman went to confession at least once a year, by the end of the century no such obligation was recognised ; an evident proof that a revolution of thought had taken place in England, producing a result which no enactments from the Throne could have effected. This idea, then, which may be called the religious idea, found its expression in the Prayer Book. The other principle, namely, the national sentiment, is more difficult to describe, but was none the less a potent factor in our breach with Rome. It was mainly political in its conception, and found its champions first in Henry the Eighth and later in Elizabeth ; but it was an instinct indigenous in the race, and it ceaselessly asserted itself in the three preceding centuries. The nation had long chafed against the arbitrary and excessive exactions of the Court of Rome, had long viewed with growing indignation the flow of money to that foreign power, and it required but little persuasion to carry the whole country in support of Henry the Eighth in his breach with the Papacy, while it was the national danger of foreign invasion which in the reign of Queen Elizabeth endeared Protestantism to the country.

But along with these two forces there operated another, which emanated from the character of the English people, and which furnished a check to the swing of the pendulum in one direction. There is a conservatism in the race which leads it, while destroying what is evil, to cling tenaciously to the past ; and it is this feeling which gave our Reformation its distinctive character. As Bishop Creighton in his *History of Queen Elizabeth* reminds us, 'The great bulk of the English people wished for a national Church independent of Rome, with simple services not too unlike those to which they had been accustomed. They detested the Pope, they wished for services they could understand, and were weary of superstition.' Such sentiments describe the ordinary Englishman of to-day, and it was

to such sentiments as these that our Reformers gave expression in compiling that Prayer Book which embodies the faith of our Church. The more profoundly the Prayer Book is studied the more will it reveal to us the mind of the nation at that period, and we venture to think that at the present day it expresses with equal accuracy the mind of the vast majority of Church-people. One of its chief characteristics is its utter repudiation of Rome. If we brush away some apparent inconsistencies born of a period of transition, we cannot fail to see how it constitutes both a breach with Roman doctrine and an assertion of national independence. It is the expression of the mind of that English public which now as then believes intensely in the Bible, has an aversion for priestly rule, a love of dignity and reverence in worship, together with an indifference to detail of ritual as long as the principles to which it is devotedly attached are not endangered. This is the more remarkable as bearing on present controversies if we study the first Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth, the book to which the extreme party in the Church to-day look as advancing their programme. The instructions given to the Visitors appointed to see that its provisions were duly carried out were of such a nature that an enforcement of them would abolish all the Romish practices of the present time. They especially direct that no minister should counterfeit the Popish Mass.

Amongst the matters objected to are : the Priest's kissing the Lord's Table ; washing his fingers during the Communion Service ; crossing his head with the paten ; shifting the book from one side to the other ; breathing upon the bread or chalice ; showing the Sacrament openly before the distribution ; ringing of sacring bells ; setting any light upon the Lord's board at any time ; or using any ceremonies that are not prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer. No person might maintain the doctrines of Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, images, relics, lights, holy bells, holy beads, holy water, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchres, creeping to the Cross, oils, chrisms, altars, beads, or any such abuses or superstitions. There was to be no more than one Communion in the same church on the same day, except on Christmas Day and Easter Day.

These instructions prove conclusively the mind and intention of the framers of that Prayer Book on which the Ritualist party base their hopes, and prove that the Roman ideal was deliberately excluded. This end secured, our Reformers were not unwilling to retain all that pertained to the dignity and beauty of an ancient faith, and of a ceremonial which had grown to be part of themselves. The two great principles which find expression in our Prayer Book, then, are continuity from the Primitive Church together with fidelity to the Protestant faith. 'Primitive and Protestant, continuous but Reformed' is the English ideal of the Reformation, and it is this which constitutes that English Churchmanship we desire to maintain. It is far removed from that type of Protestantism which

under the Puritans would have consigned to a common destruction the superstitions of Rome, the glories of art, and the sacred memories of the past, and it preserved for us that liberal and tolerant temper of mind on religious questions which has always been a distinguishing characteristic of the English people. It is this distinctive character of our English Churchmanship which is being jeopardised at the present moment, and which can only be saved by that great moderating influence which at the Reformation delivered us from Romanism on the one hand, and from the extremes of Puritanism on the other. That great moderating influence is represented to-day by that large mass of Church-people, both lay and clerical, who voice the real sentiment of the English in their love for all that is valuable in the past, and at the same time their aversion from, and abhorrence of, all that is distinctively Roman in doctrine and practice. That spirit of theirs is the true Protestantism of England, that spirit which found its representatives in all our great Anglican divines who, High Churchmen as they were, yielded to none in their loyalty to Protestant principles. The ranks of that party have been adorned by such names as Jewel, Hooker, Jeremy Taylor, and many others, while George Herbert and Keble have been amongst its poets and saints. A study of their writings, a study too much neglected in the present day, would prove to us the possibility of reconciling Protestant truth, as contained in the great dogma which Luther revived, with the sacramental teaching held by the High Church party, and which, although differing in some particulars from that of the Evangelical school, is yet a teaching well within the limits of our Prayer Book. This High Church school has its representatives to-day in men as far removed from Roman doctrines as their ancestors; but at the present moment and for a long time past they have allowed themselves to remain identified with a party who have left the Protestant standpoint, who are but little removed from the faith of the Church of Rome, and who are on a road which must eventually lead them to submission to that Church. It is to such as these that we appeal, and implore them to see that their inaction is leaving the defence of our Church to a party as un-English in its extraction as its enemy. Can nothing be done? If we ask the reason for this reluctance on their part to come forward, we shall be told that it is due to the fanaticism displayed by the extreme wing of the Protestant party. If this be so, all we can say is that they are sacrificing their Church to a small and insignificant minority of somewhat noisy though well-meaning people. Besides which, it would be a calumny to identify the great Evangelical party with the extreme Protestant faction. Personal experience has convinced me that there are amongst that body a preponderance of men of wise and liberal views,



who recognise to the full the importance of maintaining the comprehensive character of the Church.

The great Anglican party at the time of the Reformation did not act thus; they asserted themselves, and theirs was the voice that dictated the settlement which was made. There is nothing Puritanical in the Prayer Book; it was saved from that by the great middle Anglican party who, recognising the peril of Rome, came forward to save the Church for Protestantism. Again, the High Churchman will tell us another reason for holding aloof is the dread of secular tribunals being invoked to decide the doctrine of the Church. Again, may we not point to the wise and statesmanlike policy of Queen Elizabeth, and to the Bishops of her time, who contrived to find a means of securing the freedom of the Church within the necessary sphere of allegiance to the State, and who were deterred by no such fears from guarding against Roman intervention and influence? The peril in that time was great; it is greater now, and unless that large mass of Anglican opinion will range itself on the side of Protestantism, the cause of the Church of England is lost. The abstention of that party is leaving the battle in the hands of the Extremists; and their late victory in the House of Commons, a victory achieved by an alliance with a party inimical to the true interests of the Church, is bringing into operation forces which must in the end prove fatal to its existence. If the Church of England is lost, its ruin will be at the door of the old High Church party. History will record of them that they were unworthy of the great name they have inherited, and that, on account of a narrow prejudice against a small section in the country, they refused to side with the great mass of earnest Evangelical men and to work with them for deliverance from a party which aims at Romanism within our Church, if not at reunion with Rome.

This appeal to the High Church party has been repeatedly made; it was accentuated by Mr. Balfour in his speech on the Church Discipline Bill. Will they respond? The sands of time are running out, and the Church of England is nearing a point where there will no longer be an opportunity of saving her. The patience of the country is well-nigh exhausted. The vast majority of the laity of the Church of England belong to this moderate High Church party, but they lack the knowledge on doctrinal questions, and the intimate acquaintance with ecclesiastical history, requisite to the handling of these delicate matters, and are only able to express their feelings from the layman's point of view. The recent important deputation to the Archbishops evinces the depth of their anxieties at the present moment. They feel, as most Church-people feel, that it is the business of the Bishops to see to these things; they have an instinctive dislike of bringing religious questions into the arena of Parliamentary debate,

but they are none the less desirous of maintaining the old order. It is, then, to the new Archbishop that the eyes of all are turning at this crisis, and it is upon his action to a large extent that the fate of our Church depends. He has a great opportunity; his statesmanlike qualities and his great experience fit him for the exalted post he occupies. Both Parliament and the vast majority of the country are ready to support him in the exercise of his powers, or if need be to strengthen them, in maintaining the true Anglican teaching and ritual of our Church. But it is absolutely necessary that he should recognise that this is no matter of noisy agitators, but one of life and death to the Church of England; that there is no exaggeration in the statements placed before the public, but that the deepest religious feelings of the most earnest, loyal and devoted Church-people are being daily and grievously injured; that a determined assault is being made by a well-disciplined and highly organised party on the fundamental position of the Church of England, and that this assault is being carried on not only in the most extreme churches, but by a systematic, insidious, and gradual advance from point to point, with one definite aim and object in view. All this requires what we feel sure the Archbishop will bring to bear on the case, a careful investigation of the inner working of the movement, which will lead him to see that a mere conformity to the letter of the law will do little to remedy the evil. What we need is an obedience to the spirit and not only to the law of the Church. 'You will never manage a question of spirit by merely strengthening your legal machinery' were Mr. Balfour's words, and we in the twentieth century recognise their force.

Three centuries ago Queen Elizabeth could pass an Act of Uniformity and imprison those who disobeyed. Such action is impossible now. Church Discipline Bills and prosecutions seem to be regarded as obsolete weapons of the past. They are, at least, hopeless in practice unless the Bishops will also recognise that this is a matter of doctrinal truth, and not only illegal ritual; otherwise we are no nearer an anchor of hope than before. Hitherto, with a few exceptions, they have failed to see this. Complaints addressed to them, and petitions invoking their interference, have been met generally by rejoinders which imply that the petitioners are either interfering busybodies, or troublesome agitators to be sent about their business, entirely ignoring the fact that they are frequently undertaking the disagreeable task of incurring odium and obloquy in defence of the rights of Church-people, and that they are to a large extent voicing the sentiments of those to whom doctrinal truth is of the very essence of religion.

But while the immediate past records a history which leaves much to be desired, we still refuse to despair, and look even with

hope to the future. There is yet a chance; and the reign of the new Archbishop may witness a lifting of the clouds which threaten the Church we love so well. Of one thing we are sure, and that is that from many a humble home, and from many an earnest heart, a prayer is ascending to the throne of the Father in heaven that He will guide and bless both the Church of this country and those in whose hands its government lies, and that He will so keep its teaching true to His own Holy Word that it may, in the future as in the past, be the centre and source of the religious life and efforts of the nation.

CORNELIA WIMBORNE.

## *LOYALTY TO THE PRAYER BOOK*

Few things appeal more successfully to popular opinion than a serviceable catch-phrase, which only needs sufficiently persistent repetition to be accepted as an established axiom. The perennial Church crisis having once more entered upon an acute phase, we hear much of the existence in the Church of England of a 'line of cleavage' between parson and layman. In this formula is crystalised the idea that a profound and perpetual antagonism alienates the lay mind from the clerical on all kinds of questions relating to the doctrine, functions, and government of the Church.

It is sought, more or less plausibly, to illustrate this theory from contemporary events. The Kenyon-Slaney clause is regarded as the typical layman's slap at the parson, just as the Cowper-Temple clause has been supposed to express the average layman's dislike of parson-taught 'dogma.' There is a naïve underlying assumption that the professing Churchmen in Parliament whose votes carried through the Kenyon-Slaney proviso are entitled to speak for the mass of the English laity. In point of fact, their claim to be so regarded is of too slender a character to bear the strain of investigation. A study of the division-lists would probably reveal the fact that these are the same 'laymen' the sincerity of whose devotion to the Church may be gauged by their strenuous efforts, year after year, to 'drive a coach-and-six' through the provisions of her marriage law. Meanwhile thousands of the genuine laity—including, as time is destined presently to show, the vast majority of subscribers to Church schools—resent the Kenyon-Slaney clause as deeply as they have always resented the Cowper-Temple clause. So far, therefore, at any rate, the line of cleavage—whatever its depth and direction—does not run between clergyman and layman.

Again, controversialists are accustomed to dwell on the imagined repugnance of the laity to such and such ceremonial 'practices,' and on their unalterable determination to have them put down; while certain doctrinal points are from time to time utilised to press home the moral that lay opinion regards clerical teaching with jealousy and suspicion. Here too the theory fails to square with the facts. Some of the busiest and most prominent objectors are often

persons who believe neither in the Church nor in her doctrines, and who in more than one instance would be puzzled to produce their baptismal certificates. There are thousands of laymen to be found in every walk of life whose views are by no means a negligible quantity, and who are even more tenacious than their clergy of ceremonial usages to which they are deeply attached and to the adoption of which they have in many instances urged their clergy forward.<sup>1</sup>

The same holds good of disputed doctrinal points. How often the assurance is forthcoming that the laity as a body are adverse to the Athanasian Creed. Yet, as a matter of fact, on the only occasion on which that opinion has been fairly put to the test, it was unequivocally falsified. Thirty years ago the predominant factor in the resistance successfully offered to the most formidable attack ever made on the *Quicunque* was the spirited action of a vast body of lay communicants led by the late Lord Beauchamp, to whose standard rallied many of the best known public men of the day, including Lord Salisbury himself. Since that crucial experience the subject has not again been seriously broached, though the old disproved allegations of lay hostility to the formulary in question are occasionally furnished afresh. It is not here, therefore, that the 'line of cleavage' runs.

Once more: the laity as a whole are credited with broadly Erastian views on the relations between Church and State—as, for example, that purely secular courts of law have, and ought to have, the power to decide the Church's doctrine, and that it lies with Parliament to change her formularies. In reality there could be no greater delusion than to imagine that the typical layman takes his creed from Parliament, or is ready to accept open-mouthed whatever gloss it may please a purely secular court to put upon it. The genuine lay people, who constitute the Church's backbone, who give practical aid to her work, who subscribe to her missions, provide the stipends of her ministers, support her schools, or co-operate personally in various forms of parish activity—this type of Churchman and Churchwoman, so far from holding anti-clerical views, identifies itself in the closest way with the parochial clergy, to whom personally it accords a loyal and whole-hearted confidence.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting that the religious census for London taken by the *Daily News* shows at any rate that Ritualism is more popular than Puritanism. In Southwark the five churches avowedly 'Low' had congregations numbering in the aggregate 1,591, as against 3,350 in five of the advanced 'High' churches—these latter not being the only ones of their kind.

<sup>2</sup> This is strikingly illustrated by the latest annual return of the Voluntary Offerings of the Church of England. The funds contributed to central and diocesan societies and institutions (including home and foreign missions) amount to nearly 2,810,000*l.* But the total locally raised and left for administration in the hands of the parochial clergy is more than 5,907,000*l.* Such a result hardly indicates a

Truth to tell, this notion of a vast intellectual chasm yawning between parson and people is but a fond thing vainly invented. The lurid picture which represents the Church as split asunder between a priestly caste of reactionary, arrogant, dogmatic obscurantists, and an enlightened, liberal-minded, progressive, freedom-loving laity is a caricature too grotesque to be acceptable to anybody except, perhaps, a handful of militant partisans. Whatever be the dividing line that marks a divergence of Church opinion on any subject, there are invariably both clergymen and laymen to be found on either side of it.

Not without a deliberate purpose, however, has this parrot-cry of a mutual hostility between parson and people been raised and utilised. It has been started by the leaders of a new ultra-Puritan attack on the Church. It has been framed to serve a double object: first, of sowing dissension and distrust between those who, when united, are too strong to be coerced; and, secondly, of affording some sort of pretext for inviting Parliament to undertake the task of legislating for the Church.

The movement referred to, whose headquarters are at Liverpool, has given birth to the Church Discipline Bill—a measure which bears on its face the mark of its origin. The Bill has been devised not in the least with the object of doing good to the Church, but in a spirit of hostility to her welfare and of menace to her very existence.

A very patent characteristic of this movement is its extraordinary insidiousness. After all that has been said about a 'Ritualistic Conspiracy' and 'secret societies,' it is somewhat remarkable to note the difficulties that have often been experienced in obtaining an authentic list of the persons who promote the campaign for de-Catholicising the Church.

Another characteristic of the agitation is its insincerity. Its promoters declare that their sole object is to maintain purity of religion, and some of them even pose before the public as 'old-fashioned High Churchmen.' If their professions were sincere, it would follow that these champions of the Prayer Book would have at least some word of condemnation for errors of defect as well as for those of excess; that they would seek to level up to the Prayer Book standard those who fall short of it, as well as to restrain any who go beyond it. Above all—and it is precisely here that their pretensions to inherit the tradition of the old Evangelicals are put to the test—they would show themselves zealous to defend the doctrine of the Creeds, the fundamental dogmas of the Christian Faith, which even

'cleavage' between clergy and laity! Moreover the sum of 846,500*l.* was given directly in aid of clerical incomes, while the confidence reposed in the parson as school manager is represented by the further sum of 1,194,000*l.* subscribed to the Church schools.

at this present moment are seriously attacked from without and undermined within. On points so vitally and essentially important as these, however, the spokesmen of the Liverpool party maintain an absolute silence and indeed evince not the least interest in the subject.

Meanwhile the true inwardness of their efforts is seen when they profess their intention, if possible, of ejecting 10,000 ordained ministers from the positions they hold. It is easy to perceive that they are bent on 'purifying' the Church of England of a good deal more than under any reasonable or thinkable definition of the epithet could be termed 'Romanising.' Their success could only mean the rooting out of every doctrine and practice that pertains to the primitive and Catholic character of the Church of England. In other words, their goal is the entire undoing of the work of the Reformation on its constructive and positive side. Their attempt to nullify the rightful functions of the episcopate, to bring the Church under the iron heel of a Parliament whose members need no longer be even professing Christians, and to place every parish at the mercy of any irresponsible inhabitant, fully avails to stamp the whole movement as essentially anti-Christian and irreligious, as well as an aggression upon the rights of all Churchmen, whether clerical or lay.

The leading characteristic of the Liverpool Bill is its insolently aggressive treatment of the Bishops and the proposal to deprive them of the veto they possess under the present law. The late Lord Selborne, to whom nobody could venture to attribute any sympathy with law-breaking, declared judicially in the House of Lords that the discretion conferred by the Legislature on the Bishop was given in confidence that every person chosen to fill the episcopal office will be properly sensible of his duty, and that it invests him with this power as a check on private intolerance, contentiousness, uncharitableness, or folly. These qualities, however, seem to be by no means repugnant to the angry reformers of Liverpool, who would certainly not endorse Lord Selborne's opinion that 'trivial charges of heresy or of irregularity in the conduct of divine service, or impertinent or groundless accusations of misconduct—brought, too, by irresponsible persons—it ought surely to be within the power of the Bishop at his discretion to refuse to hear.' No words could have described more accurately the spirit of those who bitterly assailed Dr. Temple, when Bishop of London, because, in the exercise of his lawful discretion, he declined to regard the reredos at St. Paul's Cathedral as idolatrous!

It would be difficult to frame a proposal more revolutionary than this measure, or better calculated to cut at the very root of all true discipline in the Church. The mischief which such a Bill is calculated to effect becomes the more apparent when it is remembered that the courts whose decrees it seeks to force upon the clergy are

tribunals in which no Church people of any school whatever have been able to place confidence. The Low Church party, as is well known, have been quite as forward as High Churchmen to repudiate the binding power of their decisions *in foro conscientie*. Neither the Court of Arches—as it has existed since 1874—nor the superior tribunal, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, can claim the Church's spiritual authority to declare her doctrine or to wield the prerogatives which are hers alone. That any purely secular Court whatever should not merely mulct a parish priest of his temporalities, but actually pretend to suspend or deprive him of the cure of souls committed to him by the Bishop, is to put forward a claim that oversteps the border of presumption and enters upon the province of profanity.

The utterly unsatisfactory character of any such tribunal as a Court of Final Appeal in spiritual cases has for more than half a century been a scandal and a byword. A few weeks ago Lord Hugh Cecil, with characteristic courage, brought forward in the Canterbury House of Laymen a resolution in favour of its abolition. He seems to have been taken to task by Mr. Chancellor Dibdin, on the ground that the Judicial Committee is not in reality a Court of Appeal deciding ecclesiastical causes on their merits. From ancient times—centuries before the Reformation—the king's subjects have enjoyed the right of taking complaints for lack of justice—*tanquam ab abusu*—to the Sovereign in Chancery; and the learned Chancellor's view apparently is that the Judicial Committee merely advises the Crown in cases of this kind, and does not act as a Court of Appeal properly so called.

Technically this view is doubtless correct and Lord Hugh Cecil's is erroneous. But it must have been some consolation to him to know that he erred in exceedingly good company—namely, in that of no less a legal luminary than the late Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, who<sup>3</sup> in a well-known case repeatedly alludes to the Judicial Committee as having 'appellate jurisdiction' over the Court of Arches, and as being a 'Court of Appeal' and an 'appellate tribunal.' Further, he declares it to be the province of his own Court to restrain, amongst others, 'the Ecclesiastical Courts, of which the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in its character of a Court of Appeal from these Courts, forms a part, and is therefore as such—however high its position and authority in other instances—subject to our controlling jurisdiction by way of prohibition.' Lord Chief Justice Cockburn had the concurrence of three other Judges of eminence, though his actual decision in the case referred to was reversed on appeal. Although, therefore, originally the Judicial Committee was not formally constituted an appellate tribunal, it has

<sup>3</sup> Judgment in *Martin v. Mackonochie*, 1878 (pp. 5, 6).



virtually acquired that character, and is therefore open to the objections urged by Lord Hugh Cecil.

There is undeniably, however, another side to the question. It is mortifying to reflect that the assault on the Church signalled by the Church Discipline Bill could have had no chance of effecting a lodgment but for the self-will and obstinacy of a small section within the Church itself. The enemy, often foiled before, now seeks to rush the square of Church defence at its weakest point—the point where a few of the defenders are wavering in their obedience to the word of command.

Four years ago <sup>4</sup> a modest endeavour was made in the pages of this Review to state the case in defence of certain of the clergy who at that time were being roundly charged with a deliberate infraction of their obligation towards the Church and Realm. That case, it is humbly submitted, still holds good. During the interval, however, a good deal of water has flowed under London Bridge. The situation is no longer what it then was.

Formerly the watchword of the High Church party was loyalty to the Church's system as set forth in the Prayer Book. The Catholic Revival from the outset was an appeal to the authority of the Prayer Book from the state of things actually prevailing, so that the Church's own formularies might henceforth be the standard of the people's faith and practice. Of course the attempt drew down from its opponents the charge of 'Romanising,' just as in the seventeenth century the same convenient missile had been flung at any belief or usage not distinctively Calvinistic, and just as the same accusation had in the century following been levelled at the Methodists.

The attempt to restore conformity to the Prayer Book brought the Catholic party into collision with the Bishops of that epoch. It was the period when the Church's chief rulers set the example of conniving at Erastian usurpations and of displaying a fine contempt for the Church's spiritual rights, functions and authority. Loyal Churchmen were naturally offended by seeing that, while, on the one hand, every toleration was extended to errors of defect, and more or less open encouragement was given even to heresy, the rigours of persecution were reserved for those who sought to recover and uphold the standard of belief and practice laid down in the Prayer Book. Fidelity to the Church obliged the clergy and laity of that day to resist the Bishops in their attempt to set aside the Church's law.

The spirit of lawlessness, like other evil things, comes home to roost. The policy of resistance to Bishops in course of time became almost identified with the vindication of the Catholic character of the

<sup>4</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, April 1899: 'The "Lawless" Clergy of this Church and Realm.'

English Church, and the ultimate result was a very chaos in which every man adopted the exact measure of doctrine or ritual which appealed to his individual fancy.

It is characteristic of the present situation that certain High Churchmen are deliberately turning their backs on the very principles they formerly professed, and destroying their whole *raison d'être* as a party within the Church. •

There is no gainsaying the fact that a small section of Churchmen—both clergymen and laymen—have really laid themselves open to the charge of wanton 'Romanising,' the term being employed in the specific and accurate sense of adopting usages and teaching doctrines current in the Roman Communion but either alien to or unauthorised by the Catholic Church in England. The explicit claim to adopt any 'Catholic' rite, ceremony, ornament, or devotion is accompanied by an implicit assumption that the term 'Catholic' covers each and every point—even in minute particulars—of modern Roman usage. It is not even a question of restoring what the Church of England put away in the sixteenth century. The spirit that animates the section of Churchmen referred to is shown in their gratuitous imitation of purely modern Roman ways in the smallest trifles. Of their doctrinal teaching this is not the place to speak. Let it suffice to say that in every respect it seems to be carefully presented in as Roman a guise as possible.

So long as the charges of 'lawlessness' and 'Romanising' were unjustly brought, so long as those Churchmen who rejoice in the name of Catholic could conscientiously declare their loyalty to the Church, all was well. They occupied an intrenched position from which, as the event proved, their assailants were unable to drive them. Unhappily that position has in too many cases been abandoned. The principle of Catholic obedience has been given up. There is evidence of even open, hardly disavowed Romanising on the part of some who employ the epithet 'Prayer-Booky' as a term of scorn. There is a certain temper, professing itself Catholic, which takes no account of the Catholic principle of conformity to the Church's prescribed order of Divine Service.<sup>5</sup> It is an unwelcome fact that among the High Church clergy, quite as much as among Low Churchmen or Broad Churchmen, there are those who disregard the plain ceremonial provisions of our service books, curtail or vary the services themselves, insert unauthorised additions, omit important and considerable portions of the Liturgy. More than this, they interpolate fragments of the Roman Missal—in some churches it has been commonly remarked that 'you hear more of the Latin than you do of the English'—and adopt whole services from the Latin rite.

It is beyond dispute that they who act in this manner violate

<sup>5</sup> *The True Limits of Ritual in the Church*, edited by Dr. Linklater ('Conformity in Divine Worship,' by Rev. C. F. G. Turner), pp. 57, &c.

the Catholic principle of conformity to Church order. The English Church represents Catholic Christendom in this country. Her form of Divine Worship possesses full Catholic authority, having been drawn up by the Sacred Synods of this realm before being accepted and sanctioned by the State. The Prayer Book cannot consistently, therefore, be disobeyed by any Churchman claiming to be a Catholic.

But almost worse than any negligence with which the Liturgy is treated is the gratuitous slur cast upon its complete validity by those who pretend that it needs supplementing from another service book. As it happens, recent investigations in the liturgical field on the part of scholars like Frere, Pullan, Brightman, Lacey, Tomlinson, Warren, and Wordsworth, among the clergy, and the historical and antiquarian researches of laymen like Wickham Legg, St. John Hope, Micklethwaite and Comper, have thrown a flood of fresh light on the forms and externals of Divine Worship in the Church of England, and have contributed to demonstrate that our Book of Common Prayer—particularly in points where it diverges from modern Roman usage—conforms even more closely than had commonly been supposed to Catholic and primitive models. The breach of continuity at the Reformation had been seriously exaggerated, and many things formerly scouted as 'Protestant' from the point of view of High Church 'correctness' are shown to be mediæval. It is known that the greater simplicity and dignity at which the Reformers aimed in remodelling our Liturgy is in harmony with the spirit of the primitive Roman Rite itself, which owed its later developments in the direction of complexity to outside influences generically termed Gallican. The malcontents in our midst therefore lack even the excuse that the Prayer Book falls short of recognised Catholic standards.

The position to-day is entirely changed. In former times the clergy and laity were compelled, in loyalty to the Church, to resist episcopal Erastianism. No one will venture to affirm that episcopal authority in these days is perverted to promote the disregard of Church order. The Catholic party has no longer to deal with Bishops who are themselves lawless, or who suffer themselves to be led by popular clamour, or who demand the abandonment of usages plainly ordered by the Prayer Book, or who enjoin obedience to the mandates of a Court devoid of Church authority, or who treat the Church itself as though it were a mere department of the State. Loyalty to Catholic principles means obedience to what are now the legitimate directions of the Bishops. To refuse compliance with the lawful commands of superiors is sheer sectarianism.

This spirit of *anomia* is all the less to be excused, seeing that the Catholic Revival has won substantially all that it ever contended for. In matters doctrinal the Catholic party enjoys the fullest

liberty of interpreting the Church's formularies on the principle laid down by Mr. Newman in Tract XC., by Dr. Pusey in his *Eirenicon*, and by Bishop Forbes of Brechin in his treatise on the Thirty-nine Articles ; while in matters of external observance they have been for some time virtually unmolested in their possession of the essential though hotly contested Six Points.

It is in fact possible, while keeping strictly and conscientiously within the lines of the Prayer Book, to present its services in a form which ought to satisfy the most ardent advocates of Catholic ceremonial. By the new light which patient antiquarian research has brought to bear on the meaning of the Ornaments Rubric, that enactment is perceived to warrant the retention and employment of all the ornaments in use in 1548 which belong to, or are needful for, our present services.<sup>6</sup>

The Catholic party are well within their rights in reading the Prayer Book by the light of tradition. The Book presupposes that everything it prescribes shall be done in the traditional way—that is to say, exactly as it would have been done by a priest of the Reformation period who had celebrated Divine Service in the reigns of Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Mary, and Elizabeth.

The Coronation of King Edward the Seventh—probably the most impressive solemnity of its kind ever witnessed—has taught us how ecclesiastical ritual gains in dignity as it aims at simplicity. The Prayer Book Rite can count among its peculiar merits a direct simplicity, a freedom from over-elaboration, and a capacity for appealing to the worshippers' understanding. Properly set forth with its maximum of legitimate accessories, it yields to nothing in all Christendom in point of magnificence, dignity and real grandeur. Those English Churchmen whose zeal for the restoration of Catholic ways has outrun their knowledge of what Catholic ways really are, might do well to reconsider the attitude they have taken up.

While, however, those cannot escape censure whose action has justly laid them open to the charge of Romanising, it must in common candour be admitted that theirs is not the only lawlessness which calls for condemnation. The *anomia* of Low Churchmen and Broad Churchmen is notorious. More than this, it must be acknowledged that strict conformity to the Prayer Book is hardly to be found in any quarter of the Church. Everywhere there is observable a tendency to set aside what the Church has authorised in favour of mere self-pleasing.

In matters liturgical the existing anarchy is largely traceable to the passing of what is commonly known as the Shortened Services

<sup>6</sup> The year 1548 was not an arbitrarily chosen date, nor does it send us back to the whole mediæval tradition. It was 'just that which moderate reformers would be likely to choose' as representing 'the standard of a time when all really objectionable ornaments had been taken away, but before the Puritan party had grown strong enough to force their extravagances on the Church.' (Micklethwaite in *True Limits of Ritual*, pp. 24, 25.)

Act of 1872. As a learned layman<sup>7</sup> has well said, 'the Act is bad enough in what it directly allows; but it is worse in what it has suggested. It has taught men that any liberty taken with the Services of the Prayer Book can be justified by precedents in the Act.' Happily, as Archbishop Davidson recently observed, there are signs of better things. There is a growing reaction amongst a number of clergymen and laymen occupying prominent and leading positions in the Catholic party, in favour of a strict adherence to the letter and spirit of the Church's formularies.<sup>8</sup>

The time has come for concentration, consolidation, unity, fidelity. Churchmen need these in order to withstand effectually the attack—already beginning—on the fundamental doctrines of the Faith. But concentration and unity postulate a point on which to concentrate and unite. Let that point be the Book of Common Prayer.

The Churchmen who have a right to feel most aggrieved by the introduction of the ill-starred Church Discipline Bill are precisely those who most desire to promote loyal conformity to the Prayer Book. This measure is likely to do harm chiefly by drawing the great mass of the High Churchmen into unwilling co-operation with the Romanising section. By force of circumstances they may find themselves driven to lend their support in general to those whose action they disapprove in detail. The Liverpool Bill, so far from helping loyal Churchmen to check Romanising, will act as a hindrance to the realisation of this object.

Presumably, however, the assailants cannot on this occasion reckon on the compliance of the Bishops. That is a factor in the situation which is as novel as it is of good omen. With the Bishops—the Church's natural leaders—heading and guiding the defence, Churchmen should be able to present a bold front to the enemy. They are fully strong enough numerically and morally to fight the battle, whatever forces be brought to bear against them. Challenged to do one of two things—either to submit to Puritan tyranny or to suffer the consequences—they may well recall, both for their own benefit and for that of others, the mediæval story of the Knight who had presumed to refuse compliance with his King's arbitrary order to depart forthwith. 'Sir Knight,' said the King, 'choose one of two things: yon shall either go or hang.' 'Sire,' replied the knight, 'I will not choose, for I will neither go nor hang.'

GEORGE ARTHUR.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. Wickham Legg, in *Some Principles and Services of the Prayer Book*, pp. 180, 181.

<sup>8</sup> By way of illustration reference may be made to the strenuous efforts put forth on behalf of this movement at the last Church Congress, to the protests of advanced High Churchmen like Mr. C. F. G. Turner, Mr. Lacey, and Mr. H. E. Hall, and especially to Provost Staley's *Hierurgia Anglicana* and to Mr. Percy Dearmer's already popular *Parson's Handbook*.

## *AN APPEAL TO THE DEAN AND CANONS OF WESTMINSTER*

Is the English Church about, within the near future, to re-state its doctrine? Probably not. The conservative and opposing forces are too many, too compact, too alert, too belligerent. Yet a re-statement of doctrine, in the future rather more remote, is, with equal probability, inevitable, is certainly desirable, is perhaps the awaited medicine which may rescue our Anglican Christianity from mental inanition, debility, even, it might be, decay. The eighteenth century for us was Evangelical; the nineteenth was Sacramental; the twentieth, completing not conflicting, must be Liberal. What, then, is to be done? Re-statement, we say, is sooner or later indispensable; re-statement, we say, is at present impossible; what, then, are we to do about re-statement? *Prepare for it.*

To prepare for re-statement is to divert attention from the questionable to the unquestionable; to change the stress and strain of doctrine, laying the weight upon the appropriate and immovable supports; to underline the right parts, not the wrong parts, in the Christian story; to reform the emphasis of theology.

'He descended into Hell.' Look at Albrecht Dürer's famous engraving in the series of the Large Passion, dated 1510, woodcut B. 14, in the British Museum. Hell is a place, an underground building with arches, through one of which shine flames of fire. Here the children of men before the Christian era had been incarcerated. Our Saviour in the foreground, one of Dürer's beautiful four-pointed halos around His head, is kneeling at an open doorway which leads out of the prison-house, whence with delivering grip He is handing into safety a captive patriarch. Already saved and standing by are Adam, aged and venerable, holding in his right hand the apple, means of his fall, in his left hand the Cross, means of his redemption, and Eve, and others of the elect of old. From an oblong window above the door, a hideous, unnatural beast, representing the Devil, malignly thrusts at our Lord with a broken, jagged spear, endeavouring to thwart Him in His merciful pursuit. Flitting above the Devil's foul head is another offensive creature, horned, winged, bellicose, blowing a trumpet of alarm or defiance. Dürer thus

beat out upon the anvil of his genius the thoughts of his time.<sup>1</sup> The localisation of immense spiritual objects, the materialism, the familiarities, the naïve and terrene objectivity, the categories of time and space so artlessly exported behind the veil—all this is the apt pictorial language in which the men of Nuremberg of the year 1510, if speak they must, must speak. Turn to Bishop Westcott expounding for us this article of the Creed at Peterborough in the summer of the year 1880 :

*He descended into Hell*, that is, into Hades, into the common abode of departed spirits and not into the place of punishment of the guilty. . . . His soul passed into that state on which we conceive that our souls shall enter. . . . We cannot be where He has not been. . . . It carries light into the tomb. But more than this we cannot say confidently on a mystery where our thought fails and Scripture is silent. The stirring pictures which early Christian fancy drew of Christ's entry into the prison-house of death to proclaim His victory and lead away the ancient saints as partners of His triumph ; or again to announce the Gospel to those who had not heard it, rest on too precarious a foundation to claim general acceptance. We are sure that the fruits of Christ's work are available for every man : we are sure that He crowned every act of faith in patriarch or king or prophet or saint with perfect joy : but how and when we know not, and, as far as appears, we have no faculty for knowing.

What a shifting of emphasis since Dürer's day ! away from detail towards generality, from *mode* to *fact* ! The particulars have vanished. Stonework and mortar, archways and the licking tongues of flame, solid flesh and toothed devil dissolve, and, faded and insubstantial, leave behind the spiritual truth which they had sensibly projected. Such power for vitality, for amendment, for development of doctrine lies in *reform of emphasis*.

The Dean and Chapter of Westminster have fractured the Athanasian Hymn.<sup>2</sup> It is a bold withdrawal of stress from doctrinal menaces which, as they read in our English version, have become insufferable, and whose periodic recital is an object lesson, mischievous beyond all computation, in sacred insincerity. Ah ! it goes against the grain in some of us thus to indict sections of a revered Christian Confession, of a great inherited utterance, which Keble could designate 'Creed of the Saints, and Anthem of the Blest.' Yet the indictment is true.

The immorality of the recital of those minatory clauses lies in this : they profess precisely what we do not believe. (1) Here is what we believe :

<sup>1</sup> The picture is said to have been suggested by the Gospel of Nicodemus, but the artist's imaginations are fitted to his age.

<sup>2</sup> The exact facts are these. The Apostles' Creed is sung in place of the Athanasian Creed. This is an old and frequent breach of rubric. But the substance of the Athanasian Creed is afterwards sung as an anthem. Such an anthem is, of course, in itself wholly legal. The Dean, as Ordinary, is alone responsible for this change ; but there is good reason for believing that he has the sympathy of his Canons, they having raised no protest.

God [says F. W. Faber] is infinitely merciful to every soul, and no one ever has been, or ever can be, lost by surprise or trapped in his ignorance; and, as to those who may be lost, I confidently believe that our Heavenly Father threw His arms round each created spirit, and looked it full in the face with bright eyes of love, in the darkness of its mortal life, and that of its own deliberate will it would not have Him.

That is what we really believe. (2) Here is what we say we believe: 'Everyone who does not keep whole and undefiled the Catholic Faith, as elaborated in the Creed of St. Athanasius, shall without doubt perish everlastingly.' Theologians, on harmony bent, persuade themselves that they reconcile those two irreconcilable lines of thought. They do not persuade other persons. To plain people the effort is futile and unpleasant. To plain people the comminations of this Symbol are beyond the reach of denial or abatement, are frowning, desolating, incredible verdicts of damnation.

The Dean and Canons' purgative action is doubly justified. (1) There is rubrical looseness all round. Only because this disobedience at Westminster is novel does it catch the eye amid the luxuriant growth of its companion and senior insubordinations. It is irrationality, at a high temperature, that extreme High Churchmen and extreme Low Churchmen should wring shocked hands when they see their own rubrical ethics achieve the flattery of imitation. You reply: Many wrongs do not make a right. They do not. But as judge-made law interprets statute law, so, in Church affairs, ecclesiastical *consensus* delimits the frontiers of documentary obligation. And this particular liturgical licence pales in moral demerit before that alternative sin—that the clergy and the congregation of the faithful, with the utmost solemnity and decision, faced eastwards towards Jerusalem, should proclaim before God and the angels appalling judgments which, as the words stand, no person present believes to be true. That rubrical revolt is a light offence which casts out this mortal impiety. Venial is the trespass which a fireman may commit as he runs to snatch occupants of the burning house from suffocation. (2) Great reforms have sometimes grown from such audacious seed. The burning of the Papal Bull at Wittenberg was a considerable rubrical impropriety. It is difficult to read Tract XC. without perceiving that the same spirit of enfranchisement from the letter was harnessed into the service of the Oxford Movement. And now, too, some of us who believe that the English Church, entering the twentieth century, has her foot on new developments, dimly sees about her future path grander and more vital messages and meanings which she yearns to make her own and to deliver to this sterling English people—now, in this step at Westminster, we note a liberating sign. The justification of civil rebellion is said to be success. Success may justify this bold, forbidden, commendable act.

Other things may follow, we say. That two other things may follow is the motive of this appeal.

(1) This act at Westminster should be a beginning: a beginning



of the expansive movement of the English Church in the twentieth century. The Dean and Canons of Westminster are in a singular position—central, authoritative, historic. They, unlike scattered and lonely Liberal Churchmen about the land, can evoke and marshal the larger sympathies, the intellectual inquietudes and desires, the beating, bounding spiritual presentiments of many thoughtful Anglicans. For instance, the Dean or a Canon there could, informally and in his private capacity, summon to Westminster a convention of representatives among the many English Churchmen who more or less falteringly cherish in isolation those dreams for the days ahead. The English Church Union has been, perhaps, the heart of the later High Church activities. A nucleus of earnest Broad Churchmen might, by inherent attraction, gather into unlooked-for shape, cohesion, power the surrounding and diffused Liberal atoms. An agent in each diocese mustering there the dispersed units; an assembly for, at first, a day at Westminster; an early morning service of Holy Communion and sermon in St. Margaret's; three sessions, in morning, afternoon, evening, for discussion and prayer; common meals during the day, to the accompaniment of the read words of some master mind in the things of the soul—and the customarily faint and disunited Broad Churchmen would go back to their separate homes having tasted the might of fellowship, and having seen generated from the concussions of intercourse sparks of hope, even, it might be, of sublime vision, for the spread of Christ's Kingdom in their native land.

(2) Will the Dean and Canons forgive a plain London vicar if he importunately begs, should this policy at all obtain, that they breathe into it from the first the breath of devotion? Mr. Milburn offers wise advice in his notable little book, *A Study of Modern Anglicanism* :

If Liberalism is undevotional, it will tend to be negative. . . . There is a lack, or an apparent lack, of reverence and devotion among Liberals which seems to be the cause of that flippant irreligious tone so common among them. They do not speak or write *worthily*. . . . They do not seem to think or write or speak as in the presence of God.

That is to invite for their efforts intrinsic sterility. The great fruitful movements—Monastic or Mystic, Franciscan, Lutheran, or Jesuit, Laudian or Puritan, Wesleyan or Tractarian—have been steeped at their source in communion with the Unseen. The New Light and New Learning, in which Liberals claim to be proficient, await this supreme and recreating process. *Toute vérité nue et crue n'a pas assez passé par l'âme*. The Liberal Churchmanship which can win, which can triumphant ride and have the world at will, will be born amid the devotional deeps. 'Erant autem perseverantes in doctrina Apostolorum, et communicatione fractionis panis, et orationibus.'

HUBERT HANDLEY.

## *EUROPE AND SOUTH AMERICA*

THE closing years of the nineteenth century differ so entirely from the rest of that era that we must look to them rather than to the earlier decades to find the trend of the policy of the great European Powers for the future. The early years of the past century belong in a great measure to history, and recall the past rather than indicate the future; and though we can hardly hope that the year 2000 will dawn without another great Continental convulsion, it seems probable that this struggle will have been brought about—not, as in the past, by dynastic or personal ambitions, but by the conflicting interests of peoples seeking outlet in some distant quarter. This is the new situation with which we commence the present century. Although the expansion of Europe is no new thing, the rapidity with which the vast African continent has been annexed is probably one of the most striking events in the history of mankind, and will always remain as the most permanent monument to European energy in the nineteenth century. Great tracts of country which within the memory of living men were as desolate and inaccessible as the poles; great areas which, even at the present day, no white man has traversed, are now the possessions of Europe. England, France, Germany, Belgium, have with varying successes and in different degrees prosecuted their conquests; so that with the exception of Abyssinia, whose inhabitants have proved themselves formidable, and Morocco, whose proximity to Europe has been a protection, there is hardly a territory which does not, at least in name and upon the map, acknowledge the supremacy of a European conqueror or colonising Power. The work of government, of colonisation, and the opening of the country to commerce remains; but the days of empire-building, in the sense of the acquiring of new territory, are practically at an end. And though it is, of course, possible that the collapse of some Power may effect redistribution, or that some internal African revolution may dislodge a Colonial Government, it is evident that the land-hunger which has been so prominent a feature of recent times has resulted in the exhaustion of the supply of possible African possessions. In so far as we ourselves are concerned we have been so fortunate in the race for African empire, have acquired such large

and valuable possessions, and must shortly be engaged in so great a colonial experiment, that we can afford to rest content and watch the progress of events. But all have not been so fortunate. And to study the possibilities of the future we must view the present, not from a British, but from a Continental standpoint; must remember that the African territories of many Continental Powers are either insufficient or unsuited to colonisation; and keep before our eyes the great incentive which has already produced the extraordinarily rapid expansion of Europe. The partition of Africa has been brought about not solely by the desire of present empire, but by the knowledge of the Powers that what they left would be seized upon by others; and that, once secured, it would not again be offered in the market. And if this view was for a time neglected, the events of recent years have been an object-lesson of the results of this neglect. The African market is now practically closed—not to be opened again without a life-and-death struggle in Europe. And those Powers which within the next few decades have not established such colonies as they may require elsewhere must face this struggle or go without.

If the object of empire is simply to secure trade, to boast of a vast and conquered population, or to enjoy the pride of world-maps coloured with the emblematic paint-box of the conqueror, the Far East must be the next scene of activity. But if a saner imperialism dictates the future, it must be recognised that a sphere which is already thickly populated, and in which so small a proportion of the surplus population of the future can find permanent employment, hardly offers an adequate compensation for an effort which cannot at present be calculated. Recent events in China, which have shown the jealousy existing amongst the Powers, and which at the same time have filled Europe with the fear of a Chinese national movement, have not encouraged European democracies to urge their Governments upon a career of conquest; and though Russia may advance upon her north-eastern and Persian frontiers, it does not seem that the East can present any great attractions to a Western Power in search of a second home for her children across the seas.

A war of conquest for the purpose of colonisation is, of course, impossible in Europe; and thus it appears that though here and there some savage or decaying State may be added to the possessions of the Western Powers, there is no likelihood of any repetition of the recent events in Africa in any of the three continents of the Old World.

To argue that as the difficulties of colonial expansion are thus increased, the desire for such expansion is likely to abate, is to overlook the cause of this extraordinary movement. As the supply of unoccupied territory suitable for colonisation decreases, it will become increasingly apparent, not only that, if an empire is to be founded,

no time is to be lost, but that the price at which a people can afford to acquire such territory has risen. The increasing pressure of European populations, the race for trade, and the natural desire for national aggrandisement, must be powerful factors, and the policy of 'Now or never' must soon be the watchword of several European Chancelleries. We have seen that the Old World offers few attractions; there remains only the New.

If the New World is indeed to be the centre of interest and the scene of expansion during the twentieth century, it may be worth while to review the present position, and examine some portions of the American continent. The presence of the United States bulks so largely in this consideration that it is difficult to obtain a clear view of the actual situation. If we may for a moment leave this great force out of the account, only to return to the consideration of the full problem later, we shall at least have obtained some idea of the possibilities of the case.

First, what are the conditions which a European Power seeking for new colonies would desire? The territory must have a healthy climate, in which the colonists can live and multiply; the land must be fertile; and its inhabitants should not offer too serious a resistance or continue their resistance for a protracted period. That the Anglo-Saxon peoples at least are willing to undertake conquests where these two last conditions are absent has been shown both in South Africa and the Philippines. As the demand for expansion increases, as it inevitably must, it is probable that other nations will be willing to undertake far heavier tasks; and if the countries which they purpose to possess are not only suitable for colonisation, but of extraordinary richness and importance, they would consider it worth their while to make very heavy sacrifices.

Such countries which—as we have for the moment excluded the influence of the United States—are practically at the mercy of any enterprising nation are to be found in Central America, and include the four republics of San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.

The total area of these four republics is some 120,000 square miles, or about three times the size of the Orange River Colony; whilst the population, of which a great proportion is Indian or half-breed, is under 2,000,000. The climate varies from tropical heat, upon the narrow belt of low coast-line, through all variations of temperature to the mild and healthy uplands of the interior; so that practically all kinds of agriculture can be carried on. The mineral wealth of these almost entirely undeveloped countries is great and varied, and includes gold, silver, iron, coal, copper, platinum, zinc, tin, and quicksilver.

Founded with high hopes of greatness and prosperity, released from the hold of Spain, and supported by enthusiastic sentiment, the

history of these republics is one of squalid discontent and failure. Their idle populations have neglected every opportunity of profit, so that the agricultural and mineral wealth of their lands remains entirely untouched and undeveloped. The corruption and inefficiency of their Governments have imposed a grievous burden on the foreign trader; and the perpetual revolutions in which the inhabitants engage, and which still further retard the progress of their country, are a sign rather of the degeneracy of the natives than an indication of a desire for improvement. That it is possible that a new order of government may arise is shown by the comparative stability of Guatemala and the present prosperity and tranquillity of Mexico. But no man has yet arisen to perform these good offices for the four remaining republics, and we have no indications that such a time is at hand. To visit these countries is to despair of any internal regeneration; and as the traveller listens to the details of their politics, views the anarchy which follows upon the constant changes of government, or, crossing their borders, watches the ex-Presidents of the various States—the greater part of whom have both gained and lost their posts amidst bloodshed and intrigue, and who under the friendly flag of a neighbour are awaiting another favourable opportunity for adventure—he feels that a condition of affairs so savage and preposterous cannot continue for long, and that the time must soon come when some stronger Power must step in and open the produce of these rich lands for the benefit of mankind. If it be true that the supply of available territory is now nearly exhausted, and that the need for immediate expansion is great if the nations are to overflow under their own flags in foreign parts, we have here a territory which, in so far as we have at present examined the problem, presents great temptations. And it may even be hazarded that these temptations do not stop only at Central America. The actual conquest and administration of Central America present no great difficulty to any nation willing to undertake the trouble and expense. But below the Isthmus of Panama there remains a vast and almost equally derelict territory of equal richness, which, although more difficult to subdue, is so vastly larger that it might well repay a war. The territories of Venezuela appear to have, at least in our imagination at the moment, a peculiar attraction for Continental empire-builders: and when we remember that the combined republics of Venezuela and Colombia are about eighteen times the size of the Orange River Colony; that although presenting a serious military problem to an invader, the Governments of these countries are but little superior to those of Central America; that the rural inhabitants of the interior are very little civilised; and that the insolvency of Venezuela is a perpetual irritant to its creditors, it is hardly too much to suppose that the possibility of carving a colony out of this immense and fertile area may be sometimes considered as feasible.

So far we have been dealing with but half the question. The veto of the Monroe doctrine has until now guarded these countries from foreign aggression, but it must be remembered that it has guarded them at a time when the world offered many opportunities for colonisation in other quarters. That period is drawing to a close: and if the balance of fighting power is not very materially altered, it can hardly be expected that any formula or opinion will protect them for long. If any Power is tempted towards a policy of aggression entailing war with the United States, it is certain that that Power will not be Great Britain. Our interests and inclinations lead us to a policy of friendship; we are not in any urgent need of territory; and in case at any future time the mutual feelings of both States should alter, and any grave cause of difference should appear, we must remember that, though we are the greatest Sea Power, by a curious paradox we are the only European nation which could receive the full force of American retaliation. The three thousand miles of undefended Canadian frontier are the weakest spot in our imperial defences, and one that seems to be curiously neglected by those statists who seek for the right centres of our military distribution.

But though it is certain that we do not covet any of these countries, the century will not be far advanced before it becomes plain that all other nations are not so modest. Although a war with the United States would be a very serious undertaking for a Continental Power, it is doubtful if at the present time it would be so serious an undertaking as a war with England. In such a struggle, though Germany might by some unforeseen circumstance secure our overthrow, and thus obtain some considerable satisfaction, she would still be far from having subdued our colonies. And if the fortune of war did not favour her, she would run the risk of the blockade of her ports and the loss of her commerce. If the object of her struggle with America was to obtain possession of some of the tempting republics, she would be faced with no very serious obstacles in subduing them, supposing her to have been victorious at sea; whilst in the case of an early defeat she would suffer far less from a fleet whose base was 3,000 miles away than from one whose striking distance was only some three hundred. To embroil Great Britain and America sufficiently to prevent the active intervention of the British fleet is possibly not beyond the power of German diplomacy.

It may be objected that the world is sufficiently full of present complications, without looking ahead to attempt to foreshadow those of the future. But are we to believe that the great movement which we have witnessed has abruptly ended? There is certainly no justification for such an opinion. And it can hardly be imagined that because England and Russia have now room in which to expand for many generations, other European nations equally desirous of expansion are likely to remain content.

That these nations will long hesitate before being driven to so great a struggle as the founding of great new colonies would now entail is certain. But as the problem of population begins to press upon Europe some outlet must be found; and unless the United States throws aside its present policy of protection without responsibility, and by securing control of its weak and mischievous neighbours launches into a sphere of activity whose effect is as yet incalculable, it is certain that some other Power will ultimately seize upon this last undeveloped continent. In either case equatorial America must be to the twentieth century what Africa was to the nineteenth.

SOMERS SOMERSET.

## SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

A FEW months ago a lecturer on the Monroe doctrine, in answer to a question whether it was a part of international law, replied that the person who said that it was did not understand what international law was. It would be rash to answer so to-day. To be sure, it is impossible to say with confidence when a principle or policy, long contested, at last obtains such an amount of assent that it may be taken to be a part of that necessarily somewhat loose and mutable body of usages known as international law. The answer is still more uncertain when expositors of international law write in one strain, and the action of governments is conceived in another; which has been true of the history of this doctrine. It has, however, long been manifest that the people of the United States have found in the so-called doctrine a basis of a foreign policy; that 'the fatalism of the multitude' has settled upon the phrase; that the United States Government are ready to fight for the doctrine, and that no European States are prepared to fight against it. As to their assent, one or two of them may perhaps say, *Coactus volui*. Assent has been given, nevertheless, by some of them—by this country, certainly and readily. Here it is regarded as an acceptance of the *status quo*; and there perhaps are fewer dissentients from it than in the United States. The late Mr. Tilden said that the Monroe doctrine would be a good thing if one only knew what it meant; he expressed the distrust of many of his countrymen with respect to a doctrine which has experienced so many modifications in obedience to passing exigencies, and lends itself so readily to ambitious schemes. Not a few American publicists oppose it because they see in it an excuse for expansion and a probable cause of entanglement in quarrels with which the country has no concern. The doctrine finds favour in Canada. One of the members of the present Government of the Dominion has lately spoken of it as a guarantee of freedom. 'British statesmen approve of it,' said Sir Frederick Borden the other day. 'Canada knows what it means, and believes it in every form.' No doubt the majority of German publicists are opposed to it. They do not admit the justice or reasonableness of the doctrine,



or the fact that it has obtained general assent. An 'empty pretension' is Professor Adolph Wagner's description of it. Nowhere is the doctrine more acceptable, nowhere was it earlier received, nowhere has it been more consistently upheld, than among the South American Republics. President Monroe's words as soon as uttered were hailed as giving them in their precarious infancy a security against aggression. They might not prize it so much as Bolivar's foreign legion and the volunteers who came from Europe to fight against Spain. But from the first they recognised its value to them. It is true that, to the disappointment of some American statesmen, nothing was done at the Congress of Panama to give effect to the doctrine. It has been sometimes forgotten, and there have never been wanting protests when it was interpreted as involving a protectorate or suzerainty by the United States. But, on the whole, these republics have esteemed the Monroe doctrine as the charter of their liberties. Many promising attempts to unite among themselves have failed. Bolivar's idea of the United States of South America is still as far from being realised as ever. There are often signs of jealousy and fear of their powerful neighbours. The Pan-American Congress, from which Mr. Blaine hoped so much, was a failure. These republics would have nothing to do with proposals for an American *Zollverein*. They recognised that their interests as producers of raw materials and purchasers of machinery and manufactured articles were not the same as those of the United States. They do not understand the Monroe doctrine as meaning in its ultimate development America for the North Americans, the creation of a form of protectorate, or as having an 'exclusively North American character.'<sup>1</sup> But they prize it as the best security against foreign interference. As one of the latest authoritative statements on the subject may be quoted the words of President Diaz in his message of the 1st of April 1896 :

The Mexican Government cannot but declare its partiality for a doctrine which condemns as criminal any attack on the part of the monarchs of Europe against the republics of America, against the independent nations of this continent, now all subject to a popular form of government.

He added these words :

Each one of those republics ought, by means of a declaration like that of President Monroe, to proclaim that every attack on the part of a foreign Power, with the view of curtailing the territory or the independence of, or of altering the institutions of, any one of the republics of America, would be considered by the nation making the declaration as an attack on itself, provided that the nation directly attacked or threatened in such manner bespoke the aid of the other nations opportunely. In this manner the doctrine now called by the name of Monroe would become the doctrine of America in the fullest sense of the word, and, though originating in the United States, would belong to the international law of the continent.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The phrase is taken from Zumeta's *El Continente enfermo*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> 89 *State Papers*, pp. 230, 231.

I have found among the most thoughtful of the publicists of South America a belief that the policy has been a gain to the world, at all events a check to rapacity of which their countries would have been the victims. A sure instinct has guided them in their approval of the Monroe doctrine. But for it there would have been, it is probable, long before this a series of expeditions such as that which terminated in the capitulation of Monte Video, or that adventure, the closing scenes of which were the fusillade at Queretaro, and the long years of reason-stricken widowhood. There would have always been plenty of opportunities for intervention, which, it may be assumed, would have passed through the usual stages of military occupation, protectorate, conquest. Successive revolutions in almost all these States; frequent wars, often about trivial matters; the insolvency of several of the republics; corruption in their courts and denial of justice to foreigners; wrongs inflicted on Europeans in the conflicts between rebels and Government troops; the growth in most of the chief towns of a European population superior in intelligence and enterprise to the natives, among whom they refused to be absorbed; a large amount of foreign capital sunk in these States—all these circumstances would have given an opening to ambitious European Powers. Long ago there might have been a scramble for South America, such as there has been for Africa. The State Papers are full of the records of the quarrels between this country and these republics. In recent years Venezuela has been particularly often in collision with European States. Not a year passes without claims for compensation being presented to her or some neighbouring republic by a European Power. A vessel is seized and her crew thrown into a noisome dungeon; a patriotic mob hustles and maltreats sailors on shore; a forced loan is exacted from a European bank or foreign merchants; the property of a British or German subject is requisitioned by a needy rebel general; dues have been paid to the rebels; they are demanded again by the legitimate government, which declines to acknowledge the prior payment. It is an old story with Venezuela. She has long been on the black list of every Foreign Office. We have been at loggerheads with her again and again. Great Britain has had many diplomatic difficulties with all of these republics; the United States have had more. Then, too, many of these States have been defaulters. Honduras and Costa Rica have been conspicuous among bankrupt States. These facts would have brought about intervention which might not have been confined to pacific blockades, or the seizure of ships of war, or occasional bombardments, but developing by familiar stages into occupation and conquest, if there had not been the risk of a collision with the United States. Only the Monroe doctrine has barred the way.

That is the first part of what is called 'The Spanish-American

Polity' or 'Spanish-American Public Law.' The second article in that polity needs explanation. Ever since they existed these republics have been giving an opening for diplomatic intervention on behalf of aggrieved Europeans; and for years they have been protesting against such interference. It has been a standing grievance against European Powers. To exclude such interference in all forms and to put an end to what is regarded as a serious abuse is one of the chief aims of 'Spanish-American Public Law.' Those who would study the subject fully will find the materials in the discursive pages of the six volumes of Seijas's *El Derecho Hispano-Americano*.<sup>5</sup> I mention here only a few incidents in a long struggle for freedom from interference. Just before the meeting of the Pan-American Congress at Washington in 1889, there had been many controversies of the usual kind with foreign States; and the whole matter of the position of foreign residents was then discussed. The republics took high ground. They were indignant at the constant interference of European Ministers and Consuls in domestic affairs. The report expressive of their views said :

The committee gladly recognise that the Christian, liberal and humane principle is that the foreigners should not be inferior to the native in the exercise and enjoyment of all and each of the civil rights, but it cannot understand that the foreigner should enjoy consideration, prerogatives, or privileges denied to the native. It repels openly any restrictions which place the foreigner in a condition inferior to that vouchsafed by the law to the native, but it likewise repels the pretension that the foreigner should be superior to the native; that he should be a perpetual menace to the territory whose protection he seeks and whose advantage he enjoys; that recourse to a foreign sovereignty should serve as a means of self-advancement whenever improper demands are not satisfied. None of the progress of modern civilisation is unknown to the republics of America. Granting foreigners the same rights, neither less nor more, that the native enjoys, they do all they can and should do. And if these rights are not enough, and if they are not found to be sufficiently guarded and to be placed beyond the pale of abuse; if there is danger that abuses will sometimes be committed, as there is danger of earthquakes, floods, epidemics, revolutions, and other misfortunes, the foreigner should have considered it all before deciding to live in the country where he may run such risks. . . . If the government is not responsible to its citizens for damages caused by insurgents or rebels, neither will it be responsible to foreigners; and *vice versa*. If the natives had any protection against the decision and practice of the Courts, the same rights should be given to foreigners.

The United States' representative totally dissented from the theory, that forced loans were to be regarded in the same light as earthquakes—a theory convenient for those who propounded it; one which assumed that what the native always got from his government was substantial justice.

<sup>5</sup> B. F. Seijas's *El Derecho Internacional Hispano-Americano*, Caracas, 1884, published under the auspices of General Joaquín Crespo, constitutional President of the United States of Venezuela.

Under such a theory, what guarantee has the foreigner against a forced loan to which a native subject may have been obliged patriotically to submit? Take the case of the foreigner bondholders, furnishing to the Government invaluable assistance at critical times when the debt is neither denied nor repudiated, but simply and persistently left unpaid. Has any Government hesitated to protect by diplomatic claims the interests of subjects, which no foreigner can enforce in the court of his debtor? Take the case where the persons and property of foreigners have not received the protection to which their relation with the native Government entitles them. Is it conceivable that so great a departure from ancient usage and recognised international law would be accepted?

The American representative was alone in his objections, the votes being fifteen to one, the representatives of Nicaragua, Peru, Guatemala, Colombia, Argentine, Costa Rica, Paraguay, Brazil, Honduras, Mexico, Bolivia, Venezuela, Chili, Salvador, Ecuador, voting against him.

They were carrying out a policy which they have always upheld, for these republics have indeed paid indemnities under pressure, but they have never ceased to protest against such interference. They have also endeavoured by a series of treaties to exclude what they believed to be a dangerous influence. What is known as the '*clause d'irresponsabilité*,' or the *clause compromissoire*, figures in many treaties. An illustration of this is the treaty with France of 1886, which re-established diplomatic relations which had been interrupted since 1881.<sup>4</sup>

Article 11 : Les parties contractantes, animées du désir d'éviter tout ce qui pourrait troubler leurs relations amicales, conviennent que leurs représentants diplomatiques n'interviendront point officiellement, si ce n'est pour obtenir un arrangement amical, au sujet des réclamations ou plaintes des particuliers concernant des affaires qui sont du ressort de la justice civile ou pénale et qui seront déjà soumises aux tribunaux de pays, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse de déni de justice, de retards en justice, contraires à l'usage ou à la loi, ou de la non-exécution d'un jugement ayant l'autorité de chose jugée, ou, enfin, de cas dans lesquels, malgré l'épuisement des moyens légaux fournis par la loi, il y a violation évidente des traités existant entre les deux parties contractantes, ou des règles du droit international tant public que privé, &c.

In the many treaties of commerce between these republics and European States between 1884 and 1896, the former were careful to insert *clauses compromissoires* in some form.<sup>5</sup> Thus, in the treaty between Italy and Colombia of 1892, it is stipulated :

Il Governo italiano non terrà responsabile il Governo colombiano, salvo in casi di constata colpa o negligenza da parte della autorità di Colombia o dei loro agenti, dei pregiudizi sofferti, in tempo d' insurrezione o di guerra civile, &c.

The republics have been unable to obtain similar exemption in their treaties with certain countries, such, for example, as the United

<sup>4</sup> Stoerk's *Recueil*, 2 Sér., 15, p. 840.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 22, p. 308. See also the treaty with Belgium and Mexico, 1888 (23, p. 69), and remarks in *Revue Générale de Droit International*, 1, 171, on the *clause compromissoire*.

States.<sup>6</sup> But almost all of them attempt to limit their liability. The jurists and publicists of South America often speak of a Spanish-American public law, a special jurisprudence: 'which corresponds to and satisfies the special aspirations and necessities of these countries' (Seijas, i. 509).<sup>7</sup> The corner-stone of the so-called American public law is exemption from diplomatic interference. The republics have been unable to give effect to their contention; and there have been many mixed commissions to settle such claims. Again and again they have been compelled to indemnify the subjects of foreign Powers. But they have never failed to protest against treatment which they conceive to be an affront to them as civilised and sovereign Powers. In the recent note to the United States the Argentine Government reiterates this contention.<sup>8</sup>

Few parts of international law are more obscure than that relating to the position of foreigners in countries in which they are resident. The obscurity is especially great as to countries not in a state of barbarism or subject to capitulations, but boasting of a high order of civilisation and claiming equality with the States of Europe. Most Governments—I might say notably our own—appear to be anxious to formulate no rules which may bind them to far-reaching unforeseen consequences, and are solicitous to reserve full discretion in dealing with each question as it arises. In coming to a decision in any case they have been careful not to pledge themselves to do likewise on a similar occasion. Some general principles, however, are gradually emerging from the many controversies in recent years on the subject. The many mixed commissions which have sat during the last half-century to determine claims against these republics have helped to build up certain principles. One of them is that a foreigner who settles in Venezuela or the Argentine is entitled to be treated as well as natives, though not better; and that discrimination against him gives just cause of complaint on the part of his Government. So much is admitted by Calvo, and other champions of the republics, who says:

Les étrangers qui se fixent dans un pays ont au même titre que ses nationaux droit à la protection, mais ils ne peuvent prétendre à une protection plus étendue.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Article 34 of the treaty between Peru and the United States of 1887 declares that 'only in case such protection of foreigners should be denied, on account of the fact that the claims preferred have not been promptly attended to by the legal authorities, or that manifest injustice has been done by such authorities, and after all the legal means have been exhausted, then alone shall diplomatic intervention take place.' Stoerk's *Recueil*, 2 Sér., 22, p. 72.

<sup>7</sup> 'A declarar que los Gobiernos legítimos no reconocen la obligación de reparar daños y perjuicios inferidos á los extranjeros por poderes de hecho, por rebeldes ó insurrectos. A igualar al extranjero en el goce de ciertos derechos que son inherentes á todo habitante, pero nunca á darle privilegio sobre los ciudadanos' (47). The authorities are collected by Seijas, i. 77. There is sometimes reference to a Venezuelan international law, which appears to have marked local peculiarities.

<sup>8</sup> *Times*, March 18, 1903.

<sup>9</sup> Calvo, 6, 281.

If such residents have been maltreated, whether by the orders or with the connivance of Governments or not, by their agents or by mobs which have got out of control, they are entitled to be indemnified. It is also common ground that Governments are bound to make compensation for forced loans levied on foreigners in normal times, or for acts of violence by their officers or agents. It is no excuse for harsh, arbitrary treatment of foreigners that natives put up with the same. Let the agents of a Government be remiss and stand aside while mobs loot the shops or houses of foreigners. It is of course no answer to complaints to say, 'Such are our ways ; it is the custom of the country.' Nor will grossly inequitable conduct be condoned because it is covered by municipal law. The Government of Colombia in 1885 issued a decree declaring that the payment of import duties to the rebel Government would not only be no discharge of the liability to the Exchequer of importers, but would expose them to an additional import duty of 50 per cent.<sup>10</sup> The laws of some of the States do not permit release on bail. European Governments have always declined to consider such legislation as excusing grossly inequitable conduct. Nor will it avail a State to say that the form of its government prevents its doing justice to the subjects of foreign States. In answer to the demands of Italy for indemnity to its subjects who had been lynched by the New Orleans mobs in 1891, Mr. Blaine replied that the Federal Government could take no cognisance of such matters, which were wholly within the purview of the Government of the State of Louisiana. That answer was generally deemed unsatisfactory : it was contrary to principles which the United States themselves had asserted ; and an indemnity was in the end paid.<sup>11</sup> Nor is it denied that when the rebels of yesterday have become the legitimate rulers of to-day they are responsible for what they did as insurgents.

To liability for wrongs done to foreigners there are exceptions ; many exceptions in the view of these republics. A foreigner settles in a district where a government is striving to establish order ; he goes to a turbulent frontier town ; he lives among savages or rebels ; he trades in a district where the Government is making a hard fight against anarchy ; he cannot look for the security of the capital. A stranger—perhaps a *Schlachtenbummler*, some sightseer curious about battles—goes to the scene of military operations, and is maltreated. Surely in all these cases Bismarck's remark is in point : 'Quand vous allez à l'étranger, vous le faites à vos risques et périls.' Foreigners must, it is admitted, put up with what is done in consequence of military operations, whether against external or domestic enemies. The Austrian and Russian Governments took

<sup>10</sup> *State Papers*, 176, p. 534.

<sup>11</sup> See further as to this subject in 34 *American Law Review*, p. 709.

that line with respect to claims which our Government presented on behalf of persons who had been injured; and we acquiesced.

The point at which these republics and European Governments have generally come into conflict relates to damage committed in putting down insurrections. One and all of these States disclaim liability for such acts. That is the view of South American jurists such as M. Calvo and M. Torres Caicedo; and it should be added of some European jurists, including Geffcken and M. Pradier-Fodéré. Calvo expresses his view thus:

Que le principe d'indemnité et d'intervention diplomatique en faveur des étrangers à raison des préjudices soufferts dans les cas de guerre civile n'a été et n'est admis par aucune nation de l'Europe ou de l'Amérique; (2) Que les Gouvernements des nations puissantes qui exercent ou imposent ce prétendu droit à l'encontre d'états relativement faibles commettent un abus de pouvoir (s. 1297).

Several of the South American States have passed laws intended to exclude this dreaded diplomatic interference. For example, the Congress of Ecuador passed in 1888 an enactment that the State was not responsible for losses or damages to natives or foreigners caused by the enemy in civil or internal war, or in riots, or by the Government in its military operations, or in the measures it adopted for the restoration of public order, or for the arrest or banishment of foreigners, whenever the exigencies of public order require such action.

Article 5. Foreigners who may have filled positions or commissions which subjected them to the laws and authorities of Ecuador can make no claim for payment or indemnity through a diplomatic channel.

It is almost needless to say that the Diplomatic Corps at Quito protested against this legislation. The United States Secretary of State denounced it as 'subversive of all the principles of international law.'

Such is the nature of the controversies which have been going on for many years, and the outlook is not satisfactory. The Venezuela difficulty is, some points of detail excepted, now over. But the causes of that difficulty may at any moment return in any of the States of Central America, if international controversies are determined in the old way. It has been said that there are reasons for believing that the turmoil and anarchy which have made up so much of the history of these republics may be coming to an end even in Central America. There are encouraging facts. Venezuela is, it has been remarked, in the condition in which Mexico long was. Its name was the equivalent for misgovernment and disorder. It was the prey of adventurers and swashbucklers. From 1829 to 1853 there were forty-eight different forms of government. 'A Mexican loan was the type of financial worthlessness, a Mexican general was the type of military dishonour, a Mexican statesman

suggested recklessness, inability, and fraud.' <sup>12</sup> 'The country attained even among other Spanish-American republics a pre-eminence of national abasement.' Every civilised State had its grievances undressed, its well-founded complaints against the lawless rulers. The lot of foreigners was sometimes intolerable. In the courts they could not count upon getting justice. They were fleeced in times of peace and robbed in times of trouble. For years diplomatic intercourse with England and other States was suspended. All was changed under the rule of Benito Juárez, a pure Indian, and of Porfirio Díaz, also of the same stock. A group of honest men transformed the situation. A similar change, it is predicted, will take place elsewhere. I have not the local knowledge to analyse the causes of the frequency of the revolutions and counter revolutions, or the insurrections, suddenly breaking out without ostensible cause. Some sources of unrest and instability are however obvious, and among them these: An abnormal number of military officers with no high standard of honour; an educated unemployed or half-employed class which in some countries would be Nihilists, and which are at the call of specious adventurers; a system of education which exaggerates the gift of the race for rhetoric and makes happy phrases do duty for facts; politics and finance closely related; excessive powers lodged in the hands of the President; false ideals among public men; the attractive memories of the careers of brilliant and unscrupulous soldiers, such as Santa Anna and Miranda; the absence of lofty saving examples of patriotism among the founders of the republics; no groundwork of free local institutions; a heritage of traditions and habits from times of despotic rule; natural disadvantages from difficulty of communication, insuperable before the days of railways; troubles arising out of ill-defined frontiers. Aristotle's description of the causes of revolutions at Corinth and in other small Greek republics is applicable to the South American States. Especially in point are his suggested cures. 'Above all, every State should be so administered and so regulated by law that its magistrates cannot possibly make money.' <sup>13</sup> I am inclined to think that some of the sources of turmoil are drying up. The fate of Balmaceda is a warning not yet forgotten to presidents who would be dictators. Most of the difficulties which arose out of the principle *uti possidetis* adopted in 1810, in regard to frontiers, have been settled by arbitration. The area of permanent disturbance has for some time been confined to Central America. The revolutions are fewer, and, as in the case of that just settled in Uruguay, are over sooner than they were. It is, too, only just to contrast the history of these republics, not with that of the stable European countries or the United States, but with that of Spain or Portugal during the same time; to compare their present condition with that which existed while they were

<sup>12</sup> Burke's *Life of Benito Juárez*, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Politics*, 5, 8.



governed and exploited from Spain. The comparison will redound to the credit of most of them. They have overcome difficulties as to race which have baffled other countries.<sup>14</sup> If they had many quarrels, they have shown a readiness to settle their differences by arbitration which is rare among other nations. All these facts may be admitted without confidence that the difficulties of the past will not recur.

There is force in the contention that diplomatic pressure often exercised in the face of protests on behalf of foreigners with grievances, real or imaginary, acts as a solvent of the strength and dignity of a Government. A foreigner commits a crime; he is prosecuted and convicted. The representative of his country interposes, and says that the sentence is unjust; he is released; he then claims indemnity for imprisonment. Or a foreigner is killed or assaulted; justice does not advance with the expedition to which Europeans are accustomed, or there is a suspicion that the local authorities are sheltering the true criminal. The consul lodges a protest, and the injured man or his relatives claim compensation, often with success. Even if the Governments of these countries were naturally stable, their authority would be sapped by their decisions being thus overridden.

To justify such intervention it would seem to be the duty of foreign States to observe certain rules which one and all of them have in the past been inclined to disregard, and among such rules these:

(a) To get rid of the obscurity and mystery as to the cases in which foreign Governments will interpose; to drop an official phrase which is always used and which tells nothing: 'It is a matter of discretion.' Thus, to name a crucial point, there might be a clear understanding as to whether foreign Governments will aid bondholders or State creditors in enforcing their claims. As everyone knows, our Government, in common with others, have said that this is entirely a matter of discretion.<sup>15</sup> No doubt the tendency is to draw a marked distinction between the claims of such creditors and those of persons who have suffered from the violence or injustice of Government agents. The former, it is fairly said, took the risk of repudiation when they lent money at a high rate of interest. But neither our Government nor others have ever clearly explained in what circumstances they will intervene. The air would be cleared by a frank statement such as Argentina has asked the United States to join in making, that State creditors must look only to the honour of their debtors.

<sup>14</sup> Seijas boasts with some reason: 'Que esta raza latino-americana es una raza homogénea, que habla un solo idioma, no corrompido en dialectos, que tiene las mismas creencias, el mismo tipo, y unas mismas necesidades y aspiraciones' (i. ix.).

<sup>15</sup> Compare Lord Palmerston's famous circular of 1848 and his declaration to the Spanish bondholders, (*Hansard*, 93, 1298) with the statement of Lord Salisbury to the Turkish bondholders, January 6, 1880.

(b) Generally to agree and to abide, as to the matters above discussed, by certain rules by which all concerned would be guided. In regard to one part of the subject, the Institute of International Law has lately adopted a set of rules which, though erring on the side of over-elaboration, probably express the common understanding among-lawyers.<sup>16</sup>

(c) To press no claims which have not been as far as possible sifted or found good. To support by diplomatic action, and in the last resort by force, claims which *prima facie* are plausible, but which have never been examined thoroughly; to press to the utmost demands which may turn out—which according to the experience of the many mixed commissions often turn out—to be bad or much exaggerated, and which are in the end settled for a small sum:—all that has been usual on the part of every European State. It is an equivocal course. A Government which supports with all its weight private claims is not quite in the position of a solicitor who fairly says, 'It is not my business to verify them; I put them forward for what they are worth.'

(d) To do away with all pretext for certain recurring recriminations and counter-accusations on the part of these republics. To name a common complaint, to remove all pretext for the charges, true or false, persistently made, that much smuggling has in past times been carried on from Trinidad and Curaçoa; smuggling encouraged by the additional duty of 30 per cent. on goods coming from the former to Venezuela. It is a very old complaint, and there may be an element of truth in it.

(e) To organise beforehand tribunals or mixed commissions, permanent or temporary, to which such claims as I have been considering should be automatically referred. Many such have been formed after disputes have arisen;<sup>17</sup> for example, after the close of the Chilian Civil War most of the chief European States established such commissions. It is desirable to avoid the necessity of negotiations by providing for the constitution of such tribunals before differences exist. This would be merely generalising provisions to be found in several treaties. No countries have shown greater readiness to accept arbitration than the South American republics. These concessions would not give all that the expositors of 'Spanish-American law' demand. But they would help to propitiate national pride. They would remove a grievance—for such the constant pressure from outside is regarded.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps they would be in the

<sup>16</sup> *Annuaire*, 17, 236.

<sup>17</sup> For example, United States and Venezuela, 1885; United States and Chili, 1892; Great Britain and Chili, 1895.

<sup>18</sup> The Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs has lately complained to the United States authorities of the interference of the American Vice-Consul at Rosario in proceedings relating to the murder of an American citizen as contrary to international etiquette.

long run to the advantage of European States. It is safe to predict that, after recent experience, they will be much more reluctant than before to undertake debt-collecting in South America, which cannot be carried out by the method of occupation continued until satisfaction is given and without risk of embroilment with a powerful State. In truth, there must be an end of the old methods of pressure; they will not work if the creditor's really effective power, that of taking possession in the last resort, is gone. In his note to Mr. Hay, Dr. Garcia Merou, the Argentine Minister at Washington, says rightly :

The recovery of loans (and the same may be said of indemnities) by military methods supposes a territorial occupation to render it effective, and a territorial occupation signifies the suppression or subordination of local governments, &c. ; such conditions contradict the principles oftentimes proclaimed by the nations of America, and especially the Monroe doctrine, to which the Argentine Republic signifies its adherence.

More is needed than forbearance and a common policy by European States to prevent the old conflicts and friction. Whether as originally stated by President Monroe, as expanded by Presidents Polk and Cleveland, or as explained by Captain Mahan, the Monroe doctrine is an incomplete doctrine by itself, an assertion of power without assuming corresponding duties, and, whatever may be said to the contrary, a shield to evil-doing, a temptation to failure in international obligations. It ceases to be the mere expression of force, it rests on a moral basis, only when it is accompanied by recognition of responsibilities. The Argentine Government has just invited the United States to express themselves clearly on the subject. The latter have as usual declined to do so. This is to be regretted. It was all very well for Calhoun, when asked to state the full consequences of the doctrine, to say, 'Every case must speak for itself.' But in the course of eighty years light should have come. The least that should be done, it is suggested, is to co-operate with European States in framing methods of dealing fairly and effectively with claims against these republics.

JOHN MACDONELL.

## *THE 'HORRIBLE JUMBLE' OF THE IRISH LAND LAWS*

IN an interesting article in a late number of a contemporary periodical<sup>1</sup> the case of the Indian ryots is discussed with especial reference to the question why their condition under British rule should be one of increased and ever-increasing impoverishment, notwithstanding the anxious efforts of successive Governments for their welfare; and what is the determining cause of the somewhat startling paradox that the just and systematic rule of the Englishman has resulted in a state of things worse—in this respect—than the arbitrary and capricious government of the Hindu or the Mughal. The answer arrived at by the writer is given in the following remarkable words: 'that deep-rooted tendency which there is in the Anglo-Saxon character to Anglicise everything with which it comes in contact.'

The history of the Land Laws in Ireland presents another notable example of the same tendency.

The horrible jumble in which these laws are now involved, and from which we are endeavouring to extricate them by methods at once ephemeral and expensive, and fundamentally opposed to economic principle, is directly attributable to the persistent efforts made to force upon a society wedded to a particular organisation the legal relations and reciprocal obligations suitable to another and different one.

It may be admitted that, from a purely economic point of view, the ideal condition of agriculture, as of every other industry in a civilised society, is that of 'a threefold cord.' The cultivation of land lends itself naturally to the co-operation of owner, farmer, and labourer, just as productive industry does to that of capitalist, manager, and workman, and distributive trade to that of producer, merchant, and retailer; and any interference with this division of labour is sure to prove both wasteful and inefficient. But the inter-relations of the co-workers—the terms, as it were, of the partnership—are susceptible of much variety, and in their determination established customs exercise a powerful, often a prepotent, force. The

<sup>1</sup> *East and West*, October 1902, p. 1332.

Keltic ideal of land tenure is founded on *status*, the English on *contract*, and the struggle between these differing ideals—though somewhat modified in both cases by the influence of feudalism—underlies the whole history of land legislation in Ireland. A system where ownership is inseparably connected with occupation is equally foreign to both ideals, and is indeed only fitted for young communities in sparsely populated countries, where the object is to attract settlers from outside; it has never prevailed, and is indeed incapable of continuance, in any fully populated country. The exaggerated expectations which the recklessness of some politicians and the weakness of others have excited or encouraged may render the adoption of some such system in Ireland inevitable under present circumstances, but can never be more than a temporary expedient, in unstable equilibrio from the outset, which may possibly outlast a single generation, but is doomed to give place, after no long interval, to a new race of landlords not less rapacious, and a fresh set of tenants not less discontented, than the present. And the last state of that land will undoubtedly be worse than the first.

To enable us to understand the causes of, and to discover the appropriate remedy for, this lamentable *impasse*, it is necessary to glance hastily at the history of the question. The ancient form of land tenure in Ireland was that known as 'Tanistry'<sup>2</sup>; the whole territory of the sept or clan belonged *theoretically* to the chieftain; but, though the separate interests of the clansmen therein were very vague and undefined, the right of each family to continuous occupation of some sort, and the duty of rendering corresponding services, partly personal, partly payments in money or kind, were so far settled that, although there must have been frequent cases of reapportionment and consequent dispossession, the notion of *eviction*, in the modern sense, was foreign to their ideas. Only in the case of some crime against the clan resulting in practical outlawry would a tribesman find himself houseless and homeless.

The Norman invasion made no practical difference in this respect. The feudal ideas of the conquerors lent themselves easily to the continuance of the former relations; and, though in the conquered districts the chieftains were dispossessed or reduced to vassalage, the rank and file of the population did not find their status materially altered, and the conditions of their services rapidly became, even in matters of detail, assimilated to those to which they had been accustomed, and which they found continuing all around them in the still independent districts; and after the lapse of a generation or two the relation of lord and vassal had, except along a limited

<sup>2</sup> The same tenure practically prevailed down to a late period in the Highlands of Scotland, and its collision with Southern ideas of ownership lies at the bottom of the 'Crofter Difficulty.'

portion of the eastern seaboard, been entirely superseded by that of chieftain and dependent.<sup>3</sup>

Several attempts were made from time to time to 'introduce the English polity.' The first of these that calls for notice was that made by Sir John Perrot in the reign of Elizabeth. The forfeitures consequent on the suppression of Desmond's rebellion had placed at the disposal of the Crown about 575,000 acres of land in an important part of Ireland, much of it to this day among the most valuable *agricultural* land in the United Kingdom; the country had been devastated, and to a great extent depopulated, in the course of the 'Pacification of Munster'; 'and thus,' says Leland, 'was every obstacle removed to Elizabeth's favourite scheme of re-peopling Munster with an English colony.' The idea aimed at was the complete 'Anglicisation' of the district, and the introduction of the English system of manors in all its details: it was intended that the actual cultivators of the soil should be men of English birth and descent, settled thereon with tenures sufficiently attractive to induce immigration on a large scale, and it was expected that, by the end of the seven years allowed for the purpose, a substantial English settlement would have been created in the heart of Ireland. The scheme proved a complete failure. Somewhat less than half of the available lands were granted to some thirty or thirty-five gentlemen of distinction (amongst whom we find the names of Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Christopher Hatton), but no acceptable recipients seem to have been found for the remainder, and it was either abandoned to the original possessors or squatted upon by strangers, with or without a claim of right. The net result was to cover the land with a numerous and impoverished population, clinging passionately to the possession, to which they thought they had an indefeasible right, but who were in the eye of the law mere tenants at will of their immediate superiors, and in the estimation of those superiors, new to the country, and out of sympathy with their customs, dependents little if at all removed above the condition of serfs.

Warned by these 'errors and miscarriages,' the counsellors of James the First, when the overthrow of O'Neill and O'Donnell had placed at their disposal a 'vast tract of land escheated to the Crown, in six northern counties, amounting to about 500,000 acres—a tract of country covered with woods, where robbers and rebels found a secure shelter, desolated by war and famine, and destined to lie waste without the deliberate and vigorous interposition of English government'<sup>4</sup>—resolved upon a more thorough and

<sup>3</sup> So completely was this the case that most of the Norman nobles ceased to be known by their proper family names, and adopted Gaelic patronymics instead; De Burgo (William) becoming MacUilliam (MacWilliam, corrupted in the North into M'Quillan), De Courcy (John) becoming MacEoin (M'Keown or Keown), De Lacy (Hugh) becoming MacAoidh (M'Kay or Kay), &c.

<sup>4</sup> Leland, ii. 429.

systematic procedure, which should include a separate provision on favourable terms for such of the former inhabitants as were willing to accept the new *régime*, while the 'places of the greatest strength and command' were everywhere assigned to the new settlers. It is unnecessary, and would be tedious, to give the details of this 'famous Northern Plantation';<sup>5</sup> the most important difference between the two systems was that care was taken to secure a *bonâ fide* immigration on such a scale as completely to outnumber the original inhabitants; and to this it is mainly due that the north-east corner of the island, inferior to the south in position, in climate, and in the character of the soil, and which had previously been the most backward part of the whole country, has for nearly three hundred years been conspicuously different from the rest, in the independence of its inhabitants, their thrifty and law-abiding character, and all the attributes that make for progress. To this also may probably be attributed the origin of the 'Ulster Custom,' hereinafter described, which has such an important bearing on this subject.<sup>6</sup> It was inevitable, however, that the same causes which had so effectually prevented the 'Anglicisation' of the south should not be wholly without influence in the north also; tenure in tanistry was indeed swept away, but the desired manorial system was not substituted for it. In the result, after a short interval, the great mass of the agricultural tenantry—whether holding directly under the original grantees or their representatives, or as tenants under leaseholders in the first, second, or sometimes even third degree—had become reduced to the condition of 'tenants at will,' a tenure equivalent to the English tenancy from year to year. Neither the attempt of Strafford to abrogate all the ancient titles, and substitute therefor a system of express Crown grants, nor the confiscations—forfeitures and counter-forfeitures—consequent upon the civil wars, nor even the Penal Laws of the eighteenth century (although all of these materially affected in other respects the relations between the owners and occupiers of land) had any effect upon either the legal character or the popular conception of possessory rights, rights which were, as a general rule, tacitly acted on—though never explicitly acknowledged, and frequently arbitrarily disregarded—by the majority of landlords.

Three principal causes, however, operated in different ways, in the course of the eighteenth century, to increase the 'earth-hunger' natural to the people, and at the same time to embitter the relations

<sup>5</sup> Leland, ii. 437.

<sup>6</sup> There is some difference of opinion on this point; but it seems likely—having regard to the fact that it is even better established in the counties of Antrim and Down, which formed no part of the 'Plantation area,' but which intercepted to some extent the stream of immigration, especially from the south-west of Scotland, than the plantation counties themselves—that it was a more or less indistinct recognition of the claim of the new settlers to some degree of fixity of tenure.

between landlord and tenant. First came the series of measures forced on Ireland by the Parliament of Great Britain, whereby all Irish industries and Irish commerce, whenever competitive, or likely to prove competitive, with English interests, were ruthlessly crushed out of existence, and the bulk of the population thrown back upon agriculture as practically its sole means of livelihood. Secondly, the pressure of the 'Penal Laws' almost exterminated the Roman Catholic landed gentry, and added the animosity of religious antagonism to the other sources of alienation between the farmer and his landlord. The third cause was of a somewhat different nature. One of the vicious peculiarities of Irish legislation—perhaps the most pernicious—has been a slavish copying of English methods in matters of detail, even when inappropriate, without any corresponding regard to underlying principle. Accordingly, when the emancipated Irish Parliament determined to extend the franchise to Roman Catholics, they adopted the English limitation of 'forty-shilling freeholders' (a limitation introduced there by way of restriction, but adopted for Ireland by way of expansion), irrespective of the vital differences between the two countries as regards the occupation of land. The consequences were soon apparent; the land-owners were not long in devising a tenure which, while technically a freehold, carried with it none of the stability and independence attaching to the term; and for more than thirty years the Irish counties were systematically flooded with a class of small tenants, barely rescued from pauperism, and absolutely at the mercy of the landlords, to whom they were hopelessly indebted, and whose power was avowedly, even ostentatiously, exercised for political purposes.<sup>7</sup> A partial mitigation of this state of things was found in the lands subject to the 'Ulster Custom,' a system which, when fairly worked, effected a reasonable *modus vivendi* between landlord and tenant. As might be anticipated, the Custom varied on different estates, and sometimes even on different parts of the same estate, though not, I think, to any greater extent than is constantly found in the case of neighbouring manors in England. The general character of the Custom was that, whenever a tenant desired or was compelled to part with his holding (which seldom happened except from inability to pay his rent), the landlord, instead of resuming possession adversely, permitted him to sell the 'goodwill' of the farm, subject to certain conditions—generally known as 'office rules'—the price being ordinarily applied in the first place in liquidation of the arrears of rent due, and the surplus belonging to the out-

<sup>7</sup> The forty-shilling franchise was swept away by the Emancipation Act—one of the few statesmanlike measures passed for Ireland since the Union—but the tenants remained; and the results have affected prejudicially every phase of the Irish question.



going tenant.<sup>8</sup> It will easily be seen that this proceeding was usually beneficial to both parties, the drawback being that the incoming tenant was too apt, in his eagerness for possession, to offer a price out of all proportion to the value, and often such as to deprive himself of necessary capital. On many of the best-managed estates an endeavour was made to mitigate this evil, but the rules made for the purpose were easily, and I believe systematically, evaded. Unfortunately, the utility of the custom was impaired by two circumstances. In the first place, for some reason 'which satisfied themselves,' the judges of the Irish Court of Chancery refused to recognise the custom, and thus enabled a landlord—or more frequently his creditors—to add to the sentimental grievance of eviction a substantial injustice. Secondly, the custom was too vague. There was nothing to limit the owner's right to demand any rent he pleased, and it was always in the power of a landlord to impair or destroy the 'goodwill' by the simple process of raising his rent. That this was not done more frequently can only be attributed to the moral restraint of the landlord's sense of justice, and the mutual kindness engendered by generations of association in the same relations.

How long matters could have so continued without disturbance it is hard to say, though as early as the year 1820 discontent therewith had become conspicuous. But about the middle of the last century three things happened almost simultaneously which precipitated the crisis. The adoption of free trade in 1846, which practically abolished wheat-growing in Ireland and seriously crippled the mill industry there, however beneficial to the kingdom at large, dealt a heavy blow to the interests of Irish agriculture; the terrible famine consequent on the failure of the potato crops in 1846-1847 reduced to absolute destitution the great bulk of the population, living from hand to mouth at the best of times; and the sales in the Incumbered Estates Court in 1849-1851 introduced a new class of owners, strangers to the traditions which alone had made the old *régime* tolerable, and to whom the predominant principle was the desire for profitable investment. I have no wish to quarrel with either the establishment of the Court or its scheme of operation. But its effects upon the relations of landlord and tenant were too often disastrous. Rents were imposed with reference simply to 'what the land could bear,' without regard either to the antecedents of the holding or the custom of the estate;<sup>9</sup> the new purchasers naturally

<sup>8</sup> As the goodwill frequently amounted, on properly managed estates, to fifteen or twenty years' purchase of the rent, this surplus was usually very substantial.

<sup>9</sup> On one estate in a northern county—I purposely withhold the name—the rental was doubled within a few years, with the result of absorbing both tenant-right and tenants' improvements, guaranteed under the previous *régime* by mere entries in the rent-book, but without any security cognisable in a court of law.

regarding the question from a purely economic standpoint, with a view to getting a reasonable return for their investments.

It was not long before the storm burst. In 1852, the late Mr. Sharman Crawford commenced the movement still connected with his name in the county of Down—a movement which, if it had been met reasonably halfway, would not improbably have altered the whole course of subsequent legislation in the direction of equitable adjustment. But the opposition of the landed interest was too strong, and notwithstanding a well-intentioned measure passed by Sir Joseph Napier in 1860, which did not even affect to recognise tenant-right, the agitation, though temporarily eclipsed by the struggle over the Church Establishment, continued to occupy public attention during the whole of that decade. Eventually, Mr. Gladstone's Government introduced a Bill to legalise the Custom, which, after an important addition granting certain limited amounts as compensation for capricious disturbance had been made at the instance of Mr. Macarty Downing, one of the members for Cork county, became law in the session of 1870.

It was at this time that a proposal, described as 'A Plan of Parliamentary Tenant-right applicable to all Ireland,' was put forward by a body of gentlemen interested in the subject (among whom it will be sufficient to mention the names of the Rt. Hon. Judge Longfield and Professor John E. Cairnes) which was accepted with cordiality, if without enthusiasm, by the leading advocates of the tenants, but was opposed on behalf of the landlords, and contemptuously rejected by the Government.

The gist of the proposal—the details are out of date—was the following: The relative interests of landlord and tenant had first to be determined; that, in the absence of agreement, would have involved the interference of an outside authority, an objection much relied on at the time, but which would have no force now; then the tenant's interest was to be converted into so many years' purchase of the existing or some other determined rent; that merely involved a simple numerical calculation: and when that was done, the mutual rights of the parties were fixed for all time: if the landlord thought the rent too low he might serve notice to raise it; but it was to be at the tenant's option either to agree to the increase or to require the landlord to purchase his interest at the ascertained number of years of the *increased rent demanded*—a provision which would effectually prevent excessive or extortionate demands; on the other hand, if the tenant thought the rent too high, he might require the landlord to reduce it to any figure he pleased, subject to the landlord's option, if he thought the demand unreasonable, to buy out the tenant on payment of the ascertained number of years of the *reduced rent offered*—a risk which, combined with the universal desire for fixity of occupation, would have made the claims to which

we have since become habituated few and far between. There were other provisions for the prevention of 'dribbling' rises, and for the valuation of improvements made by either party after the ascertainment of the tenant-right (those made before would have been included in the calculation), but they were mere matters of detail, not essential to the scheme.

Theoretically, the Act of 1870 secured to the tenant everything to which he had any reasonable claim; the recognition of the Custom where it applied, the ownership of his own improvements, and even a somewhat belated concession to 'Irish sentiment,' a modified 'Occupancy Right.' But the benefits of the Act were to a great extent neutralised by its uncertainty; the Act did not come into active operation till eviction had become inevitable, and even the amount of the tenant's interest—or 'compensation'—could only be ascertained by a legal process in which the parties would be entirely at the mercy of the judge of the Civil Bill Court, who was left without any guidance in the exercise of his discretion.<sup>10</sup>

The Government, however, persisted in the objections that the proposal was inconsistent with the principle of contract, that a right on the part of the tenant to acquire such tenant-right would be equivalent to a compulsory sale as against the landlord, and that the scheme could not be started without a general valuation of Irish land. Viewed in the light of subsequent history the spectacle is at once pathetic and instructive. The Act of 1870, with all its merits—and it was not without merits—was doomed from its birth; while every defect pointed out in the competing proposal has been reproduced without the countervailing advantages, in the unprincipled and preposterous Act of 1881, and the series of Acts 'amending' the same. The landed interest, however, certainly in Ireland, and it was asserted at the time in England also, were determined that an 'occupancy right' should not, under any circumstances, be explicitly recognised. If there be any class of persons to whom the old story of the Sibylline Books is especially applicable, it is the class of Irish landlords in their relation to this question.

It would be too much to say that the 'Longfield proposal,' if adopted in 1870, would have put an end to all agitation on this subject—finality is a word inapplicable to politics—but it certainly would have obviated its next phase. When it was decided—and it could not have been ruled otherwise—that there was nothing in the Act to relieve lessees from the obligation of delivering up possession according to their covenants at the end of the term, so that the very instruments granted for their protection now operated to their

<sup>10</sup> A crucial instance of this uncertainty came under my own notice. Two tenants of the same landlord, whose farms lay in adjoining counties, were served with ejectments at the same time, and under precisely similar circumstances; one County Chairman dismissed the application for compensation with costs, the other granted the maximum allowance (seven years' rent).

disadvantage, an outcry was at once raised for 'tenant-right at the end of a lease.' But nothing came of it till the genius of Parnell seized the opportunity of arousing 'the predatory instinct' as an ally of the Nationalist movement, and accordingly the campaign against 'Landlordism' was set on foot—as if there were any inherent impropriety in the letting and hiring of land, any more than of houses and ships—and the result (after the election of 1880 had left both parties in England at the mercy of the Nationalists) was the disastrous 'Majuba' of 1881. Even then it was not too late: had the Act been administered with a single eye to equitable adjustments, where needed, as a basis for a final settlement; had the actual working been entrusted to independent and competent hands, and above all, had the original Commissioners been left to do justice in their own way without Government interference, the consequent evils would have been rather theoretical than important. But the very opposite was done. It soon appeared that the fair rent clauses, regarded by the Government as a very subordinate part of the measure, were the only part for which the people cared, whilst of those clauses the entire population hastened to take advantage, and that consequently the provision made for fixing fair rents was utterly inadequate. To meet this deficiency the expedient of the Sub-Commissions was adopted; that is to say, the duty of apportioning the respective interests of owner and occupier, the necessity for which, in a comparatively few cases, had been treated as conclusively negating the Longfield scheme in 1870, was now intrusted wholesale to a number of inferior courts, inferior not only in status but in the qualifications of their members, with the additional disqualifications that they were appointed for one year only, subject to reappointment, and were thus practically driven, in self-defence, to 'justify their office' by attracting business to their courts: that could only be done by universal reductions irrespective of merits; and the natural result followed.<sup>11</sup>

In the end, the rental of Ireland was reduced, in fixing the first-term rents, by about 35 per cent. on a principal of general average and with the very slightest regard to the merits of individual cases.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Nothing can be contrived more destructive of the efficiency, even when it does not affect the independence, of a judge than his appointment for a limited period, with a hope of reappointment. It is a favourite device of arbitrary governments, democratic or despotic (they have many characteristics in common), and one which I had occasion to demonstrate against when in India, but with indifferent success.

<sup>12</sup> A typical instance of this came under my personal notice. Two adjoining townlands, forming parts of the same property, were sold in the market many years ago (somewhere between 1820 and 1835) to different purchasers; there was absolutely no ground for distinction between them, either in situation, quality of soil, or otherwise. The purchaser of one, and his successors, were men of the 'live and let live' order, and the rental had been but little interfered with in the interval; the other owners were pushing business men, anxious to make the most that they fairly could of their property (I do not suggest that they were 'rack-renters'); both sets of tenants applied to the court; the cases of the latter set were heard first, and the rents reduced about 30 per cent.; before the other cases came on for hearing the

Thereby the Sub-Commissioners triumphantly demonstrated the value of their services, and have apparently established themselves for all time to come as a charge upon the public exchequer.

When, after the 'great betrayal,' the gentleman who had exposed, with the acumen of a lawyer and the eloquence of a born orator, the errors and shortcomings of the Act was appointed to the important office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland, those of us who cared more for a reasonable settlement in the interest of law and order than for the pecuniary results to either landlord or tenant had high hopes of some such settlement being arrived at. The opportunity was unique; the hour was fairly propitious; and the man seemed especially fitted for the occasion. The objections to the Longfield scheme taken in 1870 (on the part of the tenants, the landlords were at that time opposed to any interference with their personal control) were two; one, that for its successful operation it required in a large number of cases a preliminary adjustment of rents; the other, that the great majority of tenants, outside Ulster, had no such interest in the land as would enable them to acquire, under that scheme, a substantial tenant-right (and an illusory right would obviously be worse than nothing). Both of these objections had been obviated in the meantime. Under the compensation clauses of the Act of 1870, the most unimproving and impecunious tenant had an interest capable of supporting a claim to a tenant-right based on seven years' rent, an amount ordinarily sufficient to afford ample security against arbitrary eviction; whilst the Land Commission had been created as an authority for the adjustment of rents, and had practically established a scale for the purpose.

But this scheme, which has been rightly described as 'a coproprietorship between the parties, in which each will be entitled to (and, by the natural action of the system, in fact obtain) his fair proportion of the unearned increment, or bear his fair proportion of any fall,' however in accordance with 'Irish ideas,' was inconsistent with that 'return to the principles of contract' for which Mr. Gladstone expressed 'a pious hope' when introducing his ill-fated measure. It was therefore not to be thought of.

Yeoman proprietorship was, however, a known English tenure, and, though under modern economic conditions it has almost died out in England, and notwithstanding the fearful object-lesson afforded by the *morcellement* of land in the south of France, it was determined to introduce it into Ireland. Accordingly the 'Ashbourne Acts' were passed, for doing away with 'dual ownership,' and establishing on its ruins a peasant proprietary.

The plan was, in its inception, modest enough. Following the

valuer for the first set of tenants said to the agent of the landlord in the other cases: 'You may be perfectly easy; for your rents are now lower than those they have reduced L— to'; nevertheless, they had about 25 per cent. taken off!

lines of the 'Bright clauses' of the former Act, the State proposed to assist tenants, who were desirous of purchasing their holdings, by advancing a limited amount of the purchase money on favourable terms. But it soon appeared that the remedy, thus limited, was inadequate. A few energetic and thrifty men, principally in the north, were enabled to become owners in a legitimate fashion, mainly at their own expense. But the great bulk of the tenantry were both unable and unwilling to avail themselves of the offer. They had then no conception of the 'incubus of dual ownership;' on the contrary, to use the somewhat inflated language of the *Nation*,<sup>13</sup> it was :

that idea, that imperishable tradition, which England's bloodiest efforts have failed to beat out of the Irish peasant's memory : a claim deriving from the ancient system of land tenure, which English statesmen must by this time have concluded to be ineradicable from the Irish mind [alas, not yet] : namely, the idea of co-partnership in a certain sense between the landlord and the cultivator; the idea that, without taking from the landlord's rights, but besides, and exclusive of, and in addition to, those rights, the tenant also has property rights of a certain kind in relation to the land, independent of, but subsidiary to, those of the landlord.

This was the bread for which the Irish tenantry had been inarticulately clamouring ; they were offered instead the stone of a proprietorship, alien to their instincts, and beyond the reach of their resources. Naturally, they would have none of it. It became necessary, then, if the plan was not to prove a fiasco, for the State to advance the whole of the purchase-money.

Even this heroic expedient, however, proved insufficient to float the scheme. Unfortunately, during this time two causes were at work which tended in different ways to resuscitate that 'predatory instinct' which it had been the object of all this legislation to allay. *L'appétit vient en mangeant*. The action of the Sub-Commissioners had given rise to an expectation—only too well founded, as it turned out—that when the time came for settling the second-term rents there would be an all-round reduction on the rents previously fixed as 'fair,' comparable with that made for the first term, a reduction wholly unwarranted by any change of circumstances in the interval. Even such tenants, therefore, as were inclined to become purchasers naturally hesitated to do so on the basis of rents which they were told on all hands would shortly be further reduced.<sup>14</sup> Hence arose

<sup>13</sup> March 17, 1870.

<sup>14</sup> Mr. Parnell, in the session of 1881, brought forward a proposal—I think it never crystallised into a Bill—for the exploitation of the landlords on the principle of compulsory purchase. On this the late Dr. Robert Macdonnell—whose keen insight into Irish affairs was only equalled by his incisive wit—said to me : 'The difference between Gladstone and Parnell is only that between the two ways of cutting off a dog's tail; Parnell would chop it off with a cleaver, and then try to minimise the price as best he could; Gladstone will shave a thin slice off with a razor, and hold it up and say : 'There's nothing there to be worth compensation'; and this he will repeat every fifteen years: but the whole tail will come off equally in the end.

the utterly unjustifiable demand that a tenant should, by merely going through the form of a purchase, without having paid a single sixpence, or given any consideration whatever therefor, not only convert a perpetual rent into a terminable annuity, but also effect a reduction in the amount of that annuity itself. The extravagance of this demand, which is self-evident on the mere statement, is by no means the most formidable objection to it: instead of acting as an encouragement to thrift and energy, it offers a premium on laziness and improvidence, and raises expectations of unearned benefits which could only be realised at the expense of some innocent victim. It was capable, however, of being put forward with a certain show of plausibility, and has been somewhat blindly accepted as a necessary ingredient in any contemplated settlement of the question.

Then, and not till then, came the cry for compulsory sale. Up to this time the tenants had been hanging back in the hope of further reductions, while the landlords, fearful of the future, were anxious to make the best terms they could, if only any *tabula in naufragio* were afforded them;<sup>15</sup> but now, with the notion that the worst that could happen would be the payment for forty-nine years of a rent somewhat less than that to which they are at present liable, it would have been a miracle if they had not yielded to the temptation. The movement, in its original form, proved a failure: the tenants, with few exceptions, cared nothing for anything but an immediate reduction in their payments; the landlords, driven to 'the last ditch,' absolutely rejected the offered terms: and the Government, taking for once their courage in both hands, announced positively 'that they *would* not, and that no conceivable Government *could*,' enforce a general compulsory sale. The last phase of the agitation is found in the report of the Landlord and Tenant Conference, which proposes to cut the Gordian knot by securing to the landlords approximately their present incomes, giving to the tenants the longed-for immediate reductions, and finding the requisite innocent victim in the person of the British tax-payer. It is hard to say whether this amazing proposal is more objectionable on financial, political, or social grounds. Various calculations have been made as to the expense to the public entailed by this scheme—calculations all somewhat hypothetical, depending upon an unknown quantity, the gross rental (second-term rents) of the unsold agricultural land in Ireland. This rental has been variously estimated at from 5,000,000*l.* to 8,000,000*l.* sterling; taking the lowest figure, which is probably under the mark, and assuming an immediate reduction in the rents of 15 per cent. (the least suggested), and remembering

<sup>15</sup> I have reason to believe that, if it were not for the fear of the possible third-term rents, few, if any, of the unincumbered landowners would be willing to sell at thirty-three years' purchase of the second-term rents.

that even this is only to be payable for forty-nine years (heaven and the agitators alone know why), the net loss to the Exchequer works out at eleven and three-quarter years' purchase of the rental; that is, on the assumed figures, 58,750,000*l.* These are, moreover, minimum figures, without any allowance for expenses, commission, leakage, or any of the outgoings inevitably attendant on a transaction of this magnitude. Other—more empiric—methods of calculation produce somewhat different results; but, as the net loss is in no case put at less than 40,000,000*l.*, it is of small consequence to consider which of them is most likely to be verified in practice; even the lowest is, or ought to be, prohibitive.

But the social and political aspects of the proposal, supposing it to succeed, are even more objectionable than its extravagance. 'Landlordism'—whatever that may mean—is to cease: *i.e.* the present set of landowners is to be bought out, and replaced by others, each of whom is to occupy all the land he owns; but it is not proposed, nor would it be feasible, to prohibit the sale and purchase of land, under which a new generation of landlords is sure to be created at no distant time, by the ordinary operation of economic laws. In the nature of things, land—even in the hands of peasant proprietors—will come into the market; are the buyers to be prohibited from letting it for hire, should they wish to do so? and if they do, are the new tenants to hold subject to the ordinary laws of contract, or under the provisions of the Act of 1881? In any case ownership divorced from occupation—call it 'landlordism' or not—is bound to reappear; and if the new class of landowners is largely taken—as it certainly will be—from the more thrifty and pushing of the tenant-owners, the old controversies are sure to reappear also, and in an exacerbated form. Further, the expropriated landlords will, as a class, remain in the country, or they will not. It is hard to say which alternative would be the more undesirable. The presence of a class of loafers, with adequate or superfluous means, freed from the obligation of labour in any form, and without either duties or responsibilities binding them to the country—such a class as were the French noblesse of the eighteenth century—is an unmixed evil in any society, and would certainly not be less so because they were permeated, reasonably or otherwise, with a sense of having been the victims of injustice.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, were the landed gentry, with their families, to 'commute, compound, and cut,' there are no elements in Irish society with which to fill the gap. In the country parts of Ireland they are the only employers of labour on any appreciable scale, the only class (other than the clergy of the

<sup>16</sup> It was at one time the policy of the Government of India to convert 'mediatised' chiefs into State pensioners; the resultant evils were keenly felt when I was there, and the then Government were very anxious to limit the practice as far as possible, and rather to turn them into zamindars (subject landowners).



different denominations) possessing even the rudiments of culture, or the leisure needed for its acquirement, and a general exodus on their part would leave the professional classes face to face with the proletariat, with what results the merest historical tyro can tell.

Setting aside, then, the idea of 'compulsory sale on fair terms' (i.e. terms not involving either hardship to the tenant or injustice to the landlord) as impracticable, and the wholesale exploitation of the landlords as unwise, does it follow that nothing can be done to check the growing demoralisation of all classes dependent upon Irish land? Proposals to facilitate voluntary sale, however valuable as a palliative in individual cases, are not far-reaching enough for a remedy, and whilst the reduction of rents through the agency of the Land Commission can hardly be carried further with any pretence at justice, the extravagant expectations raised and fostered by recent legislation cannot be disappointed without provoking serious resentment. It is indeed, too late to do complete justice in the matter: the ascent from the Avernus in which we have been plunged is beyond human power; but a statesmanlike use of the present opportunity may go a long way towards mitigating the evil. The second-term rents are still in their infancy, and the prospect of third-term reductions fifteen years hence is too distant and uncertain to be formidable. By all means let every reasonable encouragement be given to voluntary sales; no legislation not directed to that end could, as matters stand, be deemed satisfactory; but it must be clearly understood that voluntary sales on any considerable scale are not to be looked for unless the public are prepared to supply, as a free gift, the difference between the landlords' minimum and the tenants' maximum. The true remedy, and the only effectual remedy, for the present disorder lies not in the abolition of the 'dual ownership' created by the Act of 1881, but in moulding that ownership, so far as may still be possible, in accordance with the fixed ideal so graphically described in the extract already quoted from the *Nation* of 1870, the ideal which has held the field from the earliest times, the sole ideal of 'ancient right' ingrained in the hearts of the Irish peasantry.

On the assumption that the second-term rents are fair rents—and no honest man with any knowledge of the facts will affirm that they are *generally* too high—the outside that a tenant can logically claim is to hold at that rent for ever unless redeemed on equitable terms. It may be—it is—too late to reproduce the Longfield scheme in all its details, but an intelligent acceptance of its principle, with such modifications as the subsequent march of events has rendered necessary, is even yet within the range of practical politics. There should be provisions for State loans—a sop to Cerberus—on reasonable terms to tenants desirous of redeeming their rents, and provisions enabling those who desired to provide against possible loss to convert their tenure into another, in which—to use words

already quoted—‘each will be entitled to (and by the natural action of the system in fact obtain) his fair proportion of the unearned increment, or bear his fair proportion of any fall.’

An enactment fixing the second-term rents in perpetuity, with an option to the tenant, (*a*) of redeeming the rent on equitable terms, after the pattern of copyhold enfranchisement in England, (*b*) of accepting a fee-farm grant at that rent, and (*c*) of acquiring a Parliamentary tenant-right on the basis afforded by ‘the Pink Schedule,’ would indeed be a belated acknowledgment that the efforts of 300 years to introduce ‘the English polity’ in this respect have failed, but would on that very account go far to allay agricultural agitation in Ireland.

ALEX. EDW. MILLER.

## LITERARY CRITICS AND THE DRAMA

IN the last December number of this Review Mr. Oswald Crawford ventured again into that perennial bog in English literature, the modern English drama. Into the Slough of Despond, Bunyan tells us, had been thrown 'twenty thousand cartloads of wholesome instructions' and yet the way was nowise improved. During the last twenty-five years how many thousands of 'cartloads of wholesome instructions' have been poured down upon the English drama, and yet the footing seems as shaky as ever. Till at last one begins to dread that the English drama is as perverse and incorrigible as one's own private character, a domain where in the very nature of things enormous strivings after perfection are scantily rewarded with the most meagre, oblique, and miserable results; where vast efforts must be unceasingly expended only to obtain the poor satisfaction of not having slipped very much behind our former state.

Those who watched the English drama for the few years preceding 1894 must have seen that it was moved by a new impulse, that it was diligently setting about to render a truthful portrait of English life, or at least of certain aspects and currents of English life. Let anyone compare the published English plays of the years 1890-94 with those of the preceding generation, with the faded insipidities of Robertson, the lifeless punning witticisms of H. J. Byron, the emasculated and hybrid adaptations from the French which held our theatres from 1860 to 1880—let anyone make this comparison, and I do not think he will charge me with taking too sanguine a view of the situation when in the autumn of 1894 I announced *The Renascence of the English Drama*.

The ink in my pen had scarcely dried when a series of letters appeared in *The Times* assailing the leaders of the English dramatic movement, assailing *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* and other plays as subversive of English morality, and clamouring that the national drama should again be raised to its proper level of a Sunday School tale, and to the chaste dignity of Madame Tussaud's. *The Times*, that in its current first-night notices had praised the very plays upon which the onslaught was made, turned round and severely condemned

them in a leading article summing up against the whole movement. We all know what happens in our blissful realm when instincts which would make the fortune of an inspector of nuisances proclaim themselves the supreme magistrates in art, and scourge their possessor to run amuck in æsthetics. Very little was seen or heard of the English drama for the next two or three years. The English playgoer, having taken two or three shuddering peeps at humanity in Ibsen's and his imitators' mirrors, declared the likeness to be a horrible libel and ran affrighted away.

There followed two or three years of gay revellings in cape and sword, mere holiday burlesques with phantom fighting men for heroes, with no relation to life, with no pretence to human portraiture. When our cape and sword junketings had somewhat abated, an era of pretty sentimentality began to dawn; always a useful era for fathers of families; very deservedly successful, very deservedly praised. For no one who has our national well-being at heart can but wish that many, nay, let us say that most of the entertainments at our theatres shall be such as children and young girls can be taken to without any feeling of discomfort or alarm; providing that the dramatist is not thereby shut out from dealing with those darker and deeper issues of life which are freely discussed and probed in the Bible, in Shakespeare, in the Greek tragedies, and indeed in all great literary and pictorial art; providing that the dramatist is not defamed as a malefactor when he declines to put himself on the level of an illustrator of children's fairy tales. We are here brought naturally into the one path where all discussion on the English drama inevitably leads—that is, to the distinction between popular entertainment and the art of the drama. Only so far as this distinction is recognised and enforced can we set out to have a national English drama.

To sum up the last ten dramatic years in one sentence, we may say that we have passed from the raptures of ardent morbidity in 1894 to the graces of soppy sentimentality in the present year; we have exchanged a dose of drastic purgative for a stick of barley-sugar. Now neither black draught nor barley-sugar can long furnish the staple diet of man; neither ardent morbidity nor soppy sentimentality can give forth a great spirit to possess and inform a national drama. For both ardent morbidity and soppy sentimentality are alike far removed from that large and wise sanity, that keen clear view of men and women, that clean delight in the healthy savour of humankind, which are surely the distinctive mark of the English people, which are equally the distinctive mark of the greatest English literature, and which we may confidently prophesy will be equally the distinctive mark of our English drama—if we ever get one.

Now it seemed to me in reading Mr. Oswald Crawford's article of

last December that he had really seized upon the supreme points at issue when he explicitly asked, 'Why is English literature so estranged from the English drama? Why does such fierce and unnatural hatred exist between parent and child? Is there any way of bringing them together again?'

Mr. Oswald Crawford glances across to France and sees there a national drama not only akin, but indeed largely identical with contemporary national literature. Ask at the smallest railway book-stall in France for *L'Aiglon* or *Cyrano de Bergerac*, and you will be handed the two hundred thousandth copy. Inquire in England for a copy of some play upon whose representation the English-speaking public has perhaps expended some two hundred thousand pounds, and you will find that in print it can scarcely toddle into a poor second edition. Here I imagine that nobody will be so obliging as to give me the chance of this retort: 'Oh no! The mere absence of literature from a modern English play is no reason why it should not sell in its thousands. Look at our bookstalls!'

No, the truth is that play-reading is a habit, not very difficult to acquire when once the shorthand of it is mastered. It must be allowed that the technicalities of stage directions and descriptions of the scene are tiresome and confusing to the inexperienced reader. Rather than perplex the reader, it is better to omit them as far as possible, and trust to the dramatist's one and only weapon—his bare dialogue. It has been suggested that readers might be won for English plays if the stage directions were expanded in a literary way, the dialogue being imbedded in full explanatory narration and description. The experiment is worth trying, and might lead to interesting developments. I incline, however, to drop stage directions altogether in a printed play. What more do we want when we open *Macbeth* than 'A blasted heath. Thunder and lightning. Enter three witches'?

I repeat that it is chiefly the mere habit that needs to be acquired; the reader will soon learn to slur and skip the bothering stage directions. And when once the English people have acquired the habit of reading plays, what then? Well, put it at its lowest, to read a foolish play will only consume from one-tenth to one-sixth of the time that it takes to read a foolish novel, and forthwith the English playwright becomes a great time-saving apparatus in a sorely driven age.

But, indeed, the habit of reading plays must have another important result. In France, as Mr. Oswald Crawford perceives, the drama is recognised as something distinct from the theatre. It has a power and life of its own. In England the drama and the theatre are alike mashed up in the common trough of popular entertainment. The dramatist does not count in the least with the great body of play-goers, except as a sort of journeyman behind the scenes, who in some vague and ill-defined way hands to the actor his conjuring imple-

ments. A play does not exist in England apart from its representation. If, from one of a thousand causes, that representation is faulty or ill-directed, instantly the play dies and is no more seen. And the one law that governs the whole business—namely, that the creation of the dramatist and the embodiment of the actor must be equal and coincident, that the greater the creation the greater and more embracing must be the embodiment (or some forcible-feeble fiasco will be the evident result)—this law is not even suspected by English playgoers. Now Mr. Oswald Crawford has perceived that the habit of reading and studying plays, as is the custom in France, would surely give a great spurt to a national English drama. For having clearly seen and urged this and other kindred points, I think English playwrights are considerably in debt to him. He is, I think, a little wide of the mark when he says: 'At present the writing of plays is in England a close profession'; and again, 'In France and Germany, especially in France, there is no privileged enclosure, barred to the outsider, for the professional playwright.'

Nothing can be further from the truth than to suppose that playwriting in England is 'a close profession,' that there is any 'privileged enclosure, barred to the outsider.'

What are the facts of the case? Some few months ago Mr. George Alexander gave the Playgoers' Club a chance of discovering and displaying the quantity and the quality of outside dramatic talent that was vainly knocking at managers' doors. What was the result? Again, Mr. Oswald Crawford must remember that almost every literary man of the present and past generation, from Tennyson and Browning downwards, has written plays and has offered them to managers. Can the managers be so ignorant and so blind to their own interest as not to accept and produce any play that has a chance of success? Mr. Oswald Crawford says that the reforms indicated in his paper have for their object the breaking down of 'barriers that now keep away from the writing of plays the men most competent to write good ones.' In reply to this it must be urged that, whatever barriers there are, they cannot be said to have kept away from the writing of plays any one single person, competent or incompetent. Mr. Oswald Crawford is surely the only literary man in England who can boast, or confess, or deplore that he has never offered a play to a manager. One scarcely knows whether to envy, to congratulate, to belaud and belaul, or to sympathise with a writer in so astonishingly unique a position. No, it cannot be too strongly asserted or too widely known that there is no 'dramatic ring,' no 'close profession,' no 'privileged enclosure, barred to outsiders.' Ask the managers, whose interest it is to hail and encourage the least sign of rising talent.

But further, the behaviour of literature itself offers the surest testimony on this point. Nothing can be more amusing or more

significant than the manner in which literary gentlemen of quite respectable standing (such, for instance, as Mr. W. E. Henley) treat the modern English drama, their alternations of contempt and patronage, their sudden changes from the sincerest form of flattery to the liveliest exhibitions of disappointment and jealousy and anger—all this should surely offer some key to the situation. No, the barriers between literature and the drama are not such as Mr. Oswald Crawford supposes. 'Barriers' of some kind there are, since we are all agreed that modern English literature is scarcely represented in our theatres; that it is largely despised by our audiences; that nineteen out of twenty of the performances given in our West-end theatres are not merely indifferent to literature, but are instinct with brazen and blatant derision of it; that these are the theatres which are the most successful with the public, which meet on all sides with the utmost goodwill and goodfellowship; where the entertainment is always sure of a long run, though it is as far removed from anything that could be called literature as a corner public-house is from Salisbury Cathedral.

These, then, are the facts. Where does the fault lie? What are the real barriers? Now it must be granted at the outset that at no time is it probable that the drama proper will again be able to compete with popular entertainment on its own ground. The stars in their courses are not with us in the present stage of civilisation. Never again will an English dramatist draw such popular audiences as the Elizabethan dramatist could gather round him from the sweepings of the streets. One of our present mischiefs is that the English dramatist is bidden to try and hit two different bull's-eyes with one shot; he is commanded by his public and the press to meet opposing sets of conditions, to minister to widely opposing tastes. And seeing that the drama must always be a popular art—a popular art, not a popular entertainment—seeing that a half-empty theatre of itself makes a bad play and bad acting, he can only live at all by drawing a certain number of crowded paying audiences around him. If he shoots wide, he most likely hits neither of the bull's-eyes.

I think, however, it may be claimed that there is in this great nation of London, with its constant stream of visitors, an audience sufficiently numerous to support an intellectual English drama. I think there is a large body of public opinion waiting to be organised, a large vague feeling of expectancy waiting to be informed and directed, a general wish that the subject of a national drama should be explored and experimented upon. I have already thanked Mr. Oswald Crawford for having struck his finger on the central spot, the want of any definite understanding between our literature and drama.

He goes on to make practical suggestions for a future drama. And here I think an examination of his proposals will give us an

insight into the whole matter, will show us exactly what the real 'barriers' are and where they lie. Mr. Crawford perceives that modern audiences are more and more grudging of the time that they will give to sit out a performance. The lateness of the dinner hour has something to do with this; the hurry of modern life, the value of time, are also to be taken into account. But neither of these is the governing factor.

What, then, is the governing factor? Audiences will sit with no sign of impatience from eight till twelve or half-past to see Sarah Bernhardt, or Réjane, or Salvini, or a Wagnerian opera. They will, under quite special conditions, sit nearly all day to see the Passion Play. To put it briefly, audiences will sit as long as they can see great acting in interesting plays. But no matter what great or interesting play has been written, audiences will not sit to hear it for one moment unless it is being acted in a great and interesting manner. Then the whole of the credit is due to the actor, after all? Not a bit of it; just his fair share, which is usually about half of his one character, sometimes a little more, sometimes a little less, but usually I suppose about a half. And this brings us to the unfolding of the law I have previously glanced at, the law whose existence is not even suspected by English playgoers, viz.: 'It is not what the playwright has written or intended that audiences see, but only that part of it which is vitalised by the actor, vitalised in accord with the playwright's design, vitalised in such a way as not to unbalance or distort or obliterate that design.'

We begin to see the first great pitfall that eternally awaits the playwright.

Ascend some mountain when the clouds are gathering round its summit; look down through the constantly shifting gaps; see little islands of green down below; little ribbons of road leading nowhere; great cities being wholly blotted out, or only guessed at from the fragments of spires and pinnacles that float unbuttressed on the vapour; mist, mist, mist, and uncertain drifting everywhere. Try to form some idea of the landscape, some coherent picture of what lies before you, then try to piece together the picture that the playwright has graven when it is blurred by bad acting and bad stage management.

The main thing to note with regard to the length of a play is that audiences will sit for four hours providing that the acting is vital enough to keep them in their seats. And I think that herein lies one superior attraction of the French theatre which Mr. Oswald Crawford has failed to mention, in that our neighbours have a far greater number of great natural actors and actresses than our English stage can show, while in point of general average training and technique we dare say nothing, and in saying nothing we say all.



Therefore underlying the whole situation is this fact, that in the absence of a reading public fine or great plays can only be produced in direct proportion and relation to the number of fine and great and trained actors who are available to interpret them. I hope I shall not be represented or misrepresented as complaining of the actors and actresses who have interpreted my own plays. I do indeed owe a debt of gratitude to those who have so loyally, and so patiently, and in some instances so magnificently introduced my work to the English public. Let me hasten to record this immense debt of general gratitude; let me at any time be called upon to make specific acknowledgment in any of those numberless instances where splendid stage talents have been ungrudgingly employed with the happiest results for myself.

This must not lead us away from the broad fact that we have nothing like so many or such highly trained actors and actresses as can be found in France; and that the future success, and indeed to a large extent the future writing, of high-class plays depends chiefly upon our obtaining an adequate supply of highly trained comedians.

I saw a modern play at the *Français*. It held me throughout the evening and gave me a constant illusion of being in the best French society, and of overseeing a wonderfully interesting story. I afterwards saw the same piece at a West-end London theatre, the characters and scenes remaining French. It was played by some well-known actors, not indeed of the very first rank, but yet quite efficient according to our notions. The whole thing was dull, false, feeble, vulgar, and impossible from beginning to end. Now all that difference lay in the acting and stage management. Yet it was impossible to blame the actors; they did not give what could be detected, even by experts, as bad or lifeless performances. It was only the comparison with what I had seen at the *Français* that enabled me to say that the play was really ruined by the acting. If it had been the first performance of a comparable play of English life, the actors would have been praised for doing their best in what was obviously a hopeless piece, and the author would have been blamed. And nobody could have impugned this judgment, since nobody can be blamed for not seeing what is not there. Most regular playgoers, I suppose, saw the delightful performances of M. Capus' *La Veine* and *Les Deux Ecoles* at the Garrick last summer. Loud admiration was expressed on all sides. 'So then real life can be made interesting on the stage, after all!' Yes, when it is superbly played by such artists. One dreads to think what kindred pieces would look like on the English stage.

But it is not merely the lack of a large trained body of actors and actresses with great methods that stunts our English drama. We have great actors and actresses among us, great artists too;

nobody can more willingly offer more convincing testimony on that point than myself.

But how is it that so many of these, and those in the highest places, are never seen in English pieces by recognised English authors? This is a question upon which English playgoers have a right to press for enlightenment. A generation or two ago it was the custom of the leading actor to buy a piece outright, generally an adaptation from the French; he was then at liberty to put it in a box, or put it on the fire, or put it on the stage with such alterations as his judgment, or policy, or vanity might dictate. Now it is very plain that the rise of a national English drama must put an end to transactions of this kind. It is not a question of whether in many cases the actor's judgment and instincts may not be surer than the author's; very often, and especially in what is immediately effective with an audience, the actor is able to offer most valuable suggestions. And, speaking for myself, I make it an invariable rule in this and other matters to accept advice when it coincides with my own opinion.

But very often the necessities and advantages and well-being of the play are not in the least identical with the necessities and advantages and well-being of the leading actor's reputation. And this fact to a large extent, to an extent that is daily growing larger, has separated the best English plays from their best possible representation, perhaps from the only adequate representation of them. English playgoers are herein the losers, and it is they who must finally adjudge the dispute. But it is quite clear that if we are to have an English drama, it can only be settled one way; it is not a matter of fees, or of self-importance, or of precedence, it is a matter where a just pride in one's art will always spring up so long as there is any life in the art at all.

But further, not only is the training of our actors and actresses deficient and slovenly, but the state of affairs is every day tending to grow worse. Mr. Benson's and Mr. Ben Greet's are now the only *répertoire* companies left on the English stage. It is a remarkable fact that nearly all the most striking recent successes, both in modern and poetic drama, have been made by members of Mr. Benson's company—that is, by actors who have had the advantage of constant, hard, and varied training; who have not grown mannered and careless and lazy in the comfortable and ignoble shelter of a long run.

From all this I hope it is apparent that a concurrent, if not a primary move in the production of good plays is the foundation of an academy, or training school or schools for actors, so that an adequate interpretation may be ensured. Otherwise good plays, even if written and produced, will merely fall dead and leave no seed.

I have elaborated this point because I am sure it should be our first practical step; all building of national theatres is at present out of the question. The first great practical move to be taken in dramatic reform is somehow and somewhere to provide training grounds for young actors or actresses. The first great ideal, never quite to be realised, but always to be upheld and impressed upon playgoers, is the separation of the art of the drama from popular entertainment.

I have left until now Mr. Oswald Crawford's suggestion as to the way of meeting the supposed demand of English audiences for shorter hours at the theatre. I have shown that this is to some extent a demand for more vital and continuous interest on the stage. But doubtless a shortening of the time, say from nine till eleven, is desired and would be welcomed by a large body of our playgoers. Mr. Crawford suggests that the first act of our plays should be omitted, and that in lieu of it the author should write a narrative prologue giving the substance in one literary speech.

It is just possible that this might be done successfully for once in a way, as a *tour de force*. But it is quite certain that nothing but a hybrid, infertile form of art could issue therefrom. If anyone wishes to write narrative poetry, let him do it; there is still a great field open. If anyone wishes to write drama, let him do it, or try to do it. But if the piece has to be shortened let it be shortened according to the rules of its own art. Will Mr. Crawford forgive my telling him that no man should think himself a dramatist until he can so condense and compress his dialogue that behind it is hidden and packed up a narrative of greater volume than the dialogue itself? I do not say that the main outline of the entire story may not often be given in half a dozen words; but I do say that whatever is essential for the audience to learn must by suggestion, by implication, by side-lights and contrivances, be given by the dramatist in dialogue which shall convey all necessary facts of history, all necessary facts of character, all relations of the persons in the play to one another and to the main theme—shall do all this in far fewer words than would be used by a story-teller in telling the same story in the third person. And therein lies the art of the playwright; therein lies his peculiar technique, which I affirm is more difficult to master to-day than the technique of painting, a technique which every man who hopes to be a painter will willingly give many years to learn.

So that whatever reduction it is advisable to make in the length of plays should be made within the rules of the art of playwriting—that is, by further compressing the story. What is perhaps the greatest story that was ever told on the stage, the *Edipus Tyrannus*, is not sensibly longer in words than *Box and Cox*, and it contains far more story and action.

I think that English playwrights, guided by the loud entrances

of late-comers in the stalls, are learning this necessary lesson of compression. In this connection let who will glance at the first act of *Tartuffe*, which is all exposition, and contains no action to speak of. But Mr. Oswald Crawford thinks that the practice of writing prologues would make us 'literary.' At best it could only teach us to write narrative poetry or narrative prose, and it is not these but national drama that the English nation is supposed to lack just at present. So that Mr. Oswald Crawford's reform would really draw off our forces from our own proper work. Now a change of work is alluring and beneficial, but, speaking for myself, I fear that all the poor literary skill I possess outside of playwriting may be mortgaged in framing gentle entreaties and admonitions to the editor of the leading journal, touching the elementary courtesies of dramatic criticism.

There is one sentence in Mr. Crawford's article which illumines the whole matter. Mr. Crawford says: 'Stagecraft is an art, and an important one, but literature is a far greater one, and only a great writer could write a great prologue.' Just so, but only a much greater writer could write a great drama. And it is here a question of writing drama, wherein skill and practice in writing prologues will help us scarcely at all. True it is that literature is a far greater art than mere stagecraft, but what we are seeking to produce is not stagecraft, but stagecraft that shall be also literature. Here I think Mr. Crawford in unconsciously opposing literature to stagecraft has disclosed the whole situation, has disclosed what and where are the real 'barriers' between literature and our drama. For the benefit of English literary men who wish to write plays, and of English literary critics who wish to discuss them, these 'barriers' may be conveniently pointed out.

English literature, then, can be seen on the present English stage under the following conditions:

(1) The writer must have some natural instinct for the stage, some inborn gift for the theatre.

(2) He must patiently learn the technique of the stage, a technique I believe to be far more difficult and exacting to-day than that of painting, which everyone will allow is not to be acquired without years of study and practice.

(3) His literature must inform and exhibit a strong, moving, universal story; and must do this in a casual unsuspected way, as if the writer were unaware and unconcerned about it.

(4) His literature must be so broad and human that it can be instantly apprehended and digested by the boys in the gallery; who will else begin to hoot him, and prevent his play from being heard at all.

(5) His literature must be so subtle and delicate that it will tickle the palates of literary critics in the stalls; who will else proclaim him to be a vulgar mountebank and impostor, practising the cheapest tricks of moneymaking.

(6) His literature must exactly fit the mouths, and persons, and manners, and training of the various members of the company who are to deliver it; or it may appear to the audience in some inconceivable guise or disguise of quaint imbecility.

(7) His literature (in a modern play) must be of that supreme quality which is constantly and naturally spoken by all classes of English men and women in everyday life, it must be obviously and frankly colloquial; or the writer will be instantly convicted of artificiality and unreality in a matter where everybody is an expert.

(8) His literature must be of that kind which will immediately bring at least eight hundred pounds a week to the box office, in addition to the costs of production; or his manager will be hastily advanced to the bankruptcy court.

These, then, are eight of the 'barriers' between literature and the drama. And after this explanation I do not think it will be fair for literary men or literary critics to speak of a 'close profession,' a 'dramatic ring,' 'a privileged enclosure, barred to the outsider, for the professional playwright.'

At different times I have had through my hands manuscript plays of men whose names are eminent in literature, men of high dignity in the Church, men of the highest renown in science, and they have generally shown an entire ignorance of the conditions I have laid down above.

After this I hope we may beg that literature will cease to flout and despise the modern drama, and will try to understand what our difficulties are; how tough is the battle we are fighting with vulgarity, with theatricality, with the prevalent lust for senseless and sensual entertainment, with all the forces that are ranged on the side of sprawling licentiousness.

I take it for granted that it is desirable to have an English drama. How strange it would be if an English painter could by any possibility moot such a question about his art! Yet the drama is in itself far more searching, instant, and operative than painting, or indeed than any of the other arts, far more potent for intellectual ferment and life. Surely in any well-ordered community the drama should be the most alive of all the arts.

As Mr. Oswald Crawford has shown, in France the national drama is a live part of the national literature. That is because French literary men love and understand their drama; are jealous for it, instead of being jealous of it; jealous and ignorant of it, and fitfully contemptuous, as they are in England.

Now if the English nation desire to have a drama, the way to it is very plain; very plain and straightforward, though it must be owned it will be very difficult and hard of ascent. I have here indicated some of the difficulties, and I have pointed out what should be our first move—namely, to start a training school for our

rising actors. I fear there can be no training school for playwrights; 'therein the patient must minister to himself.' I hope, as I have leisure, to deal with other difficulties and misunderstandings as they may arise. My excuse for again vexing the public must be that some of the most important matters are in their essence quite different from what they appear to be, and can only be truly weighed and estimated when they are approached with a practical knowledge of the stage from within. It is true that any man who looks at a watch can tell whether it goes or no; but it is only the practical watchmaker who can explain why it does not go, and thereupon can mend it and start its working.

One word more of thanks to Mr. Oswald Crawford for having brought this matter forward; and again another word of thanks to him for his defence of the English drama from the foolish cleverness of the critic who 'writes down every play and playwright. It is pretty sport to him, and to his readers, but the drama suffers. All this is very commendable on the understanding that the British drama is a noisome monster, and to be ended at all price; but it is deplorable in the extreme for those who would like to believe that one day it may live and prosper in the land.'

That is well put, and needs to be remembered. I do not wish to hark back to personalities in a case where already they have been too freely used. But perhaps a natural resentment may be forgiven to him who in the sweat of the battle is met by one with a pouncet-box, whose only part in the fight is to sneer at the soldiers, and to call them 'unmannerly, untaught knaves.'

The affair has larger aspects and implications than those which are merely personal. What are the qualities which an English dramatist may reasonably look for in the man who is sent to judge a work that has cost some six months' incessant toil to himself, a month's toil and anxiety to all the company, and perhaps one or two thousand pounds to the manager in its production? Surely the English playwright may ask that in matters of technique he shall be judged by one who understands the numerous intricacies and difficulties of his craft; in matters of literature and art by a competent student; in matters of morals by a sane and virile Englishman; in matters of taste by a person of taste; in matters of manners by one who is on easy terms with the different classes of English life; in matters of fact by an honest reporter. And seeing that it is only by sympathy that any critic can hope to gain either insight or permanent influence, seeing that all destructive criticism is vain and stifling toil on the dustheap of Time, it is assuredly not unreasonable for English dramatists to hope that the leading English journal shall appoint a critic who has some natural and instinctive liking for the art; some faith and hope that the English drama may again become a great art, worthy of a great nation. Surely the first

sovereign quality in a critic is a sympathetic attitude towards the art that he criticises. The other qualities and accomplishments I have named, although they are various, are not rare among English journalists; if I do not name any one of our present judges who possesses them, it is only because it might seem a slight to others who have an equal claim. Not to pursue the matter further than is necessary, I will not, unless I am challenged, touch upon any of the various qualifications I have named, except only the one that refers to literature.

Mr. Oswald Crawford asks the most pregnant and pertinent question that can be asked in the present condition of our stage: 'Why are our literature and our theatre so estranged? Why are our greatest men of letters absent from our theatre, absent as creators, absent as critics?' He asks that question in the most sympathetic way, and throws out one or two suggestions which on examination do not prove to be very practical. But his merit is that he has raised a vital question, not that he has attempted a faulty solution of it. Surely a review of his article should have recognised the value and importance of his inquiry. All that I can remember of the *Times*' review of Mr. Oswald Crawford's article is a clever and destructive raid upon his proposals, with no perception of the real matter at issue. And when Mr. Oswald Crawford suggests, what is surely a most desirable thing, that eminent men of letters should be invited to our first nights, the whole question is dismissed, so far as I can recall, with a jest about Mr. Lecky writing a notice of *Charley's Aunt*. What is the meaning of that? How is it relevant? In what country would anyone comparable to Mr. Lecky be expected to write a notice of a play comparable to *Charley's Aunt*?

I would not have touched this point had it not supplied an exact illustration of the methods, constantly pursued in the *Times* supplement, of dealing with questions relating to the drama. I understand that these are 'impressionist' methods, and then again that they are the methods of a 'critic's critic.' A critic's critic is then something immensely raised above the ordinary critic? I do not know what position I may rightly claim for myself in this matter, seeing that I am the critic of a 'critic's critic.' Apparently that should be a loftier station still. Let me disclaim and decline it.

But, to conclude the whole matter, let me render a sincere tribute to the brilliant, clear, incisive literary style in which these methods have been displayed, superficial and mischievous as they appear to me, harmful as I think them to the best interests of the drama, and, so far as they are operative, wholly destructive of any advance or development.

And in the hope of withdrawing all personal animosities let me cordially thank the editor of the *Times* in that, having proclaimed me throughout the civilised world as a libeller of his paper and his

critic (see *Times*, the 7th of March 1903), he has, up to the present, kindly refrained from visiting me with my due legal punishment.

Let me with still more abundant gratitude acknowledge his goodness to my art in giving so much prominence and consideration week by week to dramatic matters. It is only by constant and fearless (and I hope good-natured) discussion of our difficulties that we shall reach to the end we all have in view, the gradual establishment of the English drama, its gradual recognition by English playgoers as a fine art.

HENRY ARTHUR JONES.



## THE GOSPEL OF MR. F. W. H. MYERS

MR. MYERS'S work on *Human Personality*, though it is interesting and suggestive in many incidental ways, is an astounding monument of misapplied talents and speculation; and if it can be said to have logically any tendency at all its tendency is to confirm the very conclusions which its writer has laboured to overthrow. It is, however, well worth examining. I shall begin with a brief analysis of its thirteen hundred closely printed pages, for which most readers should be grateful as a guide to its bewildering labyrinths.

The great task to which Mr. Myers has addressed himself is to prove, by inductive and experimental methods, that the soul of man, or the essence of the personality of the individual, is distinct from the organism through which alone it normally reveals itself. If this is to be proved, as he very properly says, we must begin with a study of personality as normal observation gives it to us. Mr. Myers, in fact, at starting is the type of the ordinary scientist.

What then, he asks, is our personality seen to be when modern science submits it to physiological and psychological analysis? The pre-scientific view, he says, was the view expressed thus by Reid: that 'the identity of a person is a perfect identity. A person is a *monad* and is not divisible into parts.' This view, says Mr. Myers, science rightly rejects. Modern science, he continues, has proved conclusively that whatever else human personality may be it is an elaborate co-ordination of the parts of the physical organism, of which organism the brain is the supreme representative. But, says Mr. Myers, this view, though indubitable, if we accept it as a half of the truth, is not true if we insist on taking it for the whole; and the previous view, though untenable if we regard it as the whole, is true nevertheless if we accept it as expressing a half. Personality, in fact, as we know it, is found, when adequately analysed, to be far more complex than even current science believes it to be, for it unites the simplicity of the pre-scientific idea of it with all the elaborate co-ordination discerned in it by the modern scientist. Let us, says Mr. Myers, before coming to the question of its simplicity, first make ourselves familiar with the main facts of its complexity.

The first and most obvious of these facts is as follows: Whereas

till recently the personality of man was regarded as something that was bounded by the limits of the normal consciousness, we now know (if I may quote some recent words of my own) 'that, like an iceberg, which floats with most of its bulk submerged, the human mind, from its first day to its last, has more of itself below the level of consciousness than ever appears above it.' This is the great fact with which Mr. Myers sets out. We now are aware, he says, that personality is not 'unitary'; that it is not, according to the old-fashioned conception of it, something 'known with practical completeness to the (ordinary) waking self.' There is one part of it which is above the threshold of ordinary consciousness and another part which is normally below it; and the first he calls the *supraliminal* and the second the *subliminal* self. The subliminal self is, in his opinion, the recipient of all the experiences, thoughts, affections, and appetites derived by man from his human and animal ancestors. The supraliminal self, which is stimulated by the world of experience, and reacts on it, is something thrown up above the surface by the self which is submerged below. 'Being the result,' says Mr. Myers, 'of irregular accretions in the past,' its unity 'is federative and unstable. It consists even now only in the limited collaboration of multiple groups,' and what the groups are which have thus become supraliminal was determined by natural selection during the struggle of incalculable ages.

Thus far Mr. Myers's argument, even if some of his details are questionable, is in perfect general accordance with that of the most orthodox evolutionist; and instead of exhibiting any germs of spiritualism it is what many people would call materialistic in the highest possible degree. But at this point Mr. Myers makes his own special departure. To the ordinary scientific thinker the subliminal or submerged self is a complex of unconscious activities, which rise naturally into consciousness as a bulb rises into a flower, thus showing that consciousness, as such, is no necessary attribute of mind. This it is that Mr. Myers will not admit; and in denying this view he first enters a speculative region of his own. He asserts that the subliminal self is not the unconscious part of the supraliminal, but is a separate conscious entity, and that the supraliminal self is a separate entity also. The latter is as mortal and as dependent on the physical organism as any man of science can say it is; but the former stands on a totally different footing. The organism depends on it, not it on the organism, and for it alone Mr. Myers claims immortality. How these two selves are related we shall see better presently. We will first see how Mr. Myers seeks to prove their dual existence.

He begins this task with an analysis of the self we know—the supraliminal self of common life and experience—and here he returns for the time to the ordinary methods of science, and to many of its latest conclusions, with which he is well acquainted.

I will henceforward state his argument as he himself has arranged it, and will, for the reader's convenience, refer to his several chapters.

In *Chapter II.* he deals with the disintegration of the supraliminal self. He takes his facts and illustrations not from spiritualistic sympathisers, but from the records of well-attested cases in French hospitals and elsewhere. He shows us how, under certain normal conditions, the supraliminal self is split up into various parts, and how, not infrequently, the personality of a single individual actually divides itself into two personalities or more, each with a separate memory and a widely different character. Amongst a number of such cases he cites that of Felida—well known to the whole medical world—who was two persons in one, and that of Miss Beauchamp, who was four. This whole chapter, so far as it is a collection of facts, will well repay careful study. Mr. Myers's own inference from this is a very different matter. It is this: that the disintegrable character of the supraliminal self shows that it is not the true self, since it has no indissoluble cohesion, and that the true self resides in the subliminal region.

In *Chapter III.* he pursues his argument further by reference to the facts of what is commonly called genius. Here again his facts, considered as facts, are interesting. The main characteristic of genius, he says, is the remarkable spontaneity of its operations. Thoughts, images, intuitions crowd into the consciousness of its possessor, so that they seem to master him rather than he them.<sup>1</sup> This process Mr. Myers calls 'the subliminal uprush.' The phrase is a sufficiently good one, and his analysis of the facts is true. Here again, however, his inference is another matter altogether. He thinks that this 'uprush' is the work of the true or fundamental self, inspiring and stimulating the subsidiary self, if not in an abnormal manner yet at all events to an abnormal degree. The phenomena of genius, in fact, are, according to him, direct evidence of the reality and separate existence of the subliminal self.

In *Chapter IV.* he discusses the phenomena of sleep, and draws from them the same inferences. Sleep, he says, is a suspension of the supraliminal consciousness, and a partial setting free of the subliminal self, which is, he insists again, a separate self-existing personality. The class of facts which prove this most conclusively are the recovery in dreams of memories lost to the waking consciousness, and the perception in dreams of events unknown to the waking experience.<sup>2</sup> To these must be added the refreshment produced by sleep, which Mr. Myers attributes to doses of spiritual vitality administered secretly by the subliminal self to the supraliminal.

In *Chapter V.* Mr. Myers deals with hypnotism. He has indeed

<sup>1</sup> See section 610 for the manner in which Watt invented the steam engine. The sections in Mr. Myers's two volumes are numbered consecutively.

<sup>2</sup> See sections 413 and 421A.

referred to it in his chapter on disintegration, but a full account of it he has postponed until he has dealt with sleep; for hypnotism, he says, is merely 'an experimental development of the sleeping phase of personality.' This chapter again, as a collection of facts, is most interesting, nor is there any reason for calling the facts themselves in question. Mr. Myers sees in the deeper stages of hypnotism an immediate access gained, by physiological means, to an underlying life or entity, which is the real soul of man, and which, though it communicates with us by means of the physical organism, uses this organism as nothing more than an instrument to communicate knowledge to us which it has gained by means which are not physical. In the subliminal soul we discover, according to Mr. Myers, the reintegration of that humanity which supraliminally we have found so disintegrable.

In *Chapter VI.* Mr. Myers deals with what he calls sensory automatism. He means by this the internal generation of images, similar to those produced in us by external objects, but which are not produced by the ordinary channels of sense. Here again we are in the region of familiar facts. We know that the drunkard, in delirium, sees snakes in his boots as clearly as though they were there and had impressed themselves on the retina of his eye. With similar clearness we see objects in dreams; and in dreams, too, we hear noises and voices, though they have not come to us through our ears. We know also, from an experience which is wide though not universal, that images and sounds similar to those which we perceive during sleep are perceived by sane persons during their hours of waking consciousness, just as the snakes are perceived by the victim of delirium tremens, when there is nothing externally in the physical world to correspond to them. These are hallucinations; and to this class, says Mr. Myers, in one sense or another, belong most of those phenomena which are popularly classed as ghosts. But a careful examination of the evidence with regard to these apparitions shows us, he continues, that they are separable into various groups. Some have no more significance than the snakes seen by the drunkard. Their origin is within the skull. The physics of the brain will account for them. Others again, he thinks, may be explained by a theory which, apparently unknown to Mr. Myers, had already been propounded by the late Mr. Laurence Oliphant. Every physical movement, according to this theory, leaves some impress on all the objects surrounding it, like the lines in which the voice records itself on the moving disc of a phonograph: and these movements, with the things or persons that cause them, can, under suitable circumstances, be reproduced in the consciousness of individuals who are sufficiently sensitive. The majority of ghosts can perhaps be disposed of in these ways, without the necessity of invoking any theory which does not accord in character with current scientific conceptions. But in addition to ghosts such

as these there are others, which convey information of a kind which shows that they are not merely phantom images, manufactured by the brain, or revibrated from physical surfaces. But here again, says Mr. Myers, the phenomena are of two kinds. Some of the cases, for instance, in which one person sees the phantasm of another, or the manner of the latter's death, may be explicable by the hypothesis of telepathy. That telepathy is a fact Mr. Myers strongly insists; but it is not, in itself, he says, a fact more spiritual or hyperphysical than light, nor does it point of itself to an intelligence independent of matter. But there is, he says, amongst the phenomena we are here concerned with, a special class which cannot be explained thus. For example, the death of some distant person is occasionally announced by the appearance of the same phantasm to several persons simultaneously, which could not be due to any series of telepathic brain-waves; and again the phantasm, on other occasions, presents itself to the percipient not as though it were visiting him, but as though the percipient himself had travelled to the scene of the tragedy. These phenomena, says Mr. Myers, are explicable only as cases of self-projection, as actual detachments of the subliminal self from the physical organism with which it condescends to be associated.

In *Chapter VII.* he deals with phantasms of the dead, as distinguished from the phantasms of those who are living or in the act of dying. He cites a multitude of cases from Mr. Gurney's book on the subject, and ends with repeating afresh, on what he takes to be still stronger evidence, the same conclusion that the previous chapter ends with.

In *Chapter VIII.* he deals with what he calls motor automatism. By this he means effects produced on physical objects through the agency of living bodies, but not controlled by the personalities with which these bodies are associated normally. Of such phenomena table-turning is the most familiar example; but the most important are automatic writing and speaking, the object here affected being the body of the medium himself. Of the latter kind he cites a number of cases, the two most remarkable being these: the case of Hélène Smith,<sup>3</sup> which Mr. Myers calls classical, and that of Colonel Gurwood, the editor of the Duke of Wellington's *Despatches*.<sup>4</sup> Of these I shall speak presently.

In *Chapter IX.* Mr. Myers arrives at what we may call the climax of his argument, and introduces us to the phenomena of 'trance, possession, and ecstasy,' which are, he says, the highest and crowning proofs of the divine, the hyperphysical, and the immortal nature of man. Of ecstasy, indeed, he does not say very much. His main concern is with trance and what he calls 'possession.' Trance is the condition under which possession takes place; and he means by possession the temporary but complete expropriation from

<sup>3</sup> Section 835.

<sup>4</sup> Section 861.

a given brain of both the two selves—the supraliminal and the subliminal—of which it is the normal home, and the temporary occupation of it by a personality wholly different. It differs from motor automatism in one way and in one way only. In this case the possession of the brain by the alien personality is complete; in the other it is only partial. Here again Mr. Myers gives us many examples, but he mainly relies on two, which form, when taken together, the composite rock on which he builds his church. These examples are the case of the Rev. Stainton Moses and Mrs. Piper. Mr. Myers claims that if all other evidences of man's immortality were to fail the phenomena exhibited through the mediumship of this lady and gentleman would be enough to establish the fact that discarnate souls exist, and can actually take possession of living organisms (the normal landlords becoming for the time absentees), and can, through their use of these organisms, communicate with living persons. This being proved, he says, his whole case is established. The soul is a spiritual unity, superior to and essentially independent of the perishing physical body through which ordinary science knows it.

But Mr. Myers has not ended yet. In his tenth and last chapter he sums up in a philosophical form the general view of existence to which his previous arguments must conduct us. He gives us an outline of his religio-scientific gospel. To this singular document I shall refer before I have finished; but first let us re-examine the ground which we have thus rapidly traversed, and see what, when considered in the light of a dispassionate judgment, the special facts amount to on which the new gospel is founded.

These special facts divide themselves into two classes. Firstly there are those which, though novel, and still startling, are nevertheless attested by physiological and psychological science, such as the fact of submerged mentation and the various phenomena of hypnotism. Secondly there are those which, though much evidence exists for them, are nevertheless doubted or denied by the majority of ordinary people. As for the former, they may be left to speak for themselves presently. We need concern ourselves here with the latter class only. It is impossible to discuss the evidence by which Mr. Myers supports them; but I will try to give the reader an idea of their general character. They begin with mere apparitions, familiar to the student of ghost stories—apparitions which are appearances and never anything more. Then come apparitions of a kind equally familiar to us—apparitions of persons living or in the act of dying, whose appearance coincides with their death, or with some act in their lives; and to these must be added pictures cast on such surfaces as walls, and representing some distant event and the moment of an actual occurrence. The character of such phenomena as these needs no examples to illustrate it; and they are not the

phenomena on which Mr. Myers lays most stress. These last are what he calls 'veridical phantasms' of the dead, as distinguished from the living or the dying, 'sensory automatism,' 'motor automatism,' and 'possession.' I shall illustrate them in order by the best examples of them to be found in Mr. Myers's repertory.

(1) Hélène Smith of Geneva—whose case Mr. Myers calls, as we have seen, 'classic'—exhibited a series of phenomena which were carefully studied at the time by Professor Flournoy, a well-known scientist—a total disbeliever in spiritualism—who wrote a book about her. This woman was capable of putting herself into a kind of hypnotic trance, in which she declared herself influenced by a variety of spirits. The most remarkable of her performances was an account she gave of a vision of a mountain village in Switzerland, the name of which, she said, was Chassenaz, of its syndic, Chaumontet, and of its *curé*, Bournier. Neither Mdlle. Smith herself, when awake, nor any of those present, were even aware that such a village existed; but at last they discovered it on a map, and learnt that thirty years previously a Chaumontet and a Bournier had been its syndic and its *curé* respectively. It turned out, however, that Mdlle. Smith had, in early life, stayed in its immediate neighbourhood. Mr. Myers accordingly agrees with Professor Flournoy in attributing her revelations mainly to the action of a submerged memory, which reconstructed and visualised fragments of past knowledge; and of such reconstructions he regards this as a 'culminant example.' He insists, however, that an element of telepathy was nevertheless involved in it, and here it appears that Professor Flournoy agrees with him. Mr. Myers, however, differs from Professor Flournoy in asserting that the whole process, whether constructive or telepathic, was the work of a subliminal self, independent of supraliminal. This case therefore forms, he says, a fit introduction to cases in which the action of the supra-physical subliminal self is yet more evident. Of the character of such cases the following incident is an example.

(2) Mr. Hensleigh Wedgwood, brother-in-law to the illustrious Darwin, assisted a Mrs. R., one of his intimate friends, in various experiments with planchette. On one occasion was produced an extraordinary series of writings, which at first did nothing but bewilder the experimentalists. The supposed spirit, by whom the movements of planchette were controlled, signed himself 'J. G.,' and made a rude drawing of an arm rising above an indented line and holding a sort of sword. The spirit said that the thing represented was given him on 'paper and other things,' and often abruptly stopped, complaining of a pain in his head. He finally explained that his name was Colonel Gurwood, that he had been wounded in the Peninsular War, and had killed himself on Christmas Day forty-four years ago. None of those present knew his name; still less did they know his history. The truth of what he had told them they

not long after verified, and they then realised that the rude drawing he had made was the crest accompanying the coat of arms which had been granted him by the King for his gallantry.

(3) In the foregoing case the spirit revealed itself by influencing the personality of the experimentalists, or rather of some one of them. We now come to examples of possession—Mr. Myers's supreme phenomenon—in which the personality of the experimentalist is altogether extruded, and his or her organism completely occupied by the spirit. The Rev. Stanton Moses, his acquaintance with whom Mr. Myers says was 'epoch-making,' was 'possessed,' when in trance, by a considerable variety of spirits—by a friend of Erasmus, and by others who preferred the use of pseudonyms, such as 'Rector,' 'Doctor,' and 'Imperator.' On one occasion Mr. Moses had been dining with some friends, one of whose guests was a lady—a stranger to Mr. Moses—who had some months before, when visiting a connection of the host's, been much attracted by a baby seven months old. After dinner Mr. Moses, without any warning, went off into a brief trance. Whilst he was in this condition the lady just referred to was about to sit down on a seemingly empty chair, when Mr. Moses exclaimed in a voice not his own, 'Don't sit down on it! don't sit down on it! Little Baby Timmins!' On another occasion, whilst staying in his father's house, Mr. Moses, when writing, was suddenly possessed by 'Rector,' who said he had a message from a certain dead Mrs. Westoboy, who had pushed Mr. Moses down in a yard twenty-nine years ago, on which occasion he was badly bitten by a harvest bug. Mrs. Westoboy wished to say that 'gratification of bodily appetite had cast her back' in the course of her earthly pilgrimage; and Rector added that Mrs. Westoboy could prove her identity by her knowledge of a trap door in the roof of a certain house. The trap door, of which Mr. Moses himself knew nothing, was subsequently proved to exist. But even more sacred to Mr. Myers than Mr. Moses was Mrs. Piper. Mrs. Piper, when entranced, was possessed by various spirits, but chief among them was one calling himself Dr. Phinuit, who took complete possession of Mrs. Piper's body, and by means of it introduced, as their interpreter, a succession of discarnate human beings. One of these was a deceased American author, who mentioned a number of facts which his friends recognised as correct, and who one day also complained that his 'head felt bad,' and on another confessed that when first he quitted the body he felt somewhat *désœuvré*, but would very soon 'find an occupation.' Another spiritual visitor was a certain discarnate Ruthie, who conveyed the remarkable news that she did not like 'her powders.' Another was Baby Kakie, who wanted to 'see mooley cow,' who sent her love to 'Marmie,' who liked 'big horsey, not little one,' and was on the whole very happy in the bosom of her deceased grandmother. All these revelations, according to Mr. Myers, deal with actual facts which were neither



known to Mrs. Piper herself nor could have been possibly transferred to her telepathically by any other incarnate mind.

I give these stories as examples of the innumerable alleged occurrences on which Mr. Myers builds up his theory that man's hyper-physical personality is a fact which can be scientifically demonstrated. Now whether the facts themselves (apart from Mr. Myers's interpretation of them) are well attested or not is a question, as I have said already, which it would be idle to discuss here. For our present purpose, however, it is not in the least necessary to assume that, so far as they go, they are not substantially true. No procedure is more essentially unscientific than to assume that no process actually takes place in the universe other than those which science, in some formal manner, has recognised. Indeed every fresh discovery which science makes shows that the constitution of things, as potentially amenable to inquiry, is complex to a degree indefinitely beyond our present knowledge; and this is especially true of the processes which are immediately concerned with life. Our modern knowledge of electricity, of the ether, and of the  $x$  rays constitutes a warning against any undue haste in dismissing facts as incredible merely because they are new and strange; and the admitted reality of the facts which reveal themselves to the hypnotist repeats this warning with yet more special significance when we take it in connection with the unscientific contempt which men of science once accorded to mesmerism.

Accordingly that the living organism, and the brain as the organ of thought, should operate in ways which may prove as new to ourselves as wireless telegraphy would have proved to our great-great-grandfathers, is not only not an impossibility, but is the soberest of all sober likelihoods; nor is there anything incredible in the idea of an etheric telepathy, and other cognate perceptions of distant things, which would, in a perfectly natural way, explain the larger part of Mr. Myers's spiritualistic marvels, and at the same time show that these marvels were facts. All perception, except touch, indeed, is in a sense telepathic.

There is one theory only which science can *not* admit; and this is that anything of which it can take cognisance does not exist or occur as an incident of the universal order. The essential principle of science may, in short, be summed up thus: In each fact or occurrence, however small, scientific omniscience would see the history of the entire universe. It is this doctrine against which the upholders of free-will protest, and which, without repudiating science, they are continually attempting to reconcile with it. But the attempt is vain. Contemporary thinkers, like Professor Ward of Cambridge, imagine that they can accomplish this work by substituting what they call a spiritual universe for a physical, but their attempts leave the difficulty essentially unchanged. So long as

we admit that the individual mind is not in itself the sum total of all existence we admit that it is conditioned by causes which are wholly beyond its control; and whether we call them physical, or mental, or ideal, the result is practically the same. The only theory which renders free-will conceivable is a theory not of spiritual monism, but of spiritual pluralism—a theory which postulates one universal first cause, and then adds to this a multitude of personal first causes which are independent of it.

Now which of these is the theory that Mr. Myers adopts? We shall see that, as a matter of fact, he alternates between the two. In his method of argument he adheres to a theory of monism, and only in this way gives his views the semblance of science. But so far as his object is concerned, and in all his implied conclusions, the theory he advocates is essentially pluralistic. He endeavours to represent personality as a self-existent and independent first cause, which is partially conditioned by its environment, but also in its turn conditions it—influencing it by means of an energy which is generated in the personality only, and which is accordingly outside the sphere of science altogether.

He takes this step at a very early stage in his book; and he practically begs the whole point which he desires to prove by an assumption which will strike all careful and unprejudiced readers as being not only fantastic in respect of its general character but also as gratuitously inapplicable to the facts which he invokes it to explain. This assumption is that the part of the personality which operates outside the limits of normal consciousness is not an unconscious substratum which wells up into consciousness, but is a separate self with a constant and superior consciousness of its own, and that it is, in fact, the true and immortal soul of man.

It is on this assumption of the independent existence of the subliminal self that the whole structure of Mr. Myers's theory depends. If we take the assumption away the entire theory collapses. Let us consider then in what manner this initial assumption is supported by him. And first let me show the reader how the very terminology adopted by him reveals his instinctive vacillation between two opposed theories, the scientific and the mystical, and his desire to recommend the latter by hiding it under a semblance of the former. The assumed superior self he calls, we have seen, subliminal, or the self which is below the threshold of ordinary consciousness. Now in speaking of it as below the threshold he succeeds in persuading himself that his view of the matter at starting coincides with the view of science, and he thus tacitly conciliates the sympathies of the scientific reader. But what he really means is concealed by this mode of expression. What he really means is that the subliminal self is not below the threshold of ordinary consciousness, but is above its ceiling. It does not rise up into the

ordinary self, but descends into it as a visitant from above. As soon as the nature of Mr. Myers's idea is properly grasped, whatever plausibility it might have seemed to possess, disappears, and it stands revealed to us in all its bizarre nudity.

On what scientific and psychological grounds then does Mr. Myers ask us to accept this idea as true? for it is to science and psychology that he makes his first appeal. He really asks us to accept it on no scientific grounds whatever. The hands are the hands of science, but the voice is the voice of the visionary. It is impossible here, and indeed it is quite unnecessary, to combat the contention that as soon as a man falls asleep the observed phenomena of dreams demonstrate or even suggest that a higher intelligence, possessed of supernatural powers of knowledge, takes possession of his brain, and becomes its master, whilst the normal self, which was a function of the brain, effaces itself. It is impossible and unnecessary here to combat the theory that the ordinary life of man is nourished and maintained by a mysterious second self, which comes to him, like Elijah's ravens, as soon as he closes his eyes—perhaps in his bed, perhaps after dinner in his chair—and injects into his system some hyperphysical nutriment. It is still more unnecessary to combat this theory as applied to genius. To say that genius is an 'up-rushing of the subliminal self,' if this means an uprush of the unconscious into consciousness, is a very good description of what observation shows us; but genius in this respect is merely an exaggerated example of something that takes place in the mind of every human being. Ordinary thought is, of course, consciously influenced by the action on it of external things; but thoughts at the same time are constantly rising up from within, out of the bubbling fountain or cauldron of the living brain, with its hoard of post-natal and ancestral experiences—thoughts which the conscious self, even if we assume the will to be free, influences only as an agent who watches and directs them, but has no more share in originating them than a fireman with a hose in his hand originates the water that streams from it. To explain genius by a theory of a supposed superior self, which descends through the ceiling, or pushes itself up through the floor, with new pieces of furniture for the sitting-room of the self we know, is to indulge in a fancy which facts do not even suggest, and which can only have originated in a desire to support a foregone conclusion.

The fantastic nature of this theory becomes more evident still when we consider the phenomena of hypnotism, which, Mr. Myers has persuaded himself, afford us the strongest proof of it. The supposed subliminal self as operated on by the hypnotiser, instead of exhibiting any special independence or superiority, distinguishes itself mainly by its docile and credulous slavery to the suggestions of any chance operator. It is tricked by statements which would

hardly deceive an idiot. There is, indeed, only one point at which, according to Mr. Myers, it shows itself morally superior to the lower self that is supraliminal. It will do almost anything that the hypnotiser tells it to do, except what is morally wrong. Here it shows its innate spiritual purity, and enables us to see that, unlike its supraliminal companion, its moral course is always steadily upwards. On this point Mr. Myers lays much stress, and here gives a curious illustration of the manner in which he really reasons. He observes on one occasion that the Roman Catholic authorities of to-day in dealing with alleged miracles do not by any means swallow the evidences blindfold, but treat them with what he calls a 'species of pseudo-candour.'<sup>5</sup> This is precisely what Mr. Myers himself does here. He begins by admitting that there is a large body of evidence which shows that criminal suggestion is operative on hypnotised persons; but all this he dismisses with the singularly insufficient remark that the persons experimented on were of weak moral character:<sup>6</sup> and he then goes on to deal with a case in which a highly respectable subject put some sugar into somebody's tea on being told by the hypnotiser that it was poison. Of cases like this Mr. Myers disposes by adopting the theory that the hypnotised subject, though amenable in good faith to all other suggestions, fails to be taken in by suggestions of an immoral kind, and is all the while 'laughing at the hypnotiser in his sleeve, being perfectly well aware that the immoral act is a make-believe.' When his own express admissions are, however, taken together, the utmost his argument comes to is that hypnotised subjects cannot be compelled to act in a way which is contrary to the dictates of 'the normal waking conscience,' whatever these may be. He entirely fails, indeed, to prove even so much as this; but even if he *could* prove it how much would it mean? Merely that the subliminal self, the separate and superior entity, never sinks below the moral level of its perishable and inferior associate, but rises or falls with, and is in fact determined by, it. It is hard to imagine a clearer admission than this that the two selves are the same self in different conditions, and not, as Mr. Myers imagines, two independent beings.

Finally it remains to be noticed that Mr. Myers is totally unable to describe the character of this entity in any definite terms, without contradicting himself and imputing to it absolutely incompatible attributes. He begins by representing it as the storehouse of the organic history of the race, as the flower of terrestrial evolution, and the terrestrial struggle for existence, whilst the supraliminal self is merely a 'ripple on its surface,' or a reef thrown up by it above the surface of the subliminal waters; and yet he ends by representing it as a hyperphysical spirit, whose origin is beyond matter and whose functions are transmaterial.

<sup>5</sup> Section 598.

<sup>6</sup> Section 555b.

And this is the foundation, the starting-point of Mr. Myers's whole 'spiritual theory'—a theory which he claims to be founded on facts of scientific observation. The best comment on it is to state in a few words what these facts of physiology and psychology to which Mr. Myers himself refers us really prove. What they really prove is as follows: The living organism contains incalculably more than the consciousness, normal or abnormal, is in any moment aware of. As Mr. Myers himself shows us by the cases of unreasoning terror which many people experience in the dark, or in crossing open spaces, there are traces in us still of the experiences of the cave-dweller and the terrified animal.<sup>7</sup> He shows us also, by a highly interesting example, how specific fears on a mother's part, which had a definite origin in her experience, may be transmitted to her offspring, divorced from any apparent cause. And in addition to this astounding inheritance which we bring with us into the world at birth, from the moment that we see the light the brain is receiving impressions from every part of its environment, not only by means of the recognised organs of sense, but by other cognate means of which at present we know little; and of these impressions a small part only are conscious. Between the conscious part of us and the unconscious there is a constant cerebral interchange. The subliminal self is a cellar of discarded memories, a mushroom house of sprouting thoughts; and if there is such a thing as telepathy between one consciousness and another, between one unconsciousness and another, there is, we must assume, a crypto-telepathy also.

How such processes as these may take place we can at present only conjecture; but in none of the 'spiritualistic' phenomena mentioned by Mr. Myers, for which he produces any serious evidence, is there a hint of anything belonging to a sphere of existence other than that with which ordinary science deals. There are none, indeed, to which the ordinary phenomena of nature fail to afford parallels. All the senses, as I have said already, except that of touch, are telepathic; and the same event often reveals itself to the senses, not as one event, but as split up into two—for example, the flash and the sound of a distant gun—and neither reaches us till both of them have past for ever. If, endowed with sight and hearing of power sufficiently magnified, we could watch the earth to-day from the star Vega, as from an opera box, we should not be watching Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons, but the body of Christ actually hanging on the Cross; whilst as for sound, as the lips of Christ moved, we should be hearing not his voice but the roarings of the primæval monsters. None of Mr. Myers's telepathic anecdotes suggests an experience so strange and so startling as this; nor do his spiritual pictures on walls, representing distant events, suggest anything which has not its analogy in the familiar phenomena of mirage;

<sup>7</sup> Section 526B.

whilst had Mr. Myers only lived to see the development of wireless telegraphy he would have realised how unnecessary and how childish was the spiritualistic hypothesis whereby he seeks to explain the fact that a telepathic message is capable of being conveyed to several recipients simultaneously.

I say all this on the assumption that the majority of Mr. Myers's anecdotes of telepathic messages, which reveal actual facts, of his phantasms of the dead or living which convey actual information not derivable through the ordinary channels of sense, are examples of phenomena which do really occur. There is nothing in any of these which so much as suggests that the personality is in any way independent of the individual organism. They do but suggest that the nature and the processes of the organism are at present known to us only in a very partial way. They do nothing to suggest the belief in a hyperorganic self, for which the organism is merely a tool or a tenement. The absurdity of Mr. Myers's hypothesis is emphasised by the vigorous logic with which he pushes it to a last conclusion. His supposed subliminal or hyperorganic self—the marvellous self which is the passive dupe of the hypnotist—is, according to him, so far from being dependent on matter that it actually uses matter in the manner ascribed to Omnipotence; that it can sort and rearrange the molecules of the material world, and manufacture for itself the transitory but veritably molecular bodies of which Mr. Myers contends that certain apparitions consist.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, in this connection there is one more point to be noted. Mr. Myers, throughout the greater part of his work, seems himself haunted by the suspicion that what I have just said may be true—that the subliminal self after all may be merely a part of the organism, and that its spiritual activities may be explicable in a manner which will explain them away. Indeed, he almost admits that such might be his final opinion, if it were not for the phenomena of 'possession,' which gave him his supreme proof that personality was separable from the organism, and thus put the stamp of validity on all his former hypotheses. Let us consider these for a moment.

These phenomena of 'possession,' which, as we have seen, he describes as 'epoch-making,' were revealed to him through two individuals, Mr. Moses and Mrs. Piper; and on Mr. Moses and Mrs. Piper hang all his laws and his prophets. Of these two persons I must content myself with saying this: Mr. Moses was, as Mr. Myers himself tells us, not only constitutionally incapable of weighing scientific evidence, but resented the very idea of resorting to scientific methods. His whole attitude was one of awe-struck credulity in the presence of his own powers, and the incarnate spirits who took possession of his organism delivered no message which was morally in advance of the mottoes in a copy-

<sup>8</sup> Section 926A, vol. ii. p. 536.

book, or the memories of a well-read clergyman, nor conveyed to him any information of a more memorable kind than that 'little Baby Timmins' was sitting in an empty chair; that there was a trap door in the roof of a certain house; and that Mr. Moses himself had been once bitten by a harvest bug. Of Mrs. Piper, whose character appears to be far superior to that of Mr. Moses, it is needless to say much, and for the following reasons: that she herself repudiated the greatness which Mr. Myers threw on her, and maintained that her communications had their origin in a telepathic knowledge, conveyed to her from living persons, and had nothing to do with the discarnate spirits of the dead.

I have no space in the few pages at my disposal to pursue a detailed criticism of Mr. Myers's arguments further. I will now, therefore, pass on to a very brief examination of the general theory of existence which Mr. Myers himself draws from them; and if anything were wanting to justify what I have said already the reader will find it here. In case any archdeacon or canon, as I think exceedingly likely, should feel tempted to quote Mr. Myers in Westminster Abbey as a new scientific witness to the doctrine of Christian orthodoxy, let me advise him to think twice before he acts on this impulse. Mr. Myers's theory lends no support whatever to what he contemptuously dismisses as the orthodoxy of the 'pulpiteer.' It resembles the scheme of Buddhism far more than that of Christianity. It is, indeed, as he himself says, a kind of Buddhism, harmonised with scientific fact. Provisionally, then, Mr. Myers analyses the Cosmos (in which he includes the sum total of all existence) into three elements—the material, the etheric, and the metetherial. The metetherial element pervades matter and ether, just as ether pervades matter. It is the universal spiritual substance, or world soul. Out of this individual spirits are fashioned, either as self-evolved vortices or in obedience to the will of the world soul acting as a supreme unity; and life, as we know it, comes into existence only when one of these spirits 'descends,' as the Platonists say, 'into generation.' This doctrine does not apply to men only. Mr. Myers contends that if it applies to man it applies equally to every living creature—to the protozoa, the sponge, the fly, the louse, and the monkey. It presumably applies also, though he does not say this, to the vegetable. Every living thing has an independent subliminal self, which vitalises its organism and survives it. All these selves possess similar powers. All are potentially, even when not actually, telepathic. 'Our kinship with the ape' is the analogue of 'our kinship with the angel.' Mr. Myers finds it, however, impossible to believe that new spirits are being constantly evolved or created. Their number remains the same, but they are constantly being incarnated afresh, and are constantly undergoing a course of spiritual evolution, similar to that which is revealed to us in the history of physical organisms.

Thus all life is eternally working itself upwards to a point at which the individual is either absorbed into the world soul or else, by what Mr. Myers calls the 'metetherial' grace of God, is in perfect communion with it. Thus all sin, selfishness, cruelty, and sensuality, together with all misery, become relative evils only. They are steps on the way to God—a God whom all will reach after ages of spiritual 'striving.' Here, says Mr. Myers, we have in its rule outlines the new religious 'synthesis' which is rapidly revealing itself to the world, and which is to dissolve those difficulties in the way of faith and hope which have come, with the rise of science, to seem more and more insuperable.

And now let us ask what this synthesis comes to. In the first place it starts with a double falsification of thought, which shows how Mr. Myers throughout juggled with his own convictions. Of the three elements which, according to Mr. Myers, go to make up existence, the implied contrast between the first and the second is unreal. Nobody in his sober moments knows better than Mr. Myers himself knew, that matter and ether are fundamentally the same thing, and that no man of science contrasts them except for purposes of conversational convenience. For science ether is as material as an apple dumpling. Secondly, in contrasting the etheric element with the 'metetherial,' Mr. Myers introduces a fresh source of confusion and illicit implication. He contrives to smuggle in a multitude of mystical associations which, from centuries of use, cling to the word 'etherial.' To have been honest he should have said not 'metetherial' but 'metetheric.' Had he only done this his speculations would have shown themselves under a new aspect; and he would have seen the absurdity of speaking about the 'metetheric grace of God.' Throughout the whole course of his work he is continually giving us to understand that he regards the three intertangled worlds as one, operating together in obedience to some supreme unitary law, and yet this is the very conclusion which he is constantly endeavouring to elude. As an observer, when he forgets the case which he has passionately briefed himself to defend, and only considers the evidence on its own merits, as it presents itself, he shows us the spirits of the departed as so inextricably connected with their organisms that Colonel Gurwood and George Pelham still suffer from headache, and are sometimes hardly able to make their communications in consequence. He represents the metetherial world as in constant contact with the etheric, and leans to the idea that the subliminal self is continuous—that all subliminal selves in a certain sense are one; and all these conclusions reappear in his synthesis. But he does not see what this really means. He does not see that it is the abandonment of the only thesis that he values—the thesis that each separate personality is a spirit or first cause in itself, and as such is eternal. Early in his book he does indeed lay it down that the



great question of determinism and moral freedom is written across the order of things to which it is his endeavour to introduce us ; but he subsequently devotes to this question only two pages in passing, and dismisses it with a suggestion which he thinks is entirely new, but is really nothing else than one of the most familiar of subterfuges, and is utterly inconsistent with the tenor of his own reasoning. In a word, he leaves the Cosmos—the life of the personality included—a single and determined process, precisely as science finds it. The utmost that his speculations do is to raise this determinism as it were to a higher power ; while his theory of the continuity of the subliminal self, and the all-pervading metetheric element, out of which all lives emerge, is nothing but the theory of what Professor Haeckel calls ‘substance’ and what Mr. Spencer calls ‘the unknowable,’ presented to us in fantastic terminology, and reached by random flights through regions of fancy and superstition, which nevertheless bring him to the same end at last.

And in conclusion let me point out something which is more important yet. Even if we were to adopt the theory of Mr. Myers in its integrity it would be utterly fatal to the conclusion which he really desires to establish. His ultimate object is to indicate for the life of man a moral value and freedom of which science seems to divest it ; but the actual result of his theory is to reduce it to a more abject and meaningless condition than any to which it could be thrust by any scientific determinism. In transferring the seat of man’s moral and spiritual dignity from the normal waking self to a second subliminal self of which normally it knows nothing he leaves the supraliminal life a meaningless moral vacuum. It is like a fire which burns in accordance with determinate laws, except when the subliminal soul occasionally comes in and pokes it ; and the subliminal soul itself is in an even worse condition ; for its will, which Mr. Myers endeavours to conceive of as free, is, as he himself admits, more at the mercy of any chance supraliminal hypnotism than ever was that of a child at the mercy of a tyrannical parent. Mr. Myers suggests that human character in the future will be elevated to new heights by means of hypnotic suggestion, that the weak will be nerved to efforts of self-denial which are now rarely met with except amongst saints and heroes. Should this prove to be the case our new hypnotic redeemers will certainly be accomplishing their mission by means of vicarious sacrifices, but the moral value of the results will evaporate in the process of producing them.

W. H. MALLOCK.

## FROM THIS WORLD TO THE NEXT

There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st  
But in his motion like an angel sings,  
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubins ;  
Such harmony is in immortal souls ;  
But, whilst this muddy vesture of decay  
Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.

*Merchant of Venice, Act v. Scene i.*

I HAD been at work all the past winter and was feeling some strain on my nervous system. During the period of wild storms with which the month of February last belied its mild entrance, I was wrestling with the *Synthèse Subjective*—that most mysterious and abstract of all Comte's works. I was striving to master his meaning in that fifth chapter, on Differential Geometry, all the more difficult for me in that my Oxford studies had but touched the Calculus in a cursory and inadequate degree. Tired with abstruse mathematics late one night in my study, I dipped into the new encyclopædic work on *Human Personality: and its survival of bodily death*; which, in spite of its huge bulk, small type, and rambling matter, amused me in a way and set my brain in active motion. Without feeling for its philosophical conclusions anything but a genial wonder, I read on hour by hour through the interminable pile of reports of abnormal nervous phenomena, many of which are plainly of real scientific interest. But it is uncanny reading. And soon after midnight I began to feel creepy and queer. I drew my arm-chair round a bright fire of oak logs, and lay back dreamily to think what it all meant.

Suddenly a sharp pang seemed to shoot through my brain. A sense of surging of the carotid artery, followed with drumming of the ears, then a feeling of the bursting of a vessel, and finally stupor came over me as I lay back. I tried to rise: but was unable to move. I tried to call: but could not utter a sound. I strove to see what was nearest to me: but I had no sight. I was not quite unconscious: but I dimly recognised that I was paralysed by a sudden cerebral stroke.

How long I lay there I hardly know. But towards morning my absence was discovered. They came to me: presently a physician arrived; assistants, nurses followed. I dimly understood that a consultation gave small hope of recovery, and that little remained to be done by human skill. In my state of languid stupor I very faintly retained any coherent knowledge of what was passing around me; and any expectation, or any wish that seemed to wander across what remained of my mind, was too fitful and too tenuous to leave a definite impression. I was tranquil, weary, and ready for my last sleep.

What days and nights passed thus I knew not. Day and night, time, sensation, life, were all to me one quiet blank; save that, from time to time, I was softly conscious of dear ones around me, and of the care with which I was tended. I sank into a more profound slumber. Then I passed out of my last sleep: it seemed—into the Infinite beyond.

A tiny murky speck, with a grey haze like smoke rolling round it, as it fluttered in the ether, seemed to be the Earth that I had left. But the Ether itself was bright with a light that was not reflected from any sun: not radiated from any definite centre nor from any luminous body. The ether was self-luminous, or rather self-manifest, as if it were 'a bright effluence of bright essence.' 'Sight' is too material a term to be applied to a mode of perception that was entirely independent of eyes, and had no relation to what men call the laws of vision. Then was revealed the constitution of the planets; first of Mars: a congeries of metals and gases having no practical analogy to the behaviour of either on earth, and without a trace of the beings that men call intelligent organisms. Jupiter and the planets had but little to show in comparison with that infinite splendour—that immeasurable multitude—those myriad sounds—which filled the Universe.

The Universe itself was not filled with Motion. It *was* Motion. It was not charged with Light. It *was* Light. It did not reverberate with Sounds. It *was* Sound. The self-luminous Ether rang with eternal clangours of tremendous harmony and volume. And the mighty diapason of ubiquitous noises scintillated with the ever-changing colours of the iris. In that transcendental world all that men call *sensations* are interchangeable. The very Zodiacal Light chants its hymns. The Music of the Spheres is iridescent. Light *was* Space. Sound *was* Motion. Heat and Cold were not different: nor were they opposed. They were but the *systole* and *diastole* of one Essence; itself uniform, motionless, unchangeable: and yet eternally pulsating in one inexhaustible throb.

From the sun to the Pole Star, from Sirius to Cassiopeia, from Orion to the Southern Cross, the interval seemed to be no measurable distance in space, nor was the transit one of any measurable

period of time. Space was Time: and the Firmament itself, of countless and interminable Suns, was at once a point in Space as well as a point in Time. Man's earthly Sun had sunk to a Star of the eleventh magnitude. His light was but a twinkle beside the full blaze of Vega or Capella in the fiery whirlwinds of whom it was a joy to bask. For neither the abysmal cold of the most sunless depths of the Heaven, nor the central incandescence of the mightiest of the constellations, was other than delightful and natural. One seemed to revel in the tornadoes of an astral volcano; and to find rest in the icy regions where the very ether had frozen into a liquid.

One seemed? who seemed? who felt? who saw? who passed? What, or who, was I? Individuality, personality, subjectivity, had slipped off as easily as the dried husk they were now laying out for burial. How childish, how brutish, how selfish, did it seem now to conceive of any *me*! There was an end of ME, with its outlook of blind kitten or wriggling earth-worm. Should it be rather *We*—was I now a Gas, a Force, an Emanation? Should it be rather *They*?—was I an indefinite unit of a limitless Power extended in Space, and contemporaneous with all Time? The pettiness, the feebleness, the squalor of the sense of being ME was too evident. A more glorious *We* took the place of ME: and WE in turn became THEY; and THEY in a flash became ALL.

What a miserable insect should I have been in this immeasurable Universe if, by a miracle hardly conceivable of Omnipotence, the individual ME had survived! Personality was all very well in the muddy speck men call their Earth: dust to dust, ashes to ashes. But in the blaze of an Infinite Universe, scintillating in its every atom with unquenchable light, throbbing not with momentary *sensations*, but with *ideas*, ideas intercommunicable from one point in the boundless All to every other point, without need of language, and without effort, act, or delay—to drag up into this Immensity the soiled rags of 'human personality'—'twould be better to be the parasite of the *anopheles* gnat, spreading death and disease in its passion for blood. When the entire Universe is continuously and eternally apparent as a whole; when all its infinite and interminable *ideas* are simultaneously cognisable throughout its limitless field; when Motion is extinct, by reason that everything is everywhere, and Sound is swallowed up in one endless circumambient Harmony, then, assuredly, there is no place left for Sight, Hearing, Speech, or Thought. The wretched makeshifts of human sensation are as meaningless and sterile as the eyes of a mole. In this new world the craving for Personality is seen to be a sordid lust of the flesh.

The transition from the dusty, cribbed, and fetid prison of the Body to the radiant immensity of the Universe, wherein all the uses of bodily sense, and all the notions of terrestrial mind are meaningless and void, was a change so sudden and tremendous that it could not

become familiar at first. Remnants of ideas and instincts belonging to the old world of sense still lingered in the new world of transcendence. *Trasumanar significar per verba non si poria*. On earth one had played with conundrums of a geometry of four dimensions. The new world presented dimensions at once infinite in number, at once infinite and infinitesimal in quantity; rather it had no dimensions at all; for everything was everything else; and also was nothing. And so, too, in the new world numeration was infinite—all numbers were at once infinity and zero. Two *plus* two now added up  $\alpha$  millions raised to the *nth* power, and instantaneously flashed back into *minus* 0. Had shame been possible in the world of the Absolute, it would have been fit to mark this absurd attempt to count—this survival of gross materialism from the world of Relation and Matter.

The dregs of consciousness, of some flickering sensation of an individual *Me*, would now and then break out, like a forgotten weed in a well-tended garden. I tried to think of myself as *Me*. But flashes of coruscating light shot round the Heaven from Pole to Pole as if *We—They—It—*were smiling their merriment and wonder at the inexperience of the neophyte. And lo! I too was flashing a smile at myself, as a child on earth smiles at its own infantile errors; for our happy laughter was the beaming of coruscating *Aurora*—infinite in number and immeasurable in range. Yes! I was that *Aurora*: no! not a part of any single *Aurora*, not one of infinite *Aurora*, but I was *Aurora*. I was *Ether*, or rather I had ceased to be myself without becoming anything else that could be limited or defined. Such petty egoisms belong only to a world of limitations, of parts, of relations, of organisms. They drop off like dead leaves in winter in a world of infinities, of absolutes, a world which knows neither structures, nor parts, nor limits, nor substances, nor organs.

Once, whilst the sound of human voices had hardly faded from my memory, I essayed to communicate some vague idea to the world around me. Not that I attempted to speak, or even to frame a sign or a symbol, but a fitful wish seemed to move some inward effort to convey a fancy to that which was all around. The stupidity of such a wish, its wild absurdity and gross animalism, was beamed forth in the myriad flashes of a circumambient Lightning. Millions after millions of electric welkins pulsed across the Heaven, amidst the joyous peal of infinite Thunder claps. They had recognised my wish before it had been expressed: nay before it had been formed. They were *ME*: I was *THEY*: We were *IT*. The All now absorbed the Many; it had engulfed all individual entities, so that *personality* had ceased to have existence or meaning.

This All seemed at once Electricity, Light, Heat, Motion, Intelligence, and Sound. At the first peal of the abysmal Thunder round the Firmament, the faint reminiscence of humanity within

seemed to suggest some conscious effort to listen and to gather a consistent meaning. How vain! how brutish! how gross was the effort! In the Infinite and the Absolute there is no distinction of sounds, as there is no separation of parts, neither voices nor hearing. The only sound is one continuous Harmony, issuing forth without end or interval from the Infinite All:—whereby, without ceasing,

Heaven rung

With Jubilee, and loud Hosannas filled  
The eternal Regions.

Thereat I awoke. The loud Hosannas of my dream were simply the fall of the two ponderous volumes of *Human Personality* which I had been reading in my arm-chair before I fell asleep. I had been dreaming: and 1,400 pages of close print had fallen with a crash against the fender. My fire burnt low: my clock pointed to 2.45 A.M. I stretched myself, and lit a chamber candle. I had merely dreamed. The nightmare of an apoplectic stroke, my own corporal paralysis, treatment, and death, all was but an effect of 'self-suggestion,' caused by my head falling awkwardly in sleep against the arm of my chair. So slight a material pressure had started such vagaries of the 'subliminal consciousness' in my hypnotic Self. I had been 'discarnate' in dream. I had been 'cosmopathic' in spirit. I had been 'metetherial' in imagination. I had fully realised the 'disintegration of personality.' And I had tasted the infinite joys of putting on incorruption at the sound of a subjective last trump. I walked slowly to bed thinking it all over. Was not my dream as good as any other dream? Was it not infinitely more sublime, more beautiful, more wonderful than that of any S.P.R.? What do we know of the Universe, except that it is not this Earth, not the human, not the finite, not the material, as we know matter? What do we know even of Matter, except of such matter as we can handle, and feel, and see, or reach by our instruments? Much more, what do we know of Spirit? And why then, should we be so coarse, so narrow, so earthly-minded as to fancy we can unriddle the Great Mystery by means of Ghosts, bogies seen by neurotic girls, table-rapping, planchette, and crystals? Should we fasten our puny guesses about Spirit, as we on earth conceive it, upon the eternal manifestations of that Infinite Spirit which is to us mortals an inconceivable Essence? Personality we can conceive—but only as Human Personality. Personality could have neither use, nor meaning, nor place, in an Absolute and Transcendental Universe—of which we can only know that, whatever else it may be, it certainly is not this queer little speck we call Earth.

So I went to bed musing, and sad to have lost the glorious world of my dream. I placed *Human Personality* on its shelf and took down my *Paradise Lost*, turning to that eighth book where Adam

inquires of Raphael concerning celestial Motions, and is exhorted to search rather things more worthy of knowledge. As the Poet tells us :—

From Man or Angel the great Architect  
Did wisely to conceal and not divulge  
His secrets to be scanned by them who ought  
Rather admire :—

And Raphael warns our first father thus :—

Heaven is for thee too high  
To know what passes there ; be lowly wise :  
Think only what concerns thee and thy being ;  
Dream not of other worlds, what creatures there  
Live, in what state, condition or degree.

So I went to bed, slept soundly, awoke without a headache, resolved to read no more about *Human Personality*, and applied myself with new ardour to my *Subjective Synthesis*.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

## THE NOVELS OF PEACOCK

AMONG tales of whim and fantasy Peacock's novels, if so they can be called, have always held a high place. Equally removed from the problem and the proverb, they are still more unlike those pure works of art, such as Shakespeare's plays and Scott's romances, where the author stands aside altogether, and the characters are apparently left to develop themselves. Peacock follows his fancy whithersoever it leads him, and never continueth in one stay. He was as full of prejudices as an egg is full of meat, and he made his stories the vehicle for expressing them. The late Dean Merivale used to say that England had reached the summit of her greatness under a system of rotten boroughs and Latin elegiacs. To the Reform Bill and Greek Iambics he traced her gradual decline. Peacock, though he was so loose a scholar as to write Greek without the accents, seems to have believed that, if man did not live by bread alone, good wine and classical quotations were sufficient to guide him through this world of sin. He had not, like Merivale, the art of writing Latin verse. His verse is English, and excellent it is. He had not been through the mill of the University, or the public school. His scholarship was self-taught, and few men have taught themselves so well. But the Dean's doctrine was just the sort of theme with which he loved to play, and it would have enlivened his pages a good deal more than the perfectibility of man. For it is true of Peacock as of most eccentrics—that they are best when they are least serious, and do not go much below the surface of things. Peacock was a humourist in the old sense of the term. He was essentially a queer fellow. Never, or hardly ever, did he deviate into the commonplace. The one thing certain about his conclusions is that they do not follow from his premisses. His books are as provoking as Lamb's *Essays* to well-regulated minds. He violates all the conventions, and sets at defiance all the rules. Few writers are so absolutely devoid of that common sense which, as Pennialinus says, is the saving of us all. No wandering sheep was ever brought back by Thomas Love Peacock to the intellectual fold. Wherein, then, lies his charm? The same statement might be made, and the same question might be asked, about Laurence Sterne. Peacock had not the profound humour and the subtle pathos which



made *Tristram Shandy*, with all its faults, immortal. Neither had he Sterne's love of indelicate allusions, nor his cynical disbelief in the virtue of women. What he had in common with Sterne was a fantastic imagination, not his servant but his master, for he could not choose but follow where it led.

His charm lies, however, not only in this, but also in his ripe scholarship, his lively wit, his caustic irony, and a style so exquisitely felicitous that at its best it has scarcely ever been surpassed. To which may be added a power of creating graceful, delightful, and perfectly natural girls, in which only Mr. Meredith has since surpassed him. Peacock is one of the very few men who can draw the other sex better than their own. Perhaps only Walter Scott and George Meredith are equally happy in both. Certainly Peacock's male characters cannot be called natural. They are for the most part types rather than individuals, except when celebrities like Shelley and Coleridge are deliberately caricatured. Peacock was as incapable as Sterne of constructing a plot. To read him for the story is like reading Gaboriau for anything else. Collections of his songs are popular enough, for his severest critic could not deny that he was a genuine poet. I saw it stated the other day that the true 'Peacockians' only cared for the songs in their proper places. I dare not arrogate to myself that sebast and cacophonous title, as Peacock might have called it. But I love Peacock's songs, as I love Shakespeare's, wherever I find them, and I should not consider them out of place in an interleaved Bradshaw. Mr. Chromatic in *Headlong Hall* expressly maintains that the words of a song have no importance, except as a setting for the music, and his own performances are by no means always topical. Except in *Maid Marian*, where everything is in perfect harmony with everything else, and the Friar leaves the room without a song when a song would have been inappropriate, Peacock's poetry occurs just because Peacock felt inclined to write it. And indeed no man ever wrote more exclusively to please himself than the author of *Crotchet Castle*, unless it were the author of the *Sentimental Journey*. 'Those who live to please must please to live,' said the austere moralist who died the year before Peacock was born. Literature was at the most Peacock's staff. His crutch was the India House, where he seems to have done as little work for his pay as he conscientiously could. His own lines on the subject are well known, and though they need not be taken as history they have a curious interest as coming from the successor of James Mill.

From ten to eleven have breakfast for seven;  
 From eleven to noon think you've come too soon;  
 From twelve to one think what's to be done;  
 From one to two find nothing to do;  
 From two to three begin to foresee  
 That from three to four will prove a d—d bore.

In Peacock's pages, as in Sterne's, every man rides his hobby. Uncle Toby was beyond Peacock, as Matilda, and even Marionetta, were beyond Sterne. The crudity of Peacock is seen in this, that his characters, at least his male characters, represent merely qualities or tendencies, and are seldom, as human beings, complete. They are always playing a part, never simply themselves, except under the influence of some sudden catastrophe, such as the appearance of a spectre, or bodily concussion with a tangible object, or the advent of a plentiful meal. Peacock was not so much an epicurean scholar as a scholarly epicure. He made of eating and drinking something very like a religion. The captain in *Headlong Hall* expresses an opinion that a man who abstains from strong drink must have a secret he is afraid involuntarily to disclose. The parson in *Melincourt*, who undertakes to exorcise the ghost, requires the simple apparatus of a venison pasty, three bottles of Madeira, and a prayer-book. When he is found asleep in the morning, the bottles are empty, the pasty has disappeared, and the prayer-book is open where it was open before. When the lady guests of Squire Headlong faint at the sight of the skulls on Mr. Cranium's lecture-table, and call for water, the little butler brings them the only water he keeps, which is powerful enough to revive them at once. There are no 'three bottle men' now. People do not reckon what they drink. 'Heel-taps' and 'Skylight' are obsolete terms. We do not breakfast in bed, like Dr. Folliott, on beer and cold pie, or say 'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity,' like Dr. Gaster when he turned up the empty egg-shell.

Peacock had a long life, and his novels are distributed over the greater part of it. He was seven years older than Shelley, and he survived Thackeray for three years. He lived into a world, as Professor Saintsbury says, 'more changed from that of his youth than that of his youth was from the days of Addison or even Dryden.' It was not merely the Reform Bill and Greek Iambics, which Porson had written before his time, or Merivale's. It was 'the steamship and the railway, and the thoughts that shake mankind.' His clergy and country gentlemen, his schoolmasters abroad and philosophers at home, had become before his death as obsolete as the guard who woke up the inside passengers in the night and claimed to be remembered. But for a satirist in the grain, as Peacock was, there is little real change. Human folly seems to obey the law known as the conservation of energy. The quantity of it remains identical or increases with the population. The forms of it alone vary from age to age. If there are no longer any rotten boroughs, there are constituencies in which both the sitting member and the hoping candidate are expected to subscribe towards every charity and every football club. If there is no duelling in the army, and no flogging of private soldiers, there is mutual flagellation of officers and gentlemen among themselves. Champagne answers its purpose as well as

Madeira, and at least two more meals have been added to the collection of Peacock, who seldom allowed for anything between breakfast and dinner. Scythrop and Mr. Flosky are no more. Mr. Swinburne and Mr. Herbert Spencer have never, so far as I am aware, been put into a novel. Perhaps the nearest approach in modern times to *Nightmare Abbey* is Mr. Mallock's *New Republic*, than which nothing could well be severer. But it is not a novel, and *Nightmare Abbey* is. Thin as the story may be, it is a story, and Scythrop's secret meetings with the object of his affections are most ingeniously arranged. Flosky is a rather cruel, extremely vivid representation of Coleridge. Scythrop is a not unkindly caricature of Shelley. The art of Peacock is shown in producing the impression that Scythrop was a caricature, and that Flosky was not. Sometimes his likenesses are coarse daubs enough, and the most sympathetic reader must be wearied by innumerable references to Lord Brougham as 'the learned friend.' It was natural enough that Peacock should have been disappointed with Brougham. Many others were so too. But the subject of Brougham's delinquencies, however attractive in itself, is not suited to works of fiction, nor, indeed, for that matter, is the duty of discouraging colonial slavery by not drinking sugar in tea, as recommended by Mr. Forester in *Melincourt*. But even that is better than the attempt to humanise an ape by conferring on him clothes, a baronetcy, and a seat in Parliament.

Peacock passed his life in avoiding what was disagreeable. He was not ambitious, and he was neither physically nor mentally energetic. Writing was with him a luxury, an amusement, and a vehicle for conveying his peculiar prejudices to the world. They were very peculiar. He was in his way a keen politician, and yet to classify him would have taxed the ingenuity of Dod himself. There have been statesmen and writers, such as Palmerston and Bagehot, whom it would be equally misleading to call Liberal or Conservative. That is because they shunned extremes, or because they had one measure for foreign countries and another for their own. But Peacock held at the same time, and in reference to the same subject-matter, opinions which the utmost ingenuity cannot reconcile. Forgetting that there must be some method for choosing members of Parliament, he railed with equal severity at pocket boroughs and at Reform Bills. Now and then his whims and oddities quite destroy the whole effect of his books. *Melincourt* is an instance in point. It contains some of Peacock's most attractive writing, and Anthelia Melincourt, in spite of a tendency to priggishness, has sense and spirit enough. But Sir Oran Haut-ton is intolerable. A single scene in which a monkey played the part of a man might be endured in a roaring farce. But a man-monkey as one of the principal characters in a novel; getting drunk, falling in love, and being returned to the House of Commons, is *ἀνωμάλως ἀνόμελος*, purely grotesque, and an

insult to the intelligence of the reader. Nor do the copious quotations from Lord Monboddo with which the notes to *Melincoort* are garnished remove the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of accepting this zoological licence. Lord Monboddo's vagaries, though they have been described as anticipations of Darwin, are devoid of all scientific or philosophic value, while even the great name of Buffon cannot reconcile one to the preposterous and rather disgusting absurdity of an ape taking a lady in to dinner. The name of Sir Oran Haut-ton may be thought to deserve the praise of ingenuity. But if so, it can only be in comparison with Peacock's other efforts of the same kind. A worse inventor of names never devoted himself to the art of writing novels. Thackeray's names, though often ludicrous, are always happy, and often inimitably droll. That Lady Jane Sheepshanks should be the Earl of South-down's daughter is so perfectly logical that it moves only the inward mirth of blissful solitude. The highly respectable family of the Newcomes have so long lost all trace of novelty that one forgets how the recency of their origin contrasted with the antiquity of Pendennis. How could The Mulligan have been called anything else, or what other appellation could the Fotheringay have chosen for herself than that which she actually adopted? What grim and stately mansion in the London of real life ever had such an appropriate title as Gaunt House? Sir Telegraph Pazarett and the Reverend Mr. Portpipe are enough to spoil the reputation even of a story with such a pretty name as *Melincoort*. Mr. Mystic of Cimmerian Lodge shows an astounding poverty of invention. The intolerable pedantry which disfigured *Headlong Hall* with sham classical derivations for the patronymics of Foster, Escot, and Jenkison is an even surer proof than his slovenly habit of writing Greek without the accents that Peacock was not a scholar in the highest sense of the term.

Yet with all these drawbacks, which are better faced and acknowledged at the outset, there are few more fascinating novelists than Peacock. Perhaps 'novelist' is hardly the word, for his plots are of the thinnest, and his tales are not exactly smooth. But his humour is of that delicious sort which must be felt and cannot be described; his style at its best was scarcely surpassed by his most illustrious contemporaries; his dialogue is almost equal to Sterne's; his passion for good literature was no stronger than his love of rural beauty; and his young women, though rather sketches than finished portraits, have a grace and a glamour which it is scarcely profane to call Shakespearean. As for the songs with which his books are interspersed, they are all excellent, and some of them are absolutely perfect. Peacock wrote only when he felt inclined, and, considering the length of his life, he wrote very little. His first novel, *Headlong Hall*, appeared in 1816; his last, *Gryll Grange*, in 1861, two years before his death. Mr. Richard Garnett, the accomplished editor of Peacock

in succession to the late Sir Henry Cole, discerns symptoms of senility in *Gryll Grange*. His eyes are better than mine. I must confess that I should have rather detected signs of failing power, of course erroneously, in *Melincourt* or *The Misfortunes of Elphin*. Peacock was never, from the cradle to the grave, under the influence of reason. Perhaps we none of us are. But with him prejudice followed prejudice in an unbroken series which enabled him to see the ruin of the country in the reform of every abuse he had denounced.

Peacock was no friend to the clergy, and the Reverend Dr. Gaster of *Headlong Hall* is, as his name implies, a mere glutton. His brother divines, Dr. Folliott and Dr. Opimian, though good livers in the worst sense of that term, are also scholars and gentlemen. Dr. Gaster is as stupid as he is greedy, and represents the crudest shape of Peacock's undoubted gift for caricature. The Homeric capacity for eating and drinking exhibited by Peacock's male characters is not exceeded even in *Pickwick*, where there seems to be no appreciable interval between one meal and another. Dr. Opimian, a strictly moderate man in Peacock's estimation, makes a large hole in a round of beef at breakfast, lunches on cold chicken and tongue, and only abstains from drinking more than two sorts of wine in the middle of the day lest he should spoil his zest for the bottles of Madeira and claret with which he washes down his copious dinner. But there is this difference between Peacock and Dickens. Peacock, at least the literary Peacock, was an epicure, and Dickens, at least the literary Dickens, was not. A good cookery book might be made out of Peacock's novels, especially if the dinners were reduced by one half and the breakfasts by two-thirds. This, however, is by the way. The three things by which Peacock will live, for they make him as fresh now as he was seventy years ago, are his poetry, his humour, and his style. In *Headlong Hall* there is one capital poem, the song of which the first line is: 'In his last binn Sir Peter lies.' Take these two couplets as specimens:

None better knew the feast to sway,  
Or keep mirth's boat in better trim;  
For nature had but little clay  
Like that of which she moulded him.

The humour of *Headlong Hall*, not perhaps very obvious in the preliminary scene of the coach, full of humourists as that vehicle is, breaks out after dinner when Dr. Gaster quotes Moses to Mr. Escot.

'Of course, sir,' replies Mr. Escot, 'I do not presume to dissent from the very exalted authority of that most enlightened astronomer and profound cosmogonist, who had, moreover, the advantage of being inspired; but when I indulge myself with a ramble in the fields of speculation and attempt to deduce what is probable and rational from the sources of analysis, experience, and comparison, I confess I am too often apt to lose sight of the doctrines of that great fountain of theological and geological philosophy.'

*Knight On Taste*, unlike *Moses and the Pentateuch*, is forgotten, but his methods of forcing Nature into artificial shapes have not been so entirely abandoned that a reference to them will be unintelligible. Mr. Milestone had not carried out his plans for the improvement of Lord Littlebrain's park when Miss Tenorina praised its beautiful appearance:

*Mr. Milestone.* Beautiful, Miss Tenorina! Hideous. Base, common and popular. Such a thing as you may see anywhere in wild and mountainous districts. Now, observe the metamorphosis. Here is the same rock cut into the shape of a giant. In one hand he holds a horn, through which that little fountain is thrown to a prodigious elevation. In the other is a ponderous stone, so exactly balanced as to be apparently ready to fall on the head of any person who may happen to be beneath: and there is Lord Littlebrain walking under it.

The artificial school of landscape gardening has never been more happily hit off. In many respects a philosopher of the Johnsonian school, Peacock did not share the Doctor's preference for the life of towns. Unfair as he often was to Wordsworth, and incapable of appreciating the Lake Poets at their true value, he was a genuine Wordsworthian in his passionate love of woods, and trees, and cataracts. Among contemporary novelists Mr. Hardy comes nearest him in this line. As an artist in the widest sense, the author of *The Woodlanders* is incomparably superior to the author of *Melincourt*. *Melincourt* is indeed hardly a book at all, but a burlesque grotesque, unlike anything in the heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. Such names as Miss Danaretta Constantina Pinmoney, the Reverend Mr. Grovelgrub, and Lord Anophel Achtar would be in themselves enough to ruin a story, if there were any story to ruin. But Anthelia's country walk, so justly praised by Mr. Garnett, would be difficult to match for the ease, grace, and power of the few strokes in which it is portrayed. When, after resting on the knotted base of the ash-trunk, she

'rose to pursue her walk,' she 'ascended, by a narrow winding path, the brow of a lofty hill which sunk precipitously on the other side to the margin of a lake that seemed to slumber in the same eternal stillness as the rocks that bordered it. The murmur of the torrent was inaudible at that elevation. There was an almost oppressive silence in the air. The motion and life of nature seemed suspended. The gray mist that hung on the mountains, spreading its thin transparent uniform veil over the whole surrounding scene, gave a deeper impression to the mystery of loneliness, the predominant feeling that pressed on the mind of Anthelia, to seem the only thing that lived and moved in all that wide and awful scene of beauty.'

Such a passage as this redeems even *Melincourt* from the oblivion which, considered as a novel, it undoubtedly deserves.

The first book in which Peacock's genius had full play is *Nightmare Abbey*. In wit and humour it stands at the head of all his works. Better and purer English has seldom, if ever, been written, and the difficulty of quoting from it is that one would like to quote every word. Shelley's friendship with Peacock, useful and honour-

able to both the friends, has produced some of the most delightful letters and one of the most delicious farces in our language. The letters were written to Peacock by Shelley from Italy. The farce is *Nightmare Abbey*, in which Shelley, who much enjoyed his own portrait, figures as Scythrop. 'When Scythrop grew up, he was sent, as usual, to a public school where a little learning was painfully beaten into him, and from thence to the university, where it was carefully taken out of him; and he was sent home like a well-threshed ear of corn, with nothing in his head.' Peacock was an unsparing satirist of public schools and universities, with which he had no personal acquaintance. But he caricatured Shelley as though he loved him, and did full justice to the sound sense which was always in the poet's mind, seldom as it may have appeared in his behaviour. To Coleridge (Mr. Flosky) he was far less kind, and his Byron (Mr. Cypress) must be pronounced a failure. In truth, Peacock had not the thoroughness or the pertinacity to draw a finished portrait of anyone. He belonged to what, in the language of modern art, is called the impressionist school, and his caricatures suffer from exaggeration. Caricature is like onion in cookery. There can easily be too much of it, and there can hardly be too little. But Peacock sins against all rules, and succeeds in spite of his transgressions or by the very magnitude of his offences. Everything in *Nightmare Abbey*, except the style, might be condemned on Horatian or Johnsonian principles, and if people are not amused by it there is no more to be said, at least for them. There is a sort of a plot (rare enough with Peacock), for Scythrop made love to two ladies at the same time, and thereby involved himself in awkward complications. One of the ladies, Marionetta, in spite of her too suggestive name, is a perfectly natural specimen of the human race, feminine gender, and her Shakespearean quotation, which maddens Scythrop, is one of the happiest in all literature. 'I prithee deliver thyself like a man of this world' was her 'arch' reply to Scythrop's 'passionate language of romance.' But the loves of Scythrop and Marionetta are not the real subject of *Nightmare Abbey*, which is a satire on German tales of horror, the metaphysics of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the novels of Mrs. Radcliffe, and other pet objects of the author's aversion. Mr. Flosky, which, as the victims of compulsory Greek may be persuaded into believing, means a lover of the shade, expresses the opinion that 'tea, late dinners and the French Revolution have played the devil, and brought the devil into play.' 'Tea, late dinners and the French Revolution?' said the Honourable Mr. Listless, 'I cannot exactly see the connection of ideas.' 'I should be sorry if you could,' replied Mr. Flosky; 'I pity the man who can see the connection of his own ideas. Still more do I pity him the connection of whose ideas any other person can see.' The satire of Coleridge in this unique book is exquisitely malicious, because it is

informed by knowledge, and contains just enough truth to make the misrepresentation tell. Except that imperishable chapter in Carlyle's *Life of Sterling* which begins with the words 'Coleridge sat on the brow of Highgate' there is nothing quite so successful in sarcastic delineation of him as some parts of *Nightmare Abbey*, and the genius of Coleridge is so far above the reach of disparagement that his warmest admirers can afford to laugh at Mr. Flosky's boast that he never gave a plain answer to a plain question in his life. Beside a capital song ('Why are thy looks so blank, grey friar?'), perhaps suggested by Suckling, an excellent parody of Byron—

There is a fever of the spirit,  
The brand of Cain's unresting doom —

and a convivial song of unsurpassed merit ('Seamen three, what men be ye?') *Nightmare Abbey* contains the best and shortest ghost-story in the English language. It is told by the Reverend Mr. Larynx, and is as follows:

I once saw a ghost myself, in my study, which is the last place where anyone but a ghost would look for me. I had not been into it for three months, and was going to consult Tillotson, when on opening the door I saw a venerable figure in a flannel dressing gown sitting in my armchair and reading my Jeremy Taylor. It vanished in a moment, and so did I, and what it was or what it wanted I have never been able to ascertain.

Mr. Flosky's comment, 'It was an idea with the force of a sensation,' is a more scientific definition than the one really given by Coleridge, 'A man or woman dressed up to frighten another.'

The most characteristic, and to my mind the most fascinating, of all Peacock's tales is *Maid Marian*. It has been imputed to Peacock that in this serio-comic romance of Sherwood Forest, of Friar Tuck and Robin Hood, he meant to make fun of *Ivanhoe*. Mr. Garnett has shown that this is impossible, because *Maid Marian* was completed though not published before *Ivanhoe* made its appearance. No two ways of treating the Middle Ages more essentially different than Scott's and Peacock's could well be imagined. Scott wrote *Ivanhoe* because he thought the public would be tired of the Land of Cakes if he never crossed the Border. But he had some portion of the antiquarian spirit, and loved mediæval chivalry perhaps better than he understood it. Peacock himself described *Maid Marian*, in a letter to Shelley, dated the 29th of November, 1818, as 'a comic romance of the twelfth century, which I shall make the vehicle of much oblique satire on all the oppressions that are done under the sun.' But this hardly gives any idea of the brightest and most fanciful extravaganza ever inspired by forest trees and rippling streams and poetic sentiment and popular legend. The purest gem it contains is that perfect lyric—

With a song

Falkland, 1818



For the slender beech and the sapling oak  
 That grow by the shadowy rill,  
 You may cut down both at a single stroke,  
 You may cut down which you will.  
 But this you must know, that as long as they grow,  
 Whatever change may be,  
 You never can teach either oak or beech  
 To be aught but a greenwood tree.

Friar Tuck, otherwise Brother Michael, is constitutionally incapable of making a connected statement in prose. He is perpetually breaking into verse, and his verse is always of the best quality, strong, light, simple, and melodious. Matilda, or Maid Marian, is the most delicious of all Peacock's heroines, and the devotion of the friar to her, 'all in the way of honesty,' must be shared by every reader of the story. Her father, Baron Fitz-Water, who pretends to be her tyrannical master and is really her submissive slave, displays Peacock's quaint, fantastic humour in its most genial and jovial shape. When the friar 'kissed Matilda's forehead and walked away without a song,' we are to infer that he was suffering from the violence of suppressed emotion. But it was not many minutes since he had sung, and not many before that since he had got the better of Matilda's noble parent in a verbal encounter of considerable merit.

'Ho! ho! friar!' said the baron, 'singing friar, laughing friar, roaring friar, fighting friar, hacking friar, thwacking friar; cracking, cracking, cracking friar; joke-cracking, bottle-cracking, skull-cracking friar!' 'And, ho! ho!' said the friar, 'bold baron, old baron, sturdy baron, wordy baron, long baron, strong baron, mighty baron, flighty baron, mazed baron, crazed baron, hacked baron, thwacked baron, cracked, cracked, cracked baron; bone-cracked, sconce-cracked, brain-cracked baron.'

Fooling, no doubt, but excellent fooling all the same. To read *Maid Marian* is like spending a long day in the country with the company of the imagination, the best company in the world. Peacock's knowledge of human nature was limited. He saw weaknesses and oddities rather than character as a whole. This it is which gives an air of crudity to his books, and has prevented them even more than their pedantry from being appreciated by the general. Peacock is in one respect like Carlyle, and Browning, and Meredith. A taste for him is a taste which he himself must give. We must make allowance for his foibles, and grow accustomed to his ways. But when we have fulfilled these conditions, few authors wear better, or yield more to those who read them again and again. There is wit enough in a single dialogue, as there is poetry enough in a single song, of *Maid Marian* to make a literary reputation. *The Misfortunes of Elphin*, for which I cannot share Professor Saintsbury's enthusiasm (so much the worse for me), contains, besides the lovely Song of the Four Winds, the justly celebrated war-song of Dinas Vawr, every line

in which is golden, while the first four verses are inimitable and better than anything in Hookham Frere, as a specimen of the mock heroic—

The mountain sheep are sweeter,  
But the valley sheep are fatter;  
We therefore deemed it meet  
To carry off the latter.

But perhaps some acquaintance with Lady Charlotte Guest's *Mabinogion*, and some familiarity with the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus, are necessary for the due appreciation of Elphin and Taliessin. Peacock sometimes forgets the words of Shakespeare which he himself puts with such exquisite appropriateness into the mouth of Marionetta. He does not always deliver himself like a man of this world. His want of invention, not of imagination, and his love of eccentricity, led him into strange and devious paths.

If we put personal predilections aside, *Crotchet Castle* is probably the book to which the largest number of Peacock's admirers would give the highest place. There is a gaiety, a vivacity, and a force in it which carry the reader with ease and smoothness from the first page to the last. The Rev. Dr. Folliott is the best of Peacock's clergymen, by which I do not mean that he was a good clergyman, nor anything of the kind. To assist at the squire's dinner, to criticise his cellar and his wine, accompanying his criticisms with abundance of Greek and Latin, was in Peacock's eyes the chief function of a beneficed divine, the 'educated gentleman' of the parish. Dr. Folliott and Dr. Opimian, to say nothing of Dr. Gaster and Mr. Portpipe, are quite enough to justify the Oxford Movement. Gaster and Portpipe, however, are simply bibulous gluttons, hardly men at all. Folliott of *Crotchet Castle* and Opimian of *Gryll Grange* are capital as portraits. It is as parsons that their inadequacy comes in. Incapacity it can hardly be called. Their capacity for eating and drinking may be favourably described as Homeric, and unfavourably as swinish. 'I do not fancy hock,' said Dr. Folliott, 'till I have laid a substratum of Madeira.' 'Palestine soup' are the first words which issue from the mouth of Dr. Opimian, and he is left giving instructions how to open simultaneously many bottles of champagne. But Opimian and Folliott are not mere epicures. They are scholars, though pedants, and proofs that a pedant may have a sense of humour. There is nothing, for instance, finer of its kind in all Peacock than the conversation between Dr. Folliott and Mr. Crotchet about the Sleeping Venus. Mr. Crotchet, irritated by a magisterial order that no plaster of Paris Venus should appear in the streets of London without petticoats, determined to fill his house with Venuses of all sizes and kinds. Dr. Folliott, perceiving this addition to his friend's furniture, suddenly remembered his cloth, not, for once, the table-cloth, and attempted experimentally a mild protest.

'These little alabaster figures on the mantelpiece, Mr. Crotchet, and those large figures in the niches—may I take the liberty to ask you what they are intended to represent?' Mr. Crotchet's answer was not encouraging. 'Venus, sir; nothing more, sir; just Venus.' 'May I ask you, sir,' proceeded the reverend doctor, 'why they are there?' Mr. Crotchet was not embarrassed. 'To be looked at, sir; just to be looked at: the reason for most things in a gentleman's house being in it at all; from the paper on the walls and the drapery of the curtains even to the books in the library, of which the most essential part is the appearance of the back.' The dialogue is unhappily too long to quote in full. Dr. Folliott's austerity was partly assumed, and there can be no doubt that he enjoyed the discussion of the subject, if only because it gave him an opportunity of showing that he read the classics in the original, whereas his friend only read them in cribs. His appeal to Mr. Crotchet as a father, though futile, is touching. 'Now, sir, that little figure in the centre of the mantelpiece—as a grave *paterfamilias*, Mr. Crotchet, with a fair nubile daughter, whose eyes are like the fishpools of Heshbon—I would ask you if you hold that figure to be altogether delicate.' 'The Sleeping Venus, sir? Nothing can be more delicate than the entire contour of the figure, the flow of the hair on the shoulders and neck, the form of the feet and fingers. It is altogether a most delicate morsel.' Mr. Crotchet was getting decidedly the best of it, and his spiritual adviser took refuge in a gastronomic metaphor. 'Why, sir, in that sense, perhaps, it is as delicate as whitebait in July. But the attitude, sir, the attitude.' Mr. Crotchet was unyielding. 'Nothing can be more natural, sir.' 'That is the very thing, sir. It is too natural, too natural, sir.' And so forth, until Mr. Crotchet, becoming, as Dr. Folliott remarks, rather weary, exclaims that to 'show his contempt for cant in all its shapes he has adorned his house with the Greek Venus in all her shapes, and is ready to fight her battle against all the societies that ever were instituted for the suppression of truth and beauty.'

*Gryll Grange* is of all Peacock's novels the most pedantic. It is strewn with quotations from the classics, especially from Athenæus, and the friendship of Dr. Opimian for Mr. Falconer arises from the remarkable fact that they are both acquainted with Homer. The story is not more interesting than the words of Italian opera and might almost have been written for the songs, as the libretto of the *Magic Flute* must have been written for the music. Mr. Algernon Falconer and his fantastic establishment of seven modest maidens to wait upon one innocent bachelor lack the verisimilitude which is literature's substitute for truth. But the Reverend Dr. Opimian, whose wife calls him 'doctor' even when they are alone (and indeed his christian name of Theophilus is some excuse for her), is a personage such as only Peacock could create, a pundit

and an epicure, a dignified clergyman who might have acted as chaplain to the Rabelaisian brotherhood and sisterhood of Thelema. Dr. Opimian is a variant of Dr. Folliott in *Crotchet Castle*, and it is impossible to read of either without thinking of Dr. Middleton in *The Egoist*. But indeed Dr. Opimian is quite as like Peacock himself as Jonathan Oldbuck was like Walter Scott. 'I think, doctor,' said Mrs. Opimian, 'you would not maintain any opinion if you had not an authority two thousand years old for it.' 'Well, my dear,' was the reply, 'I think most opinions worth mentioning have an authority of about that age.' In a charming and most appropriate note to this passage Mr. Garnett mentions that one of Peacock's last remarks to his old friend Trelawny was, 'Ah! Trelawny, don't talk to me about anything that has happened for the last two thousand years.' He was indeed a pure and perfect Pagan born out of due time in an uncongenial world of Tractarian Movements and railway trains. His oddities were numerous and ineradicable, following without displacing one another. He was not much in the habit of quoting scripture. But there is a text in Isaiah on which he could always have preached. 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die,' was the sum and substance of his philosophy. There is a tinge of unwonted melancholy in his last book, as of one bidding farewell to a long and happy life, which suits well with his creed, and he would have delighted in the melodiously fatalistic stanzas of Omar Khayyam. It is said that in his last days, which were calm and peaceful, his memory dwelt with continual fondness upon a girl he used to meet in the ruins of Newark Abbey, who died when he was seventeen. His lovely poem, 'Newark Abbey,' much admired, as Mr. Garnett tells us, by Tennyson, is less appropriate to this strange reversion, of which his granddaughter was the witness, than those haunting lines which begin with 'What is he buzzing in my ears?' and end with 'How sad and bad and mad it was—But then, how it was sweet!' The poetry of *Gryll Grange* is not as a rule among Peacock's best. But the song called 'Love and Age' is unrivalled for its simple indefinable pathos in all the varied efforts of his muse.

'There are some books,' said the country squire, 'which it is a positive pleasure to read.' He was probably thinking of Surtees. He was certainly not thinking of Peacock, who of all English authors, except perhaps Burton and Southey, is the most bookish. One must like Peacock because one likes reading. One cannot like reading because one likes Peacock. Peacock had an irritable and foolish dislike of Scott, who appeals to all healthy natures, whether they be literary or otherwise. There was nothing in Scott, he said, which could be quoted. It was a most characteristic objection, and it is so far true that quotations from Scott can hardly be confined to single phrases or sentences. With Shakespeare Peacock was familiar, for

Shakespeare, as we all know, is even too full of quotations. But, indeed, Peacock's own pet authors, of whom he never tired, from whom he seldom cared to stray, were the classical writers of Greece and Rome. They supplied him with an inexhaustible fund of epigram, anecdote, and illustration. Except his poetry and his humour, they were the only intellectual furniture he had. *Gryll Grange* might well be edited for the use of schools as an entertaining substitute for Becker's *Charicles*, or the same learned writer's *Gallus*. He was perplexed by the tricks which according to Athenæus the Greeks played with their wine, for he was not in the habit of mixing it even with fresh water, and they are said to have mixed it with water from the sea. Dr. Folliott is even permitted, but only because of his order, to express disapproval of the Athenian Aspasia, and the Corinthian Lais. But the Greeks in his eyes were perfect. The darker features of their life he ignored, or left to St. Paul. To him they were simple people who made the best of art and nature, of themselves and of the world they inhabited. Rabelais he worshipped for having restored something like the spirit of ancient freedom—freedom to understand and to enjoy. The sense of beauty penetrates all his writings, and his most finished writing, as in *Nightmare Abbey* or *Crotchet Castle*, comes very near perfection. His learning is so enlightened with sense and enlivened by humour that it never becomes offensive and seldom becomes dull. When the odd folk he sometimes brings together grow quarrelsome over their cups, as in *Headlong Hall*, their differences are composed by a glee or a catch. Peacock cared not for the rules and restrictions which were imposed on themselves by his beloved Greeks. Except that he is never indecent, and that he has not the great Frenchman's tremendous force, he resembles Rabelais rather than Lucian. Among Latin authors his favourite was Tacitus, whose compactness of style, with its undying charm for the literary palate, exercised a noticeable influence upon his own. His acquaintance with modern literature was not wide, nor was his judgment of it sound. He had none of his friend Charles Lamb's genial catholicity in respect of all books that deserved the name. The classics were his Koran. What they did not contain was not worth knowing. Short of offering sacrifices to Jupiter and Venus, from which the fear of ridicule restrained him, or perhaps the opinion of Cicero, he stuck at nothing which was ancient, mature, and respectable. Even in classical matters his taste was capricious. But in spite of his irregularities, or perhaps because of them, his books have an unfading attraction for those who can relish them at all.

HERBERT PAUL.

## *A SOCIAL EXPERIMENT*

OF the many problems that modern society has to face, none seems to be more difficult than that of the wastrel. He swells the ranks of the unemployed; he fills our prisons and workhouses. He eats the bread of the charitable; but when they try to mould him, he slips through their hands. A whole army of civil servants and thousands of clergy of all denominations spend their lives in trying to reform him. A few, very few, of this class are picked out of the mire and put on their feet again, and continue to walk steadily.

But compared with the self-sacrifice and prayers, the money and labour spent in the effort, the result seems poor indeed.

I am afraid that I may be accused of cynicism, and that I shall be certainly called a pessimist. But plead not guilty on both counts, for the pessimist and the cynic are quite content to sit with hands folded and let their actions end in criticism. That is an attitude that is at once Pharisaic and useless. The diagnosis of a wasting disease ought, on the contrary, to stimulate everyone to combat who has any means of assisting the attack on it. In fact, the toleration of a great many evils springs from our own apathy. We are too ready to leave to departments of State and religious organisations the settlement of social problems which should be the active concern of every individual citizen, since they drain away the strength of the community. And so we leave the problem of the submerged tenth, as we leave the question of the education of the children, to the care of institutions who too often spend their time in quarrelling about the labels they fix to their doors.

Now I do not care very much about these labels, if the organisation behind them is doing something that seems to be for the progress of humanity and the making of a better citizenship. Provided that an individual or an institution is doing good work to this end, and not merely making recruits for its own Bethel with no thought beyond, I do not care what religion or so-called want of orthodoxy it may possess. If, therefore, I believe that the Salvation Army, for instance, ought to receive wider recognition and better assistance than it obtains at present, it is because I think that its method of dealing with the wastrel in its colony at Hadleigh succeeds in

producing some good material out of the waste product of society. Its success can perhaps best be measured by the comparative failure of other organisations. I do not wish to draw any invidious comparisons. But a little social experiment that I have recently made at Easton has for the time focussed my attention on the work at Hadleigh, and I think it a pity that public interest should flag in an undertaking that seems to me to be doing a great deal to solve one of our most difficult social problems.

It was more by the accident of circumstance than by any strong feeling in favour of the Salvation Army that a contingent of the Hadleigh Farm colony was brought to Easton. I had for some time planned wider gardens and shrub planting around my house, and I required the necessary labour to carry it out. It was no use to hope for a sufficient number of farm hands to do the work quickly; agricultural labourers are scarce in Essex. It would, of course, have been possible to contract for a gang of navvies, but the idea of planting a number of navvies on the estate did not altogether commend itself to me. I thought that the navy might possibly find our quiet countryside a little dull. What, then, was to be done? I wanted a body of men who would do the work thoroughly and yet be amenable to discipline.

It was then that the idea of obtaining the labourers from the Hadleigh Farm colony came into my head. I knew that I should not get the strength of the British navy, but it seemed to me more important that the men should be under good control. I was assured that this was the great advantage that I should receive from employing a Salvation colony contingent at Easton. And I was not disappointed. The preliminaries were easily arranged, for Colonel Lamb, the governor of Hadleigh Farm, was most eager to oblige me, and to found what he called a temporary colony at Easton. In the course of a fortnight seventy men were brought from Hadleigh and lodged in a wooden building which was put up to receive them. They set to work at once to carry out the work as directed by the landscape-garden expert. And they worked so quietly and so willingly that we should have hardly known that there was anything unusual astir, except for the singing, the fervent hymn-singing, in the evening. I liked that singing, for it was hearty and sincere, and showed at least that my new gardeners were not spending their evenings in public-houses, demoralising Essex villagers. The conduct of the men was quite admirable, and they seemed to enjoy their work. There were many strange types of humanity among them. There was the man who had once lived in and out of prison, the criminal Jack-in-the-box on whom the prison lid has to be closed very soon after he appears in respectable society. He was no longer the gaol-bird, but a hard-working member of the community and a model to many men who only know of prison life by hearsay. It

would perhaps be invidious to go through the category, and describe the various types who worked in this very chilly Garden of Eden. A man who has been in prison may be no worse than many other men who do not yield to the particular temptations which make our prison population. The wastrel is not limited to the class that frequent our prisons. It is, therefore, quite sufficient for my purpose to state that the type from which the Salvation Army colonist is recruited is not usually supposed to be amenable either to prison treatment or to gentler influence. Some of the men who came to Easton had fallen from good positions in society, and they had all touched a common ground of despair and misery before they knocked at the gates of the Hadleigh Farm colony. Knowing this, I was very interested to see what kind of work they would do and whether they would show any persistency and strength of purpose in digging and building. Their labour was not quite so rapid as that of the skilled working-man who keeps his muscles in good training, but this was due to lack of physique.

Most of them, however, made up for their lack of strength by the willing and persevering spirit they showed. The Salvation Army had in fact achieved a remarkable result in a short time from a class that is generally considered most unpromising. Given their past history, an astonishing change had certainly been wrought in these men.

The Salvationist would of course have a ready explanation for this change. He would say that the men had been 'converted.' But this explanation does not render the phenomenon, in so far as it seems to be a *permanent* change, any the less mysterious.

I have no great liking for the method of the revivalist, who works his subject up into a state of ecstatic fervour, only to produce a still worse type of wastrel in the long run. Whatever it is, the Salvation Army treatment seems to be more efficacious. They maintain that they make a permanent success of their subjects in every two out of three cases. Even if the percentage is much smaller, the Salvation Army undoubtedly give that backbone and character to a very considerable number of the drift of humanity that passes through their mill. If this is the case, and I am convinced it is so, from what I have seen of their work at Easton and Hadleigh, it would be a great pity if their mill had to go at half-speed for want of means to work it.

I believe that in Australia several of the Federal States make grants of public money to the Salvation Army. Personally I am against the public endowment of any religious sect, and I do not see any reason why an exception should be made in the case of the Salvation Army in this country. At the same time I believe the Darkest England scheme to be productive of a great deal of good, and when the governor at Hadleigh informed me that if it had not been



for the temporary relief afforded by the work at Easton they would have been compelled to close their doors on some fifty or sixty cases this winter, I think that this fact, and the necessity it shows, should be widely known. What I would venture to suggest is that landowners and employers of labour should from time to time make such experiments as have proved a success at Easton.

The Salvation Army labour is not, I think, more expensive than other labour, although I run the risk of offending the agricultural community in saying so. At Hadleigh the men get a good training in farm work, and every year the colony becomes more self-supporting from the sale of its produce. And it should be remembered that the farms that the 'Army' took over were almost derelict in the first place. Now they make a profit on their market-garden and small fruit produce, and on their poultry and pigs, while nearly all the milk for the colony, and a great deal of its meat, come from their herds of cows and sheep.

I think these facts are sufficient to show that the Hadleigh colonist has the making of a good agricultural labourer, and my object in writing this article is to urge a more generous recognition of the 'Colony' treatment of the wastrel. I believe that the Salvation Army in reclaiming wasted lives is doing a most useful work for the community, which should not be allowed to languish. I have attempted by my experiment at Easton to point out a way in which the work at Hadleigh could be assisted. We hear a great deal about the scarcity of agricultural labour, and landowners and farmers might do worse than to apply more frequently than they do to the Salvation Army farm colony for labourers.

Several agriculturists might combine to pool their labour demands, and thus establish a small colony from Hadleigh in their neighbourhood. Such a colony, as I can testify, would be under good discipline, and well behaved. They are neither loafers nor drunkards, but respectable working-men. Employers who want labour need not bother themselves as to the precise religious or psychological means taken in making the wastrel a good worker. They will soon find out whether they can obtain what they want—men who can hoe and dig, and some of whom are skilled manual and farm labourers ready to work with a plough and reaper. The work at Hadleigh is not limited to farm labour. There is a brick-field which employs a number of men, and those who own brick-fields might also do worse than employ some of the Hadleigh brick-makers. In these ways the farm colony might be extended in various branches throughout the country. We all have a responsibility in the work of solving what I called at the beginning of my article one of the most difficult of our social problems. We owe this responsibility as members of a community that suffers severe loss and injury from the wastrel and loafer. They make what has been rightly called our Darkest

England, and if we only possess a rush candle we ought to assist the efforts of those who try to pierce this gloom, so that there may be more light. At the same time, in assisting to spread the farm-colony idea, we shall be working for a return of those who have proved a failure in our cities to a healthier and better life on the land. But I do not wish it to be thought that I advance my experiment as an answer to the cry of 'back to the land.' The land question and the overcrowding of our cities require more heroic remedies than the Salvation Army can apply. None the less is the Hadleigh colony a step in the right direction.

FRANCES EVELYN WARWICK.

## CORN-GROWING IN BRITISH COUNTRIES

SOME weeks ago Lord Masham invited competitive treatises upon the 'best and most expeditious way by which a company with a large capital might cultivate suitable corn lands in the Colonies and British Possessions,' but a fortnight later he withdrew his invitation in view of information received to the effect that Americans had recently acquired some ten million acres of land in Canada! In reply to a correspondent his Lordship stated that he 'was very anxious to stimulate the growth of corn on a large scale and to form a company for that purpose, but, finding from the Press that the farmers of the United States are taking up and have already taken up some ten million acres, he thinks it now useless to proceed with it'; and in another letter, 'My idea of a company was not so much to make money as to render the country independent of foreign food, which I consider is a great danger in case of war. But from all I can learn that will now soon be the case, thanks to the energetic Americans . . . .'

As the Canadian Government advertises that at least 200 million acres of corn-growing lands are still available for selection it seems curious that the occupation by Americans of less than one-twentieth of this huge area—in which movement, it must be borne in mind, they, for the most part, have only transferred their wheat-growing operations from the United States to Canada—should intimidate Lord Masham from carrying out his prodigious scheme. It is unfortunate that the only result of his Lordship's widely published announcement is the painful reflection amongst many aspiring and probably necessitous *littérateurs* that they have had a fortnight's profitless work.

Lord Masham's enquiry covers a very wide field apart from his suggested company's constitution, with which, however, the writer of this article has no concern, but proposes to address himself to the consideration of the most suitable country in which to start farming operations generally, in which wheat-growing on a large scale would be the main feature. The chief conditions which determine this question are (1) soil and climate, (2) price of land, (3) cost of cultivation and labour, and (4) distance of producing countries from

markets and means of conveyance. The British countries in which corn-growing on a large scale has been more or less successfully proved are India, Canada, South Africa, and Australasia.

*Soil and Climate.*—Extent and quality of production are mainly determined by soil and climate. The following comparison of wheat yields, including also those of oats and barley, indicates clearly which countries lead in the question of bulk production. To make the comparison the more intelligible the average approximate yields of three chief foreign sources of England's wheat supply are also given.

	Bushels per acre		
	Wheat	Barley	Oats
India . . . . .	9½	—	—
Manitoba (Canada) . . . . .	25½	34	40
N.W. Territories (Canada) . . . . .	25	37	48
The Cape Colony . . . . .	12 (?)	—	—
New Zealand . . . . .	25½	28	32
New South Wales . . . . .	10	17	19
Victoria . . . . .	8½	17	9
Queensland . . . . .	15	17	18
South Australia . . . . .	6	11	8
Western Australia . . . . .	10½	12	16
Tasmania . . . . .	21	22	28
Russia . . . . .	9	—	—
Argentina . . . . .	13½	—	—
Kansas (U.S.) . . . . .	17	—	—
Minnesota (U.S.) . . . . .	10	—	—

In all the above-mentioned countries there are certain areas in which yields are obtained greatly in excess of the general average, but, as this article deals only with the subject of wheat-growing on a large scale, the average yield may be accepted as indicative of the yield that might be expected from large-scale operations.

As regards quality it may be sufficient to state that Hungarian best grade has hitherto been generally regarded as the standard of perfection in wheat. Recent experiments, however, conducted by the Government of Canada, gave the following results from a comparative examination between Canadian best and Hungarian best grade wheaten flours:—

	Canadian best	Hungarian best
Percentage of albuminoids or protein, the most important part from a nutritive standpoint . . . . .	12.59	11.27
Gluten (wet) . . . . .	32.22	26.17
„ (dry) . . . . .	12.33	9.79

The *Canadian Gazette* (London) of the 6th of November, 1902, records a very interesting test made recently in Ottawa with nine

barrels of flour from Manitoba, Washington Territory, and Oregon. The Manitoba flour produced twenty-one pounds more of bread than that from the United States. In extent of yield and quality of grain the above tables award the chief place to Canada.

*Cost of Land: India.*—Very little good wheat-growing land is obtainable in India outside the irrigation areas, and practically all of this class is in small holdings in the hands of natives. In fact, as soon as a scheme of irrigation is completed applications are made for land greatly in excess of the amount available. Considerable difficulty would be experienced in obtaining an appreciable area of suitable wheat-growing land in India comparable with the cost and productive capabilities of land in other British Possessions.

*Egypt.*—The conditions in this country—which may be regarded as a British dependency if not a possession—are similar to those that apply to India.

*Canada.*—No country in the world offers land of high productive quality on more advantageous terms to settlers than Canada. On the payment of an entry fee of 2*l.* any male over the age of eighteen may obtain 160 acres (or in Ontario a head of a family may obtain a free grant of 200 acres) of rich wheat-growing land free of any further payment, the only condition being that he resides on the land—or with his parents if they reside in the district—at least six months each year for three years, and cultivates a small portion of his land. He may also purchase an adjoining quarter-section of 160 acres at 12*s.* 6*d.* per acre by the payment of one-fourth in cash and the balance in three equal payments spread over three years, bearing interest at the rate of 6 per cent. Millions of fertile acres are obtainable on either side of railways and in other desirable positions from railway companies, land companies, and the Government, at prices ranging from about 2*s.* to 4*l.* per acre, on very easy terms. Canadian Government officials stated in May (1902) that there are still upwards of 200,000,000 acres of wheat-growing land available for selection in the Dominion. The price varies chiefly according to position, for a great deal of the land at 2*s.* is quite as productive as that at 4*l.* Yet so rapidly are railways being constructed that it cannot be long before much of the present low-priced land will be as desirably situated as the present highest-priced so far as railway conveniences are concerned. These free-grant conditions apply to millions upon millions of acres from which wheat yields averaging from twenty-five to thirty bushels per acre may be obtained without assisted fertilisation. Vast tracts of richly grassed grazing areas are also obtainable on even better terms.

*New Zealand.*—No free grants. Unimproved Crown lands, of which there are still millions of acres obtainable, are purchasable from the Government at from 1*l.* per acre upwards for first-class land and from about 10*s.* per acre for second-class. The settler must pay

survey fees, and there are conditions as to cultivation and improvements. No person may select more than 640 acres of first-class or a total of 2,000 acres made up of second-class and all land which he then holds. This does not apply to pastoral areas. Land may also be leased at a rental of 4 per cent. on the estimated cash purchase price.

*New South Wales.*—The lowest price at which fairly good agricultural Crown lands are obtainable as freehold in this State is 1*l.* per acre. Easy terms of payment are given, but the settlers must pay survey fees.

*Queensland.*—As in the case of New South Wales, there are no free selections in this State. Agricultural homesteads may be taken up in maximum areas of 160, 320, and 640 acres, according to quality of land, at 2*s.* 6*d.* per acre, payment of which may be spread over ten years. Agricultural farms may be selected in maximum areas of 1,280 acres at from 10*s.* per acre, payment extending over twenty years. Land up to 1,280 acres may also be taken up under the system of Unconditional Selections, the purchase price being from 13*s.* 4*d.* per acre, payable in twenty annual instalments. Selections may also be acquired under other conditions, but the above represent the most favourable.

*Victoria and Tasmania.*—In comparison with other Australian States there is but little high-class agricultural Crown land open for selection in these States. For what is available 1*l.* per acre may be stated as the upset price.

*Western Australia.*—In comparison with other States of the Commonwealth, Western Australia offers, perhaps, the most attractive inducements to agricultural settlers. A free selection of 160 acres of good farming land may be obtained by a settler subject to easy conditions as to residence and cultivation. A further area may be obtained by the same settler for the small payment of 6*d.* per acre per annum for twenty years, when the land becomes the freehold property of the settler. While all other Australasian States produce a surplus of corn and other agricultural food-products, Western Australia annually imports upwards of 1,000,000*l.* worth. The demand will undoubtedly continue for some time, as the goldfields are expanding and the output of gold and other minerals is increasing steadily, giving employment to a large consuming population in the immense arid tracts of auriferous country inland, where it is impossible to grow anything satisfactorily. The West Australian farmer is, furthermore, protected by customs duties averaging about 15 per cent. on all imported farm products.

*South Australia.*—The best terms upon which the Government of this State grants good farming land to settlers is either by sale outright at 5*s.* per acre or by lease for twenty-one years, with right of purchase and with option of renewal for a further period of twenty-

one years, with right of purchase exercisable at any time after the expiration of the first six years at a price of not less than 5s. per acre. The maximum area to be held by any one person under these conditions is 1,000 acres.

*South Africa.*—Apart from lands in Native Territory and military service grants, the upset price of unimproved land in Cape Colony and Natal may be estimated at from about 1s. per acre upwards. The land still remaining at the disposition of the Cape Government is about 48,000,000 acres, the greater part of which is situated in the arid regions in the north, and therefore unfit for agriculture unless under irrigation. The land still unalienated in Natal amounts to only about 1,720,000 acres. The land in both Colonies is usually disposed of by auction, as occasion requires, at a fixed upset price. In Rhodesia land may be purchased for 1s. 6d. per morgen (2.1 acres) in Mashonaland and 3s. per morgen in Matabeleland, in addition to which there is an annual quit rent, in advance, of 3l. per 1,500 morgen and 4s. per each additional 100 morgen or fraction thereof. There are reasonable conditions as to residence and improvements.

The new land settlement ordinances for the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies (1902) are framed to suit the peculiar circumstances of those new colonies, but they differ somewhat from each other. Applications for land in the Transvaal are to be made in writing, but the Commission may call upon any applicant to appear in person before the Board, to enable it to judge better of his suitability; in the Orange River Colony, however, attendance in person is insisted on in every instance. In the case of a group of settlers applying for land in the Transvaal it is only necessary for one or two of them to be interviewed. Holdings may be either purchased or leased. In the former case purchase outright may be within five years in the Orange River Colony, but in the Transvaal payment may be spread over thirty years in half-yearly instalments. It is provided, however, that a licensee may pay any number of instalments in advance, and at the expiration of ten years from the date of license shall obtain a Crown grant subject to mineral reservation and mining rights. There are stringent regulations against alienation or subletting of land which has been leased, or on which the full purchase price has not been paid, without official authorisation. In the Orange River Colony the rent of a farm held on lease is 5 per cent. on the purchase price, but the Transvaal Ordinance allows a graduated rent not exceeding 5 per cent. per annum on the price of the holding as notified in the *Gazette*. The Land Boards fix the price of land in both Colonies. There are conditions as to residence, but a wife or child or partner is permitted to fulfil these requirements subject to the approval of the district commissioner. Monetary advances for use on, or improvement of, the settler's holding are granted, and the Government undertakes irrigation works and provides instruction in

practical agriculture. In these and other respects the governments of the new African Colonies display a generous interest in their settlers that cannot fail to bear good fruit, not only in direct results to the settlers themselves and to South Africa as a whole, but also indirectly as an object-lesson to the Governments of other Colonies.

Owing to rust and mildew in some parts, and low, irregular rainfall in others, wheat-growing in South Africa has only proved successful in certain districts. For instance, in 1900 the area reaped in Natal had decreased to 303 acres. Agricultural production is far from supplying local requirements in South Africa, and it is not expected that this stage will be reached without the assistance of irrigation, which, on account of the many permanent rivers, and the shallowness at which the water may be reached, could be easily effected in many parts at comparatively small expense. There is an excellent and growing demand for all sorts of farm produce in the towns and goldfields, and farming industries are protected by almost prohibitive tariffs on nearly every article that comes under the classification of agricultural products.

*Cost of Cultivation and Labour.*—The aggregate of the many items under this head, including that of labour, in Canada, South Africa, and Australasia, appears to differ very little where white labour is employed, excepting in the first cost of clearing the land. Little or no labour in this respect is required in Canada, unless one unnecessarily takes up a selection of what is known as wooded country, but in parts of South Africa and Australasia a great part of the most fertile wheat-producing lands is in wooded districts. In New Zealand the average cost of clearing such land is 30s. per acre, but in certain districts of Victoria and Western Australia it amounts to as much as 5*l*. Apart, however, from the cost of clearing, which is a charge that should be added to the price of the land, the cost of producing wheat, including ploughing or cultivating, seed, harvesting and threshing, with cord and bags, is estimated at about 21s. per acre in Australasia and 24s. 3*d*. in Canada. The cost of seed, cord, and bags is less in Canada, but yield and wages are higher. The general cost is less in South Africa and India, where coloured labour is employed. The wage for agricultural white labour is about the same in each country—viz. 15s. per week, with board and lodging, excepting during harvest time, when from 30s. to 45s. per week is paid. The above-mentioned charges do not include rent, interest, cartage, freight to market, sale charges, and wear and tear of implements and machinery.

*Distances from Market.*—Important factors in choosing a country in which to start corn-growing for English demand are those of distance from market and the relative cost of shipment. The



distances from London of the chief seaports of the principal wheat-producing countries in the Empire are as follows :

London to :	Miles
Montreal . . . . .	3,085
Cape Town . . . . .	6,065
Natal . . . . .	6,810
Auckland . . . . .	12,120
Wellington . . . . .	11,870
Bombay, by Suez . . . . .	6,830
„ by the Cape . . . . .	10,590
Fremantle, by Suez . . . . .	9,650
„ by the Cape . . . . .	10,845
Adelaide, by Suez . . . . .	10,835
„ by the Cape . . . . .	11,730
Melbourne, by Suez . . . . .	11,135
„ by the Cape . . . . .	12,070
Hobart, by Suez . . . . .	11,280
„ by the Cape . . . . .	11,500
Sydney (N.S.W.), by Suez . . . . .	11,595
„ by the Cape . . . . .	12,525
Brisbane, by Suez . . . . .	12,070
„ by the Cape . . . . .	13,025

For purposes of comparison the following distances from the chief seaports of the principal foreign countries exporting wheat to England may prove interesting :

London to :	Miles
New York . . . . .	3,245
Boston . . . . .	3,030
San Francisco . . . . .	13,670
Buenos Ayres . . . . .	6,280
Odessa . . . . .	3,410
Riga . . . . .	1,182
Archangel . . . . .	2,187

It is impossible to quote exact shipping charges, as rates are governed by so many circumstances that they are constantly changing. For instance, tonnage rates for wheat from New Zealand to London have ranged recently from 15*s.* to 30*s.*, Melbourne to London 17*s.* 6*d.* to 30*s.* per ton, and from Montreal to Liverpool 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 9*d.* per quarter. On the general principle, however, that every additional mile's steaming at sea costs so much more per ton of the vessel's carrying capacity, goods can be conveyed 3,000 miles at a cost approaching half that of double the distance, provided all other circumstances are favourable. Shipping rates depend upon full cargoes, payable return freights, cost of coal, competition, and a variety of other conditions that make it impossible to establish reliable comparisons.

A condition of much more importance is that of distance of corn-producing centres to ports of shipment. It is impossible to go thoroughly into this question unless at a length not permissible in

this paper. The distances are for the most part covered by railways, the rates of which, like those of shipping, are changed from time to time and are often matters of special quotation, and vary according to amount, distance, speed, and contract. Furthermore the producing districts in almost all the countries are widely distributed, some of the most important in Canada being over 1,500 miles from the port of shipment, while others are within 100 miles. Yet by a wise dispensation of Providence these far-distant fields have been given nearly double the producing capacity of those referred to as only one-fifteenth the distance.

*The Most Suitable Countries.*—The foregoing particulars point to Canada, South Africa, and Western Australia as being the best countries in which to commence operations as set out at the beginning of this article—Canada because of its large acreage yield, high quality of grain, favourable land conditions, and comparative nearness to the world's great markets; and South Africa and Western Australia for their favourable land conditions and large and increasing local demand for agricultural food products which internal production does not nearly supply.

E. JEROME DYER.

## THE DUEL IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

WHEN the author had the pleasure of meeting English society in various Continental places, one of the first questions he nearly always heard was about the institution of the duel in Germany and Austria. He had occasion to see how strange this whole matter is from an English point of view, and it came into his mind to try to give English people a glimpse into this old-fashioned survival. He hopes that the following lines will fulfil their purpose of illustrating not only the stupidity, but also the sadness, of the Continental, and especially German and Austrian, point of view of 'honour.'

Within the last few months we have seen many sad examples of, and great movements against, duelling. May the day come when leaders will do away with the whole prejudice, as the late Prince Consort Albert did in 1844 for England!

The duel is to be traced back to the tournaments of the knights, even though it was in its beginning no duel in the sense in which we use the word nowadays. It was only a match between two men in the handling of weapons. It was then approved by Church and State, and very often it was used as a legitimate means of deciding the justice of quarrels by the 'judgment of God.'

The duel, nevertheless, is a relic of the Middle Ages, and now not only sane public opinion, but the powers of Church and State too, in all civilised nations, are arrayed against it.

The Catholic Church, which is powerful in all countries where duelling is rife, and predominant in most of them, imposes the penalty of excommunication not only on the principals, but also on the seconds in a duel.

All States have similar laws.

Germany punishes all those concerned in a duel with confinement in a fortress; Austria, with ordinary imprisonment, and with confinement in a fortress only in the case of officers. Ordinary imprisonment, to which a civilian is condemned, entails the loss of certain civil and political rights, *e.g.* that of electing or being elected for parliament. For this reason the sentence in most cases is commuted to confinement in a fortress. In the case of a duel with a fatal termination, the survivor is condemned to confinement in a

fortress for some years, but usually he is pardoned after the lapse of some months, and he is reinstated in his previous rank without the loss of any privilege or right. The same holds good with regard to the seconds. Here it may be permitted to quote the laws against duelling.

LAWS EXTRACTED FROM THE AUSTRIAN PENAL CODE.

Paras. 158 and ff.

158. Any person who, from whatever reason, challenges to a duel with deadly weapons, or who accepts such a challenge, commits the crime of duelling.

*Penalty.*

159. This crime is punishable, in the case that no wound is inflicted, by imprisonment in a jail for a period of from six months to one year.

160. If a wound is inflicted, the punishment is imprisonment in a jail for a period of from one to five years.

If a wound inflicted in a duel has the consequence enumerated in Para. 156, the penalty is imprisonment in the severest form for a period of from five to ten years.

156. Serious injuries of the body are: loss of speech, sight, hearing, generative power, one eye, arm, or one hand, or any other visible mutilation or disfiguration, or the production of chronic and incurable illness or permanent disablement from the pursuit of the avocation of the person injured.

161. When the death of one party ensues in the duel, the homicide is liable to the penalty of imprisonment in the severest form for a period of from ten to twenty years.

162. The penalty inflicted on the challenger is always to be for a longer time than would have been the case had he been the party challenged.

*Penalty for the accessories to the fact.*

163. Any person who incites to a challenge, or to the actual coming into the field of one or the other party, or who in any other way knowingly encourages them, or who threatens or shows contempt for a person endeavouring to hinder the encounter, is punishable by imprisonment in a jail for a period of from six months to one year. In the case when his influence was especially powerful and a wound or death results, he is punishable by imprisonment in a jail for a period of from one to five years.

164. Parties acting as seconds in a duel are punishable by imprisonment in a jail for a period of from six months to one year, and, according to the extent of their influence and to the seriousness of the injuries inflicted, by imprisonment in a jail for a period of not more than five years.

*No penalty is inflicted*

165. (a) On the challenger in the case that he does not come to the duel. (b) On either party when, though appearing on the spot, they voluntarily refrained from actually engaging in the duel. (c) On all other guilty parties who strenuously and successfully exerted themselves to effect the voluntary abandonment of the combat.

LAWS OUT OF THE GERMAN PENAL CODE.

Paras. 201 and ff.

The challenge to a duel with deadly weapons and the acceptance thereof is punishable by confinement in a fortress for a term of from two to six months.

If the intention of producing a fatal termination appears either in the wording of the challenge or in the nature of the kind of duel therein mentioned, the duel itself is punishable with confinement in a fortress for a period of from three months to five years.

Any person killing his adversary is liable to confinement in a fortress for not less than two years (up to fifteen years), and if the duel was one with the intention of causing the death of one of the combatants, by confinement in a fortress for not less than three years (up to fifteen years).

Should one of the parties use his weapon in a manner contrary to the stipulated conditions, he is punishable by the ordinary law against murder and corporal injury.

Should the duel take place without seconds, the penalty is increased by half the term stated in the case of ordinary duels. This increase is not to exceed ten years. Seconds are liable to imprisonment in a fortress for a period of not more than six months. Persons inciting to a duel are liable, if the duel actually takes place, to ordinary imprisonment up to three months.

Seconds, witnesses, doctors, who have made a genuine endeavour to hinder a duel are not liable to any punishment at all.

As it may be seen the Austrian laws are much more severe than the German, but in most cases the whole matter is quashed by Imperial grace, and the lawsuit and punishment dispensed with by His Majesty's clemency. Only very seldom is a duel or the challenge to a duel punished as rigorously as the laws prescribe.

Before I go into details about the real and serious duels I may be allowed to say a few words about the so-called *student duels*, which are quite another matter.

When they take place, every vulnerable part of the body is protected by bandages; the face and the head only are exposed, but the eyes are shielded by iron guards something similar to those used in climbing glaciers. They principally take place among the students' *corps* or *Burschenschaften*, which number among their ranks a large proportion of the undergraduates of the universities.

It may be mentioned, by the way, that the German Emperor was, and that his son is now, a member of one of these *corps*. Membership of these unions constitutes in itself a passport to good society. This, however, is only the case in Germany proper; in Austria it is quite otherwise, as students of the better sort and belonging to good families hold themselves aloof from them. The freshman, who by the way is called 'fox,' on joining one of these unions is compelled by order of his captain to engage in a certain number of fights with opponents designated by his authority, belonging in most cases to other *corps* with which his own is in conjunction only for fighting.

Before engaging in that he is trained to stand his ground without flinching from any blow or on account of any injury which may be inflicted on him. If he is seen to flinch continually, he is expelled from the *corps*. When the student has fought a certain number of these battles, which are called 'Mensur,' which may be translated by 'measuring,' he becomes a fully qualified member or

'Bursch.' His freshman's terms are then soon at an end, and he is supposed to devote himself to the pursuit of his studies. It is doubtless unnecessary for me to inform the members of the sister universities of England with what undaunted zeal he proceeds to do this.

After this they are occasionally engaged in duels of their own seeking, and sometimes in more serious encounters, such as I am about to describe, but which can hardly be said to come under the category of student duels.

The *corps* are also where the German students learn, and are obliged, to drink, and whilst the English student in the time he can spare from his work is in the fresh air, engaging in healthy sports, the German sits in a smoky room, drinks gallons of beer, and fights his duels.

The real *serious duel* must be conducted, even down to the smallest detail, according to the regulations laid down in the *Duell-Codex*.

It is, to quote the definition of this book, a 'private combat, following recognised rules and conditions previously agreed upon, in presence of witnesses, with *deadly* weapons of the same kind.'

From this definition it is obvious that the 'Mensur' of our universities is no real duel. It is punishable by the laws in the same way as a serious duel, nevertheless in the greater number of cases it is winked at by the police authorities, who only a few times in the year make an example and punish the guilty parties.

It would take too long if I went into details about this very interesting book, the *Duell-Codex*. The different grades of insult are set down therein, together with the different kinds of duel which are considered necessary to wipe them out. Insults are carefully classified; they range from slight breaches of social etiquette to the infliction of a blow and calumny.

We have in Germany and Austria two kinds of duel, but these two kinds have many grades according to the degree of insult. Duels are fought with swords or with pistols. For smaller insults *swords* are the usual weapons, and it must be determined if the drawing of 'first blood' gives satisfaction, or the placing of one of the combatants *hors de combat*. There is no kind of protection allowed to the body, save that a silk handkerchief may be tied around the artery of the neck and that of the right hand. The combatants are dressed only in shirt and trousers. The fight begins at the order of the senior second, and the combatants have to cease whenever he commands.

In duels with *pistols*, according to the degree of the insult, the preliminaries refer to the distance and the number of shots from either side. More than three shots from either side are not allowed, and no smaller distance than 12 metres (about 14 yards). Everything must be removed from the pockets of the combatants, who fire at the word of command, which is given by the senior of the seconds. The most serious kind of a duel with pistols is that which, if the three

shots from each side prove ineffective, is continued with swords until one of the combatants is disabled.

To describe briefly the usual way in which the preliminaries of a duel are arranged, it will be necessary to explain the following matters. If one gentleman—and only a gentleman in the strictest sense of the word is able to fight a duel—is insulted by another, he either challenges him on the spot, or sends him a challenge by two of his friends within twenty-four hours after the insult. If the person who is challenged accepts the duel, he mentions the names of two friends to the challenger's seconds. If he does not accept it, the two seconds draw up a report about the quarrel. The four seconds deliberate together about the whole matter; they have to try if some other honourable way cannot be found to end the quarrel. And if they cannot succeed in doing so, they decide when, where, how, and with what kind of weapons the duel is to be fought. The challenge must be brought, as we said, within twenty-four hours of the insult. If it arrives later without any reasonable excuse, no one is obliged to accept it. It is a duty of the seconds to endeavour to effect a reconciliation as far as it is compatible with honour. From the moment when the matter is given into the hands of the seconds the principals have nothing to do but await their decisions. As soon as they are made, the weapons, the spot, and time are determined; the seconds inform the principals of all these conditions, and the fight takes place. The seconds are obliged to draw up a formal report about the whole matter and the duel itself. In the case of an infringement of the regulations laid down in the *Duell-Codex*, such an infringement is to be mentioned in this report, and the offender is relegated to the civil law courts and punished as an ordinary criminal.

In doubtful cases the matter is referred to an *Ehrenrath* (court of honour). The members of such a court must be persons who inspire confidence in all the parties concerned, as their judgment is final and must be submitted to. They must be not only gentlemen, but they must also have a considerable experience in such matters. The court of honour must therefore consist of members elected by both parties. This is very simple if one or both adversaries are officers, and no civilian has the right to resist the judgment given by a military court of honour. If both are civilians, the seconds elect in doubtful cases a fifth person with whom they deliberate about the matter, and who, as a neutral, gives his advice and opinion. It is not necessary to say that such a neutral will always be a person who is known to both parties as a gentleman with great experience. How strict the rulings of these courts, especially the military ones, frequently are may be gathered from the following episode, which took place in the German army a short time ago.

A young officer gave a supper to his friends on the eve of his

marriage; he got very drunk, and late at night two comrades found him near his lodging, lying on the pavement in deep slumber. They tried to take him home, but they did not know that he was no longer in his bachelor rooms, but was already in the new residence taken by the young couple, a few hundred yards off in the same street. They tried to take him to his old rooms, and when he resisted one of them said to him, 'You are as drunk as a pig, and you do not know where your lodging is.' The drunken man gave him a blow, and when the other 'of the 'good Samaritans' interfered he struck him too. Next morning he travelled to his *fiancée*, but after a few hours a telegram recalled him. Both the men whom he had hit had given notice to the regiment, as was their duty; and the court of honour, consisting of members from both regiments, decided that a duel with pistols must take place. The wedding was put off. The young officer came back, not knowing what had happened, and was told by his comrades that he must either leave the army or accept the duel. His father-in-law and his *fiancée* tried to persuade him to accept the first alternative, but he could not make up his mind to do so, and the duel took place next morning. At the first shot the young man was killed. The bullet went through his abdomen and injured one of his kidneys. This sad event made a great sensation in Germany and Austria, and even English and American newspapers published articles about it. The victor in the duel was punished with two years' fortress, and left the army; his seconds, with five days. The commander of the army corps retired. The colonel of the killed man's regiment and two generals, who were members of the court of honour and commanders of the principals, were obliged to leave the army. A question was put to the Minister of War in parliament, and two Bills have been laid before the German parliament, but the debates thereon have not yet taken place. They propose a change of the laws to the effect that duelling should be punished with ordinary imprisonment, instead of the now usual imprisonment in a fortress, for a period of not less than three months for the challenge, and of six months at least for the duel. The seconds also shall be punishable. When an official functionary is punished for a duel, he shall also be suspended from his functions for a period of from one to five years.

In Austria an officer who refuses a duel or does not challenge in the case of an insult, must leave the army with ignominy, and is degraded from his rank just in the same way as in Germany. But if he kills or wounds his adversary in a duel he is punished and imprisoned in a fortress.

In order to illustrate this contradiction, it will be sufficient to cite a sad little incident which occurred a few years ago in the Austrian army.

Lieutenant Marquis T. had a quarrel with another officer, and was challenged to a duel. He asked a friend of his, Count L., a



captain on the general staff, his opinion about duelling, and whether he thought it possible for an officer who was a good and obedient Catholic to accept a challenge. Count L. answered him by letter, that in the same case he would refuse, and that he considered duelling to be a great sin, and therefore no consistent Catholic could accept or issue a challenge. Both were compelled to leave the army with disgrace and loss of rank—and that in Austria, where the Catholic Church is more powerful than in any other State.

A striking illustration of the dilemma in which Austrian gentlemen may find themselves may be seen in the following episode. Mr. von O., who is a lawyer and an officer in the reserve, and who wrote some years ago a book against duelling, was recently prosecuted for having challenged another man to a duel. He was condemned to one month's ordinary imprisonment. He conducted his own defence, and pleaded in a splendid speech that, although he was an opponent of duelling, he was compelled to issue this challenge under pain of losing his military rank. The month's imprisonment, as we have seen, entails the loss of army rank; therefore, whether he challenged his insulter or refrained from doing so, he was compelled to lose his rank as an officer in the reserve.

It is a contradiction in itself that a reserve officer must challenge in accordance with military etiquette, but is under the jurisdiction of civilian courts. That is only the case in Austria; in Germany the officer in the reserve, as soon as he does anything in his character as an officer, is under the military jurisdiction.

The author hopes that the institution is to be understood from what he has said about it. It is not so easy for English people to understand the strong feeling of society about duelling, and the refusal to issue or accept a challenge. Public opinion in our society is such that it is morally impossible for a gentleman to refuse a duel or to refrain from challenging if he is insulted, without being boycotted in all good society and acquiring the reputation of a coward. No one who knows of the matter will shake him by the hand; all doors are closed against him.

The author knows many men, and officers too, who are opposed to the duel and who speak against it, but when asked what they would do in the case of an insult or a challenge, their answer is invariably the same: 'I must accept or challenge! I cannot sacrifice my social position or my military rank for an ideal! The few who have risked it have lost both!'

Well known is the case of an officer who, a few days after having delivered a lecture against duels at a military club, was engaged in one himself.

All this is to be deplored, but one can only hope that better times will come, and the German people will reach the same level as that to which England and other States have already attained.

But before that is possible the laws must be changed and made stronger, our leaders must think differently and more humanely, public feeling, and especially the point of view of honour in certain classes of society, must be altered.

Not long ago the author met an officer of the Guards of one of the northern States, and the conversation turned upon duelling. He could not understand what the author told him, and when asked what he would do if some one insulted him, his answer was : ' If he insults me he insults himself, and by all society he is no more esteemed as a gentleman.' That is the old point of view, which was already attained by the Greek sages, and which our society should also strive to attain to.

There was last October, in Leipzig, a congress against duelling, the leading members of which belonged to the highest aristocracy ; the president was Fürst Löwenstein. In the first weeks of December in all Austrian newspapers an appeal was published, which began with the words spoken by the Minister of War, Baron Krieghammer, answering a question in parliament : ' I call on all to join me in my fight against duelling. State and society may co-operate ; the army will certainly not be against this work, it too can only welcome and favour it.'

This appeal was signed by more than 1,000 persons ; the first names of our aristocracy are among the list of members. A committee has been appointed, which is deliberating about the best way to do away with duelling.

May there be the possibility of the hope that this new movement in Austria, joined with that in Germany, will bring forth good fruit, that this example will be accepted in high places, and a new era of peace will dawn !

R. CL. BACHOFEN VON ECHT.

## THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

THE result of the Woolwich election came as a bolt from the political blue. In spite of attempts to make it appear a Liberal victory the party managers know it was nothing of the sort.

Mr. Crooks was invited to contest the seat by a joint committee composed mainly of trades unionists and members of the Independent Labour Party, and one of the conditions laid down for his acceptance was :

That a Labour Candidate, independent of both Political Parties, be run for Woolwich.

This condition was accepted, and the election campaign conducted in strict accordance with its spirit. To such an extent was this carried that, with two exceptions, no Liberal Member of Parliament was allowed to speak from Mr. Crooks's platform. In saying this I do not wish it to be understood that the Liberals did not render help. Hundreds of workers and canvassers were sent by Liberal clubs and associations into the division, but it was to the help of the Labour and not Liberal candidate that they went, a fact which they fully understood.

Whilst much has been made of the Woolwich triumph, the quite as significant unopposed return of Mr. David J. Shackleton for Clitheroe, in Lancashire, passed almost unnoticed. Mr. Shackleton, who is a prominent trades unionist in the textile trade, where Conservatism has a strong hold on the workers, was also run as a Labour candidate who refused to call himself a Liberal, and who would not even promise to support the Liberals in Parliament.

Already seventeen Labour candidates have been endorsed by the Labour Representation Committee for various constituencies, and as the number will certainly reach, if it does not exceed, fifty at the General Election, it is important that a movement which is changing the political outlook, and which, if its promoters succeed in their declared intention, will compel the reorganisation of political bodies, should have its scope, strength, and aims clearly defined,

so that the public may realise the change which is coming over the political situation.

At the Trades Union Congress which met at Plymouth in September 1899, a resolution was carried instructing the Parliamentary Committee, the executive body of the Congress, to convene a conference to consider ways and means to secure more adequate representation of Labour interests in Parliament.

The terms of the resolution were as follows :

That this Congress, having regard to its decisions in former years, and with a view to securing a better representation of the interests of labour in the House of Commons, hereby instructs the Parliamentary Committee to invite the co-operation of all co-operative, socialistic, trade unions, and other working organisations to jointly co-operate on lines mutually agreed upon, in convening a special congress of representatives from such of the above-named organisations as may be willing to take part to devise ways and means for securing the return of an increased number of Labour members to the next Parliament.

The voting was, for the resolution 546,000, against 434,000.

The Conference so decided upon was duly held in the Memorial Hall, London, on the 27th of February, 1900, when delegates were present from trades unions representing a membership of 550,000, and from the Independent Labour Party, the Fabian Society, and the Social Democratic Federation. Mr. Richard Bell, M.P., Mr. John Burns, M.P., and the present writer attended as delegates.

A suggested constitution, which had been drafted by a small committee of representatives from the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress and members representing the organisations named above, was submitted to the Conference, and after discussion the following resolutions were agreed to by a practically unanimous vote :

(1) That this Conference is in favour of working-class opinion being represented in the House of Commons by men sympathetic with the aims and demands of the Labour movement, and whose candidatures are promoted by one or other of the organised movements represented by the constitution which this Conference is about to frame.

(2) That this Conference is in favour of establishing a distinct Labour group in Parliament, who shall have their own Whips, and agree upon their policy, which must embrace a readiness to co-operate with any party which for the time being may be engaged in promoting legislation in the direct interest of Labour, and be equally ready to associate themselves with any party in opposing measures having an opposite tendency ; and further, members of the Labour Group shall not oppose any candidate whose candidature is being promoted in terms of Resolution (1).

At the General Election of 1900 fifteen candidates were run under the terms of the above resolutions, and Mr. Richard Bell at Derby and the present writer at Merthyr Tydvil were returned. The following table sets out the results in detail.

Constituency	Candidate	Opponents	Labour vote	Total vote polled	Representation before contest	Representation after contest
Derby .	R. Bell	2 Cons.	7,640	15,000	2 Cons.	1 Lab. and 1 Lib.
Merthyr .	J. Keir Hardie	2 Libs.	5,745	13,000	2 Libs.	1 Lab. and 1 Lib.
Gower (Glam) .	J. Hodge	1 Lib.	3,853	8,129	1 Lib.	1 Lib.
Sunderland .	A. Wilkie	2 Cons.	8,842	19,102	1 Lib. and 1 Con.	2 Cons.
West Ham .	W. Thorne	1 Con.	4,439	10,054	1 Con.	1 Con.
Blackburn .	P. Snowden	2 Cons.	7,096	18,000	2 Cons.	2 Cons.
Bradford .	F. Jowett	1 Con.	4,949	9,939	1 Con.	1 Con.
Halifax .	J. Parker	2 Libs. and 1 Con.	3,276	13,000	1 Lib. and 1 Con.	1 Lib. and 1 Con.
Leicester .	J. R. MacDonald	2 Libs. and 1 Con.	4,164	18,000	2 Libs.	1 Lib. and 1 Con.
Manchester, S.W. .	F. Brocklehurst	1 Con.	2,398	6,415	1 Con.	1 Con.
Preston .	J. Keir Hardie	2 Cons.	4,834	11,500	2 Cons.	2 Cons.
Bow and Bromley .	Geo. Lansbury	1 Con.	2,558	6,961	1 Con.	1 Con.
Ashton-under-Lyne	J. Johnston	1 Lib. and 1 Con.	737	6,100	1 Con.	1 Con.
Leeds, East	W. P. Byles	1 Lib. and 1 Con.	1,266	6,305	1 Lib.	1 Con.
Rochdale .	A. Clarke	1 Lib. and 1 Con.	901	11,290	1 Con.	1 Con.

When it is borne in mind that the election was fought whilst the war fever was still raging and that all the Labour men were 'Pro-Boers,' the results obtained are not without their significance.

Since then, as already indicated, Mr. Shackleton and Mr. Crooks have been returned, so that the Labour Group in Parliament owing allegiance to the Labour Representation Committee now consists of four members. These meet once a week, or more frequently as occasion may require, to decide upon their policy and course of action. The other Labour members in the House (of whom there are eight) belong to organisations which are not affiliated with the Labour Representation Committee, and therefore, up to the present, have not taken part in these group meetings.

The third Annual Conference of the Labour Representation Committee met in February this year at Newcastle, when the Secretary reported that 127 trades unions, representing a membership of 847,315, the Fabian Society with 835 members, and the Independent Labour Party with 13,000 were represented by 244 delegates. Forty-nine trade councils are also affiliated, but to prevent duplication the membership is not set down. The Social Democratic Federation, after taking part in the formation of the new body, formally withdrew in 1891, whilst the Co-operative movement in England has not yet become affiliated.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This Conference represents England, Wales, and Ireland, the Scottish workers having a committee of their own, which includes not only the trades unions and the Independent Labour Party, but also the Co-operative Societies.

The Committee is financed by a contribution of 10s. per thousand of its affiliated membership, and the income for last year from this source was 527*l*.

Every national trades union was represented at the Conference and is affiliated to the Committee, with the single exception of the miners. Shipbuilding, engineering, the textile trades, railway workers, and the unskilled unions are all attached to the new Labour combine.

During the three years that have elapsed since the movement was founded a feeling has been gaining ground that a clearer declaration was needed of the aims and objects of the Party than that laid down in the somewhat loosely worded resolutions agreed to at the first Conference. On the second day of the gathering at Newcastle some hours were spent in discussing whether or not the movement should be kept on rigidly independent lines, or whether candidates nominated by trades unions should be free to run under Liberal or Conservative auspices, or give assistance to the nominees of other parties. After a number of amendments had been put and disposed of, the following resolution was carried by 659,000 *as* against 154,000. The voting was by card, the delegates voting in proportion to the members represented, 1 vote for each 1,000 members :

In view of the fact that the Labour Representation Committee is recruiting adherents from all outside political forces, and also taking into consideration the basis upon which the Committee was inaugurated, this Conference regards it as being absolutely necessary that the members of the Executive Committee, members of Parliament, and candidates run under the auspices of this Committee, should strictly abstain from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties, inasmuch as if we are to secure the social and economic requirements of the industrial classes, Labour representatives in and out of Parliament will have to shape their own policy and act upon it, regardless of other sections in the political world ; and that the Executive Committee report to the affiliated association or bodies any such official acting contrary to the spirit of the constitution as hereby amended.

Following this, and in order to more clearly define if possible the policy of the movement and to prevent the candidates acting upon their own personal responsibility as to the auspices under which they should be run, a resolution was carried with practical unanimity, as follows :

(4) That all candidates applying to the Executive Committee for ratification of candidature must, in order to qualify, be in the first instance promoted by an affiliated society or a conference of affiliated societies in the district in which the candidature is promoted, and must pledge themselves to accept the programme <sup>2</sup> of this Conference. Also that all candidates recommended under Labour Representation Committee auspices must appear before their various constituencies under the title of Labour candidates only.

<sup>2</sup> 'Programme' is a slip for 'policy.' The Conference declined to agree to any programme at this stage.

In the face of these resolutions and the literally overwhelming majorities by which they were adopted there can be no question about the political independence of the movement. Nor are the reasons for such a stand far to seek. In Yorkshire, Newcastle, and other places the bulk of the trades unionists were formerly Liberals, whereas in the Lancashire towns and many other parts of the country they were in the main Conservative. If therefore these two sections were to be united, it could only be done on the basis of an attitude of strict neutrality towards both parties. In addition to this consideration, the Independent Labour Party had to be taken into account. Despite its numerical smallness, it is generally recognised that it is to the work done by this Party during the past ten years that the success of the movement is largely due. As a matter of fact there are not half a dozen constituencies in England which could be won by a trades union candidate unless backed by the Independent Labour Party. Whatever opinion individual delegates might hold concerning politics, they felt, when brought face to face with the actual facts of the situation, that it was only by conducting the movement on independent lines that they could hope to secure the adequate representation of Labour in Parliament.

One other matter of first importance engaged the attention of the Conference—Finance. Hitherto the great weakness of the Labour Party has been, first its lack of cohesion, and next its poverty. Trades unions are by their rules in most cases prohibited from devoting any part of their income to political purposes. The divided state of political opinion already referred to made this imperative. When, however, the trades unions found the law courts depriving their organisations of that legal protection which was supposed to have been afforded to them by the Acts passed in 1871 and 1875, they began to realise, as their forefathers had done in 1867, the need for their having a Party of their own.

For a number of years, therefore, one union after another has been balloting its members on a proposal to pay a sum varying from 6d. to 1s. per year for Labour representation purposes.

Every union affiliated to the Labour Representation Committee has some such fund. Most of the larger unions are contributing the 1s. per member, as are also the 320,000 miners who belong to the Miners' Federation, and who have a Labour representation scheme of their own, but who are not affiliated with the Labour Representation Committee. I have tried to obtain the most accurate information possible on this point, and am convinced that the sum now being raised by trades unions for the purpose of Labour representation alone will not fall far short, if it does not exceed, 50,000*l.* a year. As the movement developed, however, it was felt that if each trade union, or other affiliated organisation, was to retain the whole of this fund in their own coffers and finance

their own members, when returned, the result would be that the smaller unions would be practically shut out from being represented in Parliament. Most of these are numerically so small that the tax of maintaining a member in Parliament would be beyond their resources.

At the Labour Representation Conference which met in Birmingham twelve months ago, the Executive was instructed to draft and submit for approval a scheme for providing a central fund ; and this was submitted to and approved of by the Newcastle Conference. It proceeds on safe and cautious lines, and proposes that each organisation affiliated to the Labour Representation Committee shall contribute 1*d.* per member per annum to this central fund, and that in return every member who stands for election under Labour Representation Committee auspices shall receive, if the funds permit, 25 per cent. of the returning officer's expenses, and if returned, a Parliamentary salary of 200*l.* per annum. It is not suggested that 200*l.* is a living wage for a Member of Parliament, but the intention is that the trades union or other affiliated organisation putting forward a nominee shall pay him such salary as it may deem fit for services rendered to the union, whilst 200*l.* a year from the Labour Representation Committee shall be paid in addition and be meant to cover the extra expenses involved by a man who is sent to the House.

The Newcastle Conference was successful from every point of view ; and although Liberal politicians and the bulk of the Liberal press bewailed the fact that the movement had cut itself off from the leading-strings of Liberalism, and predicted disaster to the cause of Labour representation as a consequence, the Woolwich election, fought since the Conference was held, and in strict accordance with the policy there laid down, completely refutes and falsifies all such predictions.

It is of importance to know that the movement is not exclusively one for working-class representation in Parliament. Trades unions in nominating candidates are confined in their selection to their own members, and their nominees must as a consequence, without exception, be all drawn from the ranks of the working classes. With the Independent Labour Party, however, it is different. That is a Socialist organisation, and no limits of class are recognised when members seek admission. The composition of the Independent Labour Party, whilst overwhelmingly of the working class, yet contains a proportion of the middle class. Quite a number of well-to-do members of the upper middle class, including business and commercial men, are to be found in its ranks ; where the teaching profession is also largely represented. Its candidates are selected from its own membership, and may be drawn from any of the sections mentioned above. As a matter of fact, now that trades unions are coming more and more into the political arena, the candidates of



the Independent Labour Party will probably be even more largely drawn from the middle class than they have been in the past.

In the Socialist and Labour parties of the Continent, France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, and Austria the parliamentary representatives are largely recruited from the ranks of the educated middle class. Jean Jaures, the Vice-President of the French Chamber of Deputies, and the head of the Socialist Party, is a lawyer ; so too is Emile Vandervelde, the leader of *Le Parti Ouvrier* of Belgium. In Austria Dr. Adler fills a similar position. Among the candidates of the Independent Labour party are quite a number of educated men of good social position. I emphasise this point in order to make it clear that the new movement is not tied down to accepting only working men as candidates.

The Labour Representation Committee does not select candidates. Each trade union and the Independent Labour Party select the number of candidates it is prepared to finance. The names of the men so selected are reported to the secretary, and when a constituency conference is held to fix upon a candidate, the list of names of available men is sent down, and, as a rule, one of them is chosen. The work of the Executive Committee consists in bringing the forces together to make the selection, and in endorsing the candidate so selected. Before a candidate is put on the approved list he is required to sign the constitution of the Committee, which pledges him to 'form or join a distinct group in Parliament, with its own whips and its own policy on Labour questions, to abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties . . . to abide by the decisions of the group in carrying out the aims of this constitution, and to appear before their constituencies under the title of Labour candidates only.' With this the work of the Committee begins and ends so far as the selection of a candidate is concerned.

Such in brief outline is the framework of the New Labour Party. Its success thus far has been phenomenal, and its influence upon the future of parties can scarcely be overestimated. At the approaching general election it will have fifty of its nominees taking part in the contest, and already the feeling is abroad that in the constituencies selected the Liberals will leave its nominees in undisputed possession of the political field. Should this feeling turn out to be well founded, and the political conditions of the hour almost render any other course on the part of the Liberals impossible, then there will be fifty possible openings barred to Liberal candidates. By another election it is extremely probable, judging by the rate at which the movement is growing, that the number of Labour candidates will be doubled. What will then be the attitude of the Liberal Party? It it keeps making way for Labour all along the line, it is doomed to a speedy extinction. If it refuses to give way and elects to nominate

candidates in opposition to Labour men, the end is equally certain. I do not labour this point, but it is one which the student of politics cannot afford to overlook.

The new movement must also exercise considerable influence on the course of legislation. With a group of say twenty-five earnest resolute men acting together on the floor of the House of Commons, it would be impossible for the party in office to neglect social questions, to play fast and loose with election pledges in the way in which past experience of Governments has made us familiar. Such subjects as work for the unemployed, old age pensions, better housing, a legislative shortening of the working day, with a decent minimum wage for Government employees and, possibly, for workers in the sweated industries, are all matters of urgency. The legal rehabilitation of trade unionism will doubtless occupy a foremost place in the efforts of the new party, and those who know how bitterly the employing class will resist this, and how they will be backed in their opposition by the House of Lords, foresee a struggle impending which will again bring to the front as a live political issue the whole question of a Second Chamber. The land question, too, is certain to be met by drastic proposals, and thus not only will the composition of the House of Commons be, to some extent, changed, but the issues of political strife will be revolutionised. In many of these questions the front benches and official supporters of both parties are certain to act together in opposing the proposals of the Labour group, and this will in turn give it fresh strength with the electorate. The one thing needed to strengthen and consolidate a Labour Party is opposition.

The Employers' Federation has, in fact, already sounded the note of battle. At a conference of the Parliamentary Council of that body held in London last month, the following resolutions were passed and communicated to the press for publication :

Resolution I.—In view of the attitude of political parties towards industrial problems, of the growing strength of the Socialist Labour Party upon local governing bodies, and of the efforts of the Labour Party in the House of Commons to promote legislation to nullify the effect of the recent legal decisions with respect to conspiracy and picketing, this conference of representatives of employers' associations connected with the various interests in the United Kingdom affirms the desirability of a closer and more effective combination of employers for the purpose of protecting the interests of trade, of free contract, and of labour against undue interference with such interests, on the part either of Parliament or of local authorities.

Resolution II.—That this conference is of opinion that, independent of party politics, steps should be taken at all Parliamentary and Municipal elections to ensure that the views of employers are brought under the notice of candidates, in order that the efforts of the Labour Party to control Parliament and local governing bodies may be resisted, and this conference desires to impress upon Employers' Associations, and upon individual employers, the need for personal communications being addressed to their local Members of Parliament with respect to all questions arising in Parliament affecting the relations of employers and workpeople.

In a struggle of the nature here foreshadowed, it is well to bear in mind that the voting power is with the working class, and that just as they stand and starve together during a strike, so will they vote together when the issues are no longer Liberal *versus* Conservative, but capital *versus* labour.

This new Labour Party, then, a combination of the solid strength of trade unionism and the fervid zeal of Socialism, is big with hope and fear; hope for those who believe that only by legislation can the toil-worn and poverty-oppressed working class be freed from their bondage, and fear for those who see in all such legislation the sure and certain downfall of our national greatness. But whether the new movement inspires hope or fear, it is here, a thing to be reckoned with. It is a natural and inevitable outcome of the possession of the franchise, and, rightly viewed, the real wonder is that it has been so long in coming.

J. KEIR HARDIE.

## *THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE LICENSING QUESTION*

THE Licensing Question has entered a new phase. Hitherto legislation has been desired by the party of Temperance Reform, and one plank in their programme has been a radical change in the constitution of the licensing authority. Now, although His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, alone and unalloyed, remain the licensing authority, legislation is demanded for the protection of the brewing interests. The determination expressed at one Brewster Sessions after another, and throughout the length and breadth of the country, that there should be some reduction in the number of licenses in congested districts has caused alarm; and a movement is on foot to induce the Government to provide for the compensation of persons interested in suppressed licenses. It is a remarkable circumstance in itself, that legislation should be sought expressly for this purpose. Such a demand is an admission that the 'interests' which it is sought to protect do not as yet exist in law; at the same time it is a signal recognition of the growth of public opinion in favour of a reasonable limitation in the traffic in drink.

That growth of opinion has been evidenced by two events, and—through that curious action and reaction which is always taking place in this country between opinion and law—has been immeasurably strengthened by these events, and especially by their conjunction. We refer, of course, to the passing of the Licensing Act, 1902, and to the decisions of the Courts in what is known as the Farnham Case.<sup>1</sup> Probably neither event alone would have produced any marked effect. The Farnham decision, though mainly an application and extension of the law as previously laid down, has no doubt a far-reaching operation. But standing alone, it might have been regarded as the isolated action of a bench of magistrates of extreme views, only to be followed by lean and hungry reformers, and not by easy-going men of moderate views. The Act of Parliament, on the

<sup>1</sup> An appeal to the House of Lords from the judgment of the Court of Appeal has been lodged in this case. The references to the case in this article must be read subject to that fact.

other hand, so slightly alters the licensing law, that the Home Secretary was recently asked by some alarmed Member to issue a notice to justices informing them how little their powers were changed! Nevertheless the Act has been construed—and rightly construed—as an indication of the anxiety of Parliament, acting under the guidance of a Conservative Government, to promote temperance; and being passed just when the licensing authority had been informed, that it had a right of initiative in reducing the number of licensed houses, it has acted as a stimulant to the exercise of this power. Both decision and Act are the outcome of the same force, the steady growth of public opinion. But it is an accident that two quite different effects of that opinion should have been produced practically at the same moment; and it is a striking instance of the power of accident in political and social progress, that the synchronising of these two events should have so largely enhanced the influence of either.

The Licensing Act of 1902 is the outcome of the Royal Commission which reported in 1899, and it proceeds upon the very sensible plan of embodying in legislation recommendations upon which the two great parties on that Commission—the authors of the Majority Report, and the Chairman and his associates in the Minority Report—are agreed. Its provisions are neither very numerous nor very complicated. They approach the question of intemperance on three sides. They strengthen the law in dealing with drunkenness; they provide for the better and more convenient exercise of the powers of licensing authorities; and they seek to prevent the use of premises for drinking, in privacy and without restraint, under the pretext that they are club-houses. There are two notable provisions under the first head, that which makes habitual drunkenness, either of husband or wife, a ground for a separation order, and that which establishes a Black List for drunkards. These provisions obviously have a social effect far beyond their actual scope. Not every husband or wife who drinks is an habitual drunkard as defined by statute; such a person must be at times dangerous or incapable of the management of affairs. But drunkenness persisted in, and especially operating upon an uneducated and perhaps coarse nature, tends always to produce that state which will warrant a court in taking action; and the knowledge that separation may follow upon outbursts of drunken fury, or upon that soaking which destroys brain-power, will be a powerful inducement to check a growing and pernicious habit. Equally potent in its operation upon the fears of the individual and the opinion of the class will be the establishment of the Black List. A man or woman convicted four times in twelve months of an offence in which drunkenness is a prominent feature will be reported to the police; and the police will thereupon take steps to give such information to licensed houses and registered clubs as will enable the culprit to be

identified. Probably a full description and a photograph will be circulated, with a warning that the offender is not to be served with drink.<sup>2</sup> It will then be an offence for any publican, or the authorities of any registered club, knowingly to supply drink to the person in question within three years, and for the drunkard himself to attempt to obtain drink at any such place. In recommending this provision the Licensing Commission recognised that it could be worked more easily in small places than in large; but they added that even in large towns drunkards had their special houses of resort, and to shut them out even from these haunts would be to set a mark of disgrace upon them which would have a deterrent effect. We believe some such regulation has been in force in many of the cantons of Switzerland for some time. Apart from its direct operation, it tends to foster public opinion in the condemnation of drunkenness.

The most important amendment in the licensing law is that which brings within the discretionary power of the justices what are known as 'grocers' licenses.' Grocers' licenses were a creation of Mr. Gladstone. They are, in fact, licenses granted to shopkeepers to sell wine in bottles for consumption off the premises only, and their object was to encourage the use of light foreign wines. In the first instance they were altogether outside the control of the justices. In 1869 a certificate of justices was rendered necessary; but it could only be refused on one of four grounds—practically equivalent to misconduct or want of qualification on the part of the applicant or his premises. The recent Act removes these restrictions on the action of the justices, and leaves them full discretion to grant or refuse any grocer's license, except in the case of persons holding licenses on the 25th of June, 1902, who can only be dealt with on one of the four grounds mentioned or for other misconduct. It has been alleged that grocers' licenses have done much harm, mainly in encouraging drinking amongst women; and it has even been said that the practice exists of entering wine and spirits supplied to the mistress of the house in the weekly accounts under the name of some harmless article of household consumption, with the object of misleading the husband. It may be doubted, whether such practices obtain to any considerable extent, and whether the encouragement to intoxication afforded by such licenses can be compared with that of the public-house. But there seems to be a concurrence of opinion, that drunkenness is on the increase amongst women, while it is (though slowly) decreasing amongst men; and no doubt the ability to buy wine at a shop, kept not as a wineshop but as a grocer's, and to consume it at home, may conduce to this most sad result. There is certainly no reason why the licensing authority should not have full control over such licenses, and it is only to be regretted that that control does not extend to existing license-holders.

<sup>2</sup> This is the course to be adopted by the Surrey police.

The submission of all future grocers' licenses to the full discretion of the justices brings within their control every kind of sale of intoxicating liquors by retail, except that by a wine merchant or wholesale spirit dealer for consumption off the premises, where no other trade of any kind is carried on at the place of business. This result has been arrived at by the most curiously circuitous process. In 1828, the Act which still forms the basis of the justices' authority gave them full power over every kind of license for drinking on the premises. But from that time to 1872 the Legislature wavered between the principle of control and the principle of free trade, and various kinds of liquor-selling have from time to time been permitted upon simple payment of excise duty. The most striking experiment of this kind was embodied in the Beerhouse Act of 1830. This measure is said to have had two objects—one to encourage the drinking of beer as compared with the drinking of ardent spirits, the other to counteract the growing system of 'tied houses' (that is, public-houses owned or financed by a particular brewer), and to encourage the small trader. It had the most astonishing and disastrous results. Thirty thousand beerhouses sprang into existence immediately on the passing of the Act, and before the justices' control of such houses was restored (in 1869) the number had become almost equal to that of the fully licensed houses; in fact it would not be far off the truth to say, that the legislation of 1830 is responsible for half the public-houses with which the country now has to deal. Moreover, the growth of the tied-house system was not in any way checked; while the uncontrolled beerhouse was notoriously the refuge of persons who had been judged unfit by the justices to hold a license, and the resort of thieves and other bad characters. This signal failure must be borne in mind, when one is tempted, by the difficulties occasioned by the creation of powerful vested interests in liquor traffic, to think that uncontrolled sale might be better than the present system. Experiments in the same direction in relation to off-licenses have also become gradually discredited; and, as we have seen, the control of the justices both in relation to on and off licenses is now fully recognised.

The other amendments of the licensing law in the recent Act relate to matters of detail; the most important has reference to the power of the justices over the structure of licensed premises. Plans must be deposited before a new license is applied for. No alteration affecting the serving of liquor can be made in any public-house without the consent of the justices assembled for licensing business; and the justices may themselves require alterations necessary to the proper conduct of the licensed business to be made.

We turn to the other factor in the recent awakening of public opinion. The decision in the Farnham Case is the last of three decisions which have established, that the justices when sitting for

licensing purposes are not a body deciding a question as judges between two litigants, but a body exercising a discretion in the public interest. So recently as 1891 it was contended that the discretion to refuse a new license—admitted to exist—did not apply to the renewal of a license, and that the justices had no right to refuse a renewal merely because they thought the requirements of the neighbourhood did not render the license necessary or desirable. Misconduct alone, or some definite breach of the law, it was urged, justified the Bench in suppressing a license. The celebrated case of *Sharp v. Wakefield*<sup>3</sup> effectually disposed of this contention, and established the right of justices to diminish the number of licenses in the general interests of the neighbourhood and on no other ground.

‘It is not denied,’ said Lord Halsbury in that case, ‘that for the purpose of the original grant [of a license] it is within the power and even the duty of the magistrates to consider the wants of the neighbourhood with reference both to its population, means of inspection by the proper authorities, and so forth. If this is the original jurisdiction, what sense or reason could there be in making these topics irrelevant in any future grant?’

And Lord Hannen refers to the duty of the justices to consider the needs of the neighbourhood on an application for the renewal of a license. Six years later the position of the justices when dealing with licensing questions was emphatically distinguished from that which they occupy as a court of justice. In *Boulter v. The Justices of Kent*<sup>4</sup> the present Lord Chancellor declared, that when Justices of the Peace were acting as a licensing authority they ‘were not occupying the position of judges at all, but were exercising the discretionary jurisdiction as to how many public-houses they would permit in a district, and what persons should carry them on.’

‘The justices,’ said Lord Herschell, ‘have an absolute discretion to determine, in the interest of the public, whether a license ought to be granted, and every member of the public may object to the grant on public grounds, apart from any individual right or interest of his own. . . . A decision that a license should not be granted is a decision that it would not be for the public benefit to grant it. It is not a decision that the objector has a right to have it refused. . . . There is no controversy *inter partes*.’

These views paved the way for the Farnham decision, in which the right of the Bench first to object to the renewal of a license, and then to decide upon the question of renewal, was upheld. The facts of the case could not have raised the question in a more pronounced way. The Farnham justices were invited by the County Licensing Committee (also justices) to consider the propriety of discontinuing a substantial number of the licenses in the division. The justices investigated the circumstances of each licensed house

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted in the *Report of the Royal Commission*, vol. ix. p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission*, vol. ix. p. 169.



and subsequently objected to the renewal of all the licenses over which they had control. At the hearing of the applications for renewal, evidence in support of the objections was given on oath, and questions were put by the Chairman based on the facts collected by the justices. In the result a renewal was refused in nine cases; and the action of the justices was upheld and approved by the superior Courts in all particulars.

'The magistrates,' said Lord Justice Mathew, 'proceeded from first to last with commendable care, and seem to me to have had no other motive than the desire of honourable men to discharge their duties faithfully.' 'In making the preliminary investigation,' said Lord Justice Cozens Hardy, 'and considering whether the number of licensed houses was in excess of the needs of the district, the justices were simply preparing to discharge the important duties, mainly administrative, imposed upon them by the Act of 1828.'

Thus the right of initiative in raising the question of a surplusage of licenses was expressly established; and under the conjoint influence of a judicial decision of so emphatic a character and an Act of Parliament strengthening the laws against excessive drinking, a wave of activity has swept over the licensing authorities of the country.

Before considering the call for further legislation which this activity has suggested, let us briefly consider the broad features of the licensing problem. There are now in England and Wales about 102,000 public-houses,<sup>5</sup> or about one to every 320 of the population—men, women, and children. Those houses where all kinds of intoxicants are sold are about 67,000, while 30,000 are beerhouses originating under the Free Trade in Beer Act of 1830, never sanctioned by the justices in the first instance, and still outside their discretionary control. At the same time there are over 27,000 licenses to sell beer, wine, or spirits for consumption off the premises. And it is curious to remark with regard to these, that wherever and whenever the magistrates' control has operated, the kind of license affected has decreased in number, while freedom of control has led to a rapid increase. For instance, the licenses to sell beer by retail off the premises between 1869 and 1880, while they could not be refused at the discretion of the justices, but only for special reasons, increased from 3,000 to between 5,000 and 6,000. By Acts of 1880 and 1882 the justices were given free discretion in dealing with them, and since then they have fallen to 3,000. On the other hand, grocers' licenses, which have only now been brought under discretionary control, have steadily increased up to the present day and now number several thousands.

We have said that the total number of public-houses is equivalent to one to every 320 persons, or, roughly, to every 64 households.

<sup>5</sup> This was the number stated by the Royal Commission in 1899. Probably it has now decreased by a few hundreds.

This in itself is a sufficiently startling proportion, when one comes to consider what it really means. It is not every household which is a customer of the public-house, or every member of a household. When sufficient deductions are made for the well-to-do, who do not appreciably frequent public-houses, for the increasing number of teetotal families amongst the working class, for the children of working-class families who cannot drink, and for the women who (as a rule) drink very little, it would probably not be far off the truth to say that the supply of public-houses to those who habitually use them is about one to every 160 persons. It is almost certain that the supply of licensed houses throughout the country is in excess of the supply of food-shops—*butchers', bakers', grocers', greengrocers'*; the recent Census returns for some of the Southern Counties seem to give this result.<sup>6</sup>

But the general ratio of public-houses to population gives a very faint idea of the state of things in many places. Licenses are not distributed equally throughout the country. Some counties have many more public-houses than others, and in the same county some towns and some rural districts have an unenviable pre-eminence. Some very interesting statistics have lately, at the instance of Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, been collected by the Hants Quarter Sessions. In that county it appears that there is now one public-house to every 256 persons, whereas in 1890 there was one to every 169. But this decrease in ratio is due to the increase of population in and about a few towns and places—such as Portsmouth, Southampton, Bournemouth, Eastleigh, and the neighbourhood of the great camps—rather than to any general increase or to any decrease in the actual licenses in existence. The rural districts are in no way affected by it. Nor is it a case of one rule for the town and another for the country. There are twenty-eight towns which in the aggregate have one public-house to every 190 persons, and seventy-eight rural parishes which in the aggregate have one license to every 157 persons. The remainder of the county, with only one public-house to every 397 persons, stands out in favourable comparison. Although one public-house for 400 persons—men, women, and children—strikes one as quite a sufficient supply, if the over-supplied parts of the county were served in only the same proportion no less than 511 public-houses would have to disappear! In the over-supplied districts there are great differences. For example, Stockbridge and Minstead, in the New Forest, have the same popula-

\* In Surrey and Hants we have the following ratios of occupations to population :

	Surrey	Hants
Bakers . . . . .	1 to 196·8	1 to 181·1
Butchers . . . . .	1 to 274·6	1 to 311·9
Fishmongers . . . . .	1 to 856·4	1 to 890·4
Greengrocers . . . . .	1 to 490·5	1 to 640·1
Grocers . . . . .	1 to 162·8	1 to 180·6
Publicans, Barmen, &c. . . . .	1 to 152·3	1 to 193·8

tion—860 ; Stockbridge has only 1,323 acres, while Minstead contains over 10,000. Yet Stockbridge has eleven public-houses, or one to every seventy-eight persons, while Minstead has but four, or one to every 215 persons. Even smaller areas than towns and parishes must be considered to get an idea of the quite ridiculous number of public-houses in some places. In the town of Winchester, almost in the shadow of the great Cathedral, it is said that there are nineteen public-houses within a distance of 90 yards of each other. Pre-eminent perhaps in the whole country is Portsmouth Hard, where in a distance of 191 yards thirteen out of twenty-seven houses are licensed !<sup>7</sup>

It is generally admitted to be difficult to lay down any rule as to the right proportion of public-houses to inhabitants ; but it seems clear that in all the efforts to bring about a reduction a very liberal view of the alcoholic requirements of the country has been adopted. The report of the majority of the Royal Commission declined to recommend any fixed proportion ; the minority suggested a statutory maximum of one house for every 750 persons in towns and one for every 400 in country districts. But whatever the right proportion, it is admitted, even by most brewers, that a large reduction, sooner or later, is desirable. It has indeed been sometimes suggested, that the number of public-houses has very little to do with the prevalence of drunkenness. Statistics, it is true, cannot be cited to prove any such connection. The Royal Commission pointed to some counties where convictions of drunkenness were very high and licenses very few, and to others where precisely the opposite state of things prevailed. The fact is, statistics are of no value for any conclusion on the subject, for two reasons—first, because offences are differently catalogued in different places ; and secondly, because police activity varies indefinitely. Charges of drunkenness are usually associated with some other charge, and the conviction recorded may be entered under the second offence ; while the district where drunkenness is at its worst may—perhaps not unnaturally—be the district where the police have lax views on the subject, and make few charges. Both branches of the Royal Commission, after reviewing all the evidence, came to the conclusion, without hesitation, that public-houses should be largely reduced in number ; and they gave unanswerable reasons for their view. One is that the greater the number of public-houses the more difficult police supervision becomes. But a still more cogent reason is, that when public-houses are in excess they cannot all make an honest living. They are therefore driven to unworthy expedients to secure a sufficient trade. There is a direct temptation to foster heavy and continuous drinking, and the class to which the public-house offers attractions suffers in consequence. In one of Dumas' novels there is a graphic description

<sup>7</sup> The figures for Hants have been taken merely for convenience. Hants is not a county in which licenses are exceptionally numerous.

of the man who passed five wine-shops, but could not resist the sixth—with consequences momentous to the story. Not only the man who suffers from drink-craving, but the man who yields to the invitation of a comrade and wastes his money when he does not want to drink at all, is affected by the multiplication of opportunities to take a glass. On the other hand, the better the character of a public-house the more likely is it to be well conducted, as both owner and tenant have more at stake. Apart from teetotal ideals, all who would promote temperance must desire to see a few, not too many, public-houses, and those approximating to the hotel or the club of the well-to-do, supplying food as well as drink, and giving means of rational recreation not dependent upon incessant repetitions of the pint of beer or glass of spirits. It will obviously promote any such result, if superfluous and poorly paying houses are weeded out, and their legitimate custom transferred to establishments which are able at once to give good accommodation and yield a good business profit.

Now it seems likely that a movement of a purely economic character, which has been observed for many years and which has had many injurious effects, may in the result facilitate some such reduction of business as is admitted to be called for. We allude to the concentration of licenses in the hands of brewers. The brewer was not recognised at all in the original licensing system. The occupier of the premises, the actual retailer of beer and spirits, is the person licensed by the justices and accountable to them. But gradually the capitalist, who supplies the commodities to be sold, has dominated the licensee, and the great majority of license-holders now recognise the brewer or the distiller as their master. The result is what is known as the 'tied house,' the house the occupant of which is bound to get his liquor from some one firm. Sometimes the house is tied for beer only; sometimes, as a witness before the Royal Commission put it, for 'everything, but sawdust.' Sometimes the tie is effected by a mortgage on the house; sometimes the holder of the license is a tenant of the brewer, and sometimes he is a mere manager. The statistics collected for Hampshire are an emphatic illustration of the extent to which the system has developed. Out of 927 houses in the congested districts 741 belong to brewers or brewery companies, and 113 are leased to them; the small balance is mainly accounted for by hotels, railway refreshment rooms, and other establishments not really in the category of public-houses. Further, of the 927 tenants, only 29 held on a yearly tenancy, 374 on a quarterly, 137 on monthly tenancies, and the rest on half-yearly. There is also a tendency on the part of the larger breweries to eat up the smaller, so that, speaking generally, it may be taken that the licensing question becomes more and more a question between a comparatively small number of large brewers and brewery companies, and the country at large. As we have said, this result has often been deplored. It has been suggested, that

there is no adequate guarantee for the quality of the liquor supplied to a tied house; or it may be supplied at such high prices that the license-holder can hardly make a profit by fair means. It is perhaps more serious that while the owner of the house is deeply interested in its conduct on lines well within the law, he is also deeply interested in pushing the tenant to do a good trade. And most serious of all is the solid phalanx of moneyed interests arrayed in favour of a large consumption of alcohol, and in legislation favourable to that end. But on the other hand, when, within a certain district, the reduction of licenses becomes desirable, the fact that the licenses are largely held by a few persons affords means for carrying out the reduction with a minimum of inconvenience. If A holds one licensed house, and the license is not renewed, he may be a loser. But if A holds twenty licensed houses, and the licenses of ten are not renewed, he may be a positive gainer. The custom of the ten suppressed houses may go to the survivors, while the expenses attending them—repairs and other landlord's expenses—are saved. It is on this principle that most of the recent reductions in public-houses have been carried out. The most noted instance is that of Birmingham, where on an intimation from the magistrates that in certain quarters of the city the number of licenses was excessive, the brewers agreed, after consultation amongst themselves and with the magistrates, to suppress 52 out of 101. It is said that they appointed a valuer, who on the one hand valued the licenses to be surrendered, and on the other the increased value of the other licensed houses arising from the suppression. The suppressed houses were bought up at the expense of the others, and the increased value is said to have been more than the value surrendered. The licensees, as a rule, were quarterly or half-yearly tenants, or managers, and their interests were looked after by the brewers. Again, in Blackburn, through systematic inquiry by the justices and arrangements with the brewers, the licenses have been reduced from 604 in 1882 to 540 in 1893 and 480 in 1902. And in Liverpool compulsory action on the part of the justices has resulted in an offer on the part of the brewers to examine the houses in a congested area with the view of agreeing amongst themselves upon a scheme of reduction. In the Farnham case the justices first invited the brewers interested in the licenses of the town (45 full licenses) to assist the Bench in an arrangement for reducing the number, and it was only on the failure of the brewers to respond to this appeal that the Bench took direct action.

What then broadly is the existing state of things? An admitted surplusage of public-houses; their aggregation in the hands of a few capitalists; remarkable instances of the suppression of surplus houses under the present law and by the present licensing authorities; a tendency under pressure to co-operate in the process on the part of the great brewers; a strong probability that large reductions can

be made without serious loss to anyone. Is it desirable, under these circumstances, that there should be further legislation, or that matters should be left to the operation of the present law and of public opinion? There is one plea, and one plea alone, for further legislation; that is, the provision in some form of compensation for those interested in suppressed licenses. Another reason is indeed alleged, that of bringing within the full power of the justices the beerhouses established before 1869. These at present can only be suppressed (practically) for misconduct, and not because they are not required. But in practice there seems to be little difficulty in dealing with these houses. They are, as a rule, much less valuable than fully licensed houses; and they are, to a large extent, in the hands of the same brewers who own the more lucrative class of license. In any project of reduction, therefore, the ante-1869 beerhouses are fairly certain to be the first to be voluntarily surrendered; it is notorious that to obtain a new full license, or even an off-license in a new neighbourhood, brewers often tender not one, but two or three privileged beerhouses. The representative of the brewing interest in Hampshire suggested at a recent conference with the justices that there should be a kind of rule as between the brewers and the justices, that at least three old beerhouses should be surrendered whenever a new license was granted. This little flaw in the justices' jurisdiction may therefore well be disregarded. The suggestion, that these houses should be brought into line with other licensed premises as a condition of the launching of some scheme for compensation, savours too much of the very common proposal to surrender a worthless license in one place in order to obtain the grant of a new and valuable one in another. The bargain would be a bad one for the public.

Compensation then is substantially the object of the suggested legislation. Now on this branch of the question, also, public opinion has made great advances. Formerly compensation at the hands of the public was claimed by the brewing interest. Now the demand is for compensation at the expense of other licenses. The Royal Commission in effect disposed of the first claim; their authority is cited in support of the second. Both branches of the Commission indeed suggested some scheme of compensation, the chief difference being that those who signed the Minority Report proposed merely a kind of notice and period of grace, during which alone arrangements for compensation should be carried out; while the majority seem to have contemplated the formation of a perpetual compensation fund, to be provided and applied in relation to successive fixed periods. Both branches proposed to provide the fund by a tax or rent on licenses. Parliament in the recent Act did not deal with the subject; and it is obvious that it presents many difficulties. On the one hand any kind of payment would alter the relations of the

licensing authority and those interested in licenses. Even a seven years' term, which practically would arise where a tax or rental was imposed for seven years, would give licensed houses a status which they do not at present possess. On the other hand a tax or rent of general application might have very unfair operation. As a brewer points out in a recent issue of the *Times*, unless very small areas were selected for the operation of any such impost, many brewers would be weighted with a burden without receiving any corresponding advantage. The brewers in districts where no reduction was effected would be made to pay for reductions in other districts; and those who benefited by reductions would be charged the same as those who gained no benefit whatever. And the difficulty is not altogether removed, however small the area chosen, if it be any area of local government, such as a town, an urban or rural district, or a parish, since, as we have seen, there may be serious over-supply in one part of such an area and very moderate supply in another. Again, in many cases no harm whatever may be done to any brewing interest. If all public-houses throughout the country were to be suppressed by Act of Parliament there might be a case for compensation, although no license is held for more than a year, because the possibility of renewal would be abolished. But while all that is proposed is a moderate reduction in places where there is an excessive number, and where therefore, *primâ facie*, business is not good, and while it is proposed to effect this reduction not by any change in the law, but merely by the exercise of powers in the licensing authorities which have always existed, there seems to be strong reasons for abstaining from interference in a very difficult matter and leaving the trade to settle their own affairs and to make such mutual arrangements amongst themselves as will prevent cases of hardship. The great advantage of such arrangements is that they can be made irrespective of fixed areas, and can be adapted to each case. In one area one brewery may have a predominant interest; in another, another. A little give-and-take will enable each to profit by such reductions as are made.

At the present moment two arguments for legislation providing compensation are urged on the public. On the part of certain magistrates, legislation is advocated on the ground that the licensing authority is hampered in reducing licenses by the absence of any machinery for compensation. On the part of the brewers, legislation is said to be necessary because licenses are being too rapidly reduced. These contentions serve to neutralise each other. If the assertion of the brewers is well founded, magistrates apparently are not hampered in the manner suggested by the memorial with which Sir Ralph Littler's name is associated. Indeed, as Mr. Arthur Chamberlain has suggested, if the licensing authority—a wholly unfit body for the purpose—is called upon to consider claims for

compensation and to apportion gain and loss between the brewers of their districts whenever they decline to renew a license, their discretion in dealing with licenses will be indefinitely restricted. Not only will the process of reduction, admitted by all to be salutary, be in all probability practically stopped; but the right to deal with each license on its merits—a right which has existed for centuries and has been upheld by decision after decision of the courts—will for the first time be in jeopardy. On the other hand, is it likely that bodies constituted as are the County and Borough Benchs will enter upon any wildly revolutionary course? Is there any body of evidence to show hasty or harsh action? Is it not, on the contrary, the fact that the licensing authority has been anxious in every case to take the representatives of the brewing interest into their confidence, and to obtain their aid in carrying out equitable arrangements? The present moment is, in fact, one of experiment. It may be that the existing law is, from one cause or another, inadequate to bring about such a considerable reduction in congested districts as is thought desirable, and that it will ultimately be necessary to embark upon the troubled sea of parliamentary compensation. If ever that step is taken, it may be confidently predicted that difficulties will be encountered, probably far more serious than any now presenting themselves. There is more to be said for legislation on the principle of the old Inclosure Acts, which would enable the majority to bind a small minority. Arrangements between the brewers of any neighbourhood for reducing the number of public-houses, and for assessing any loss on the remaining houses might be endowed with the force of law, when sanctioned by the Licensing Authority. But further experience would be valuable even for the framing of such a measure. A little patience, and a little genuine desire on the part of all interested in promoting temperance to make satisfactory progress with a difficult question, may in the course of a few years either solve the licensing problem or point unmistakably to the right road. Hasty attempts to legislate, under the influence of exaggerated representations of the action taken by licensing authorities, whether such attempts be successful or not, would seem to be peculiarly inappropriate and likely to lead to disaster.

ROBERT HUNTER.

\* It has been recently stated by representatives of the trade, that the Licensing Authorities throughout the country have refused to renew 300 licenses—300 out of 102,000! Take as an illustration what is reported from Oxford. At the last Brewster Sessions ninety-six objections to licensed houses were served; at the adjourned sessions an arrangement between the largest brewer and the magistrates was announced by which seven full licenses and six beerhouses were to be surrendered this year, and two full licenses and two beerhouses next year. This does not sound very drastic.



*LAST MONTH*

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S predominance in his own party, and indeed in the country, must be regarded as the leading feature of the month. His return may have lacked some of the dramatic elements that were expected to attend it, but it has established his personal supremacy in the Government and in his party. It is a fact of the first importance in the political life of the nation, and it deserves something more than mere casual criticism. Cynics will naturally tell us that Mr. Chamberlain's triumph has been carefully engineered for months past, and it is undoubtedly true that the modern arts of advertisement have never been more skilfully applied than since he started upon his patriotic mission. During his absence from England, whilst his colleagues in the Cabinet have had to face a grave loss of power and prestige and a serious defection among their supporters, he has been basking in the unclouded sunshine of popular favour. Ministers addressing the public at home have been subjected to harsh criticism even from quarters generally favourable to them. The Colonial Secretary, cut off from the intrigues and dissensions of the political world of England, has been moving in another sphere, and has, in consequence, escaped from the atmosphere of deepening suspicion and distrust which has enveloped the other members of the Government. But if he has been far enough away to be exempt from the hostile criticisms of English politicians, he has at the same time been under the constant observation of the British public. Day by day, during his absence, the newspapers have devoted columns to his sayings and doings on a distant continent, and everywhere his movements have been followed with universal sympathy and all but universal approval. It would be unfair and absurd to say that he left England to avoid the criticism which has hurtled in a storm round the heads of his colleagues. No generous opponent will admit for a moment that this could have been the case; but he has been extraordinarily fortunate both in the time and the circumstances of his absence. He has been fortunate, too, in the results, so far as they can at present be judged, of his great mission. In any case he would have had a warm welcome from all parties in this country, but his admirers have not been content to leave things

to follow their natural course. Whilst he has been working for England in South Africa, they have been working for him in England.

It would be ridiculous to make any complaint of their conduct. They were entitled to do all that they could to increase the power and popularity of the man in whom they believe so fervently. But their success cannot fail to have important political consequences. Whilst the Ministry has been gradually losing reputation and influence, he alone among its members has gained a fresh and remarkable accession of both, and he comes back to England to find himself more powerful than any other member of the Cabinet or any other politician, to whatever party he may belong. Those of us who have followed closely Mr. Chamberlain's career, ever since he entered public life as the apostle of aggressive Radicalism and Nonconformity, cannot pretend to witness his present elevation without a feeling of surprise. He has passed through so many phases, has undergone so many changes, has been the object of so much hatred and suspicion, not merely amongst his opponents but his colleagues and associates, that his present position excites a feeling of wonder among all. Yet the history of English politics contains other instances of personal triumphs that are hardly less remarkable. To say nothing of the case of Mr. Gladstone, who, once 'the rising hope of the unbending Tories of his time,' lived to be the leader and prophet of the British democracy, we have only to recall the story of Disraeli, despised and rejected by his own party, disliked and distrusted by it even when he had won for himself the Premiership, yet dying an object of veneration and admiration to the great political connection which he had rescued from decay and restored to power. To some of us it may seem that Mr. Chamberlain's story approaches much more nearly to Disraeli's than to Gladstone's. No one, it is true, will pretend that intellectually he has shown himself to be the equal of either. He has won the position he now holds by the strength of his will, by his confidence in himself, by his almost reckless disregard of obstacles, by his directness and tenacity of purpose, and his clear, though limited, foresight. The man who knows his own mind, and is resolved to achieve his own purposes, has an immense advantage in these days over the majority of his rivals in the political arena. The public shows in the case of such a man that it is willing to overlook his faults, and in the case of Mr. Chamberlain this is to say much. Throughout his life he has always been imposing himself upon those who were unwilling to receive him, and he has never been daunted, he has scarcely been discouraged, by their unwillingness. When he entered Parliament, he was viewed with unconcealed hostility by the official Liberal party. He made no attempt to conciliate them. Then, as ever, he believed that a man's strength is better put forth in attack than in defence, and upon this conviction he has always acted. In 1885, when he had rallied the Radicalism of the country

to his side, and when old Liberals, and Conservatives of every shade, were agreed in regarding him as the most dangerous person in the nation, he seemed to be on the point of gaining the first place in his political party. If he had not committed the mistake of almost openly challenging Mr. Gladstone to a mortal combat for the prize, the Liberal leadership would assuredly have fallen to him before long, and the course of history would have been changed. He fell into the error of under-estimating Mr. Gladstone's strength, and as a consequence he was driven from his old party, and had to spend years of comparative inactivity. There is no need to say that for a time his relations with the Conservative party of to-day could hardly be described as cordial. The old Tories were unable to forget what he had been, and were unable to hide their fears as to what he might yet be again. But once more he fought down the prejudices and suspicions which surrounded him, and now he has the Tory party at his feet, whilst he has at his command the enthusiastic approval of its younger and more militant section. There is hardly a more striking instance in our history of what can be accomplished by a strong individuality animated by a commanding and relentless force of will, than the fact that, single-handed, he has achieved more than any of his contemporaries, and that to-day he is the most considerable personal factor in the public life of his country.

To the dispassionate onlooker it is clear that his present position is due largely to the lack of personal leadership in our national life. For years past the country has been crying, and crying in vain, for men to lead it. We are accustomed to the jibes that are constantly addressed to the Liberal Party on this ground. The case of the Liberal Party, still partially paralysed by hidden intrigues and internal struggles, is patent to everybody; but, as a matter of fact, the case of the Unionists is little better. It is true that the stern discipline maintained within the party, and the influence which is always exercised by the official chiefs of a party in possession of power, kept the signs of dissension and revolt beneath the surface until the beginning of the present session. But no one who is not a mere political hack will pretend that there was no feeling of dissatisfaction among the Ministerialists long before the new Fourth Party sprang into existence. There was a time when Lord Salisbury was a leader in the true sense of the word, and when he possessed the full confidence of his followers. But can it be pretended that the Ministerialists have had a real leader since Lord Salisbury's resignation? Mr. Balfour has, as he deserves to have, innumerable friends, happily not confined to his own political following. In the House of Commons his personal popularity exceeds that of any other man. But, with all his admirable qualities, he has not succeeded in imposing himself upon his party or the country in the character of undisputed leader. We have only to think of what Lord Salisbury

was in his prime, or of what Mr. Gladstone was until the day of his resignation, in order to feel how far below either of these statesmen Mr. Balfour stands. Personally he may be free from blame for the successive muddles and blunders into which the Ministry has fallen of late—muddles and blunders which have exasperated their friends even more than their opponents. But, even if this were to be admitted, it would only make clearer the fact that he lacks the essential quality of leadership. The very amiability of his character has told against him, and he has allowed himself to be surrounded by colleagues whose personal fitness for the offices they hold is, in not a few cases, angrily denied by the Ministerialists themselves. It is useless to conceal the fact that since his accession to the Premiership last summer the discontent in his own party with regard to the leadership has much increased. And what of the country—the great mass of the electors, who have no interest in the distribution of the loaves and fishes of office, and only a partial knowledge of the cross-currents of Parliamentary life? Can it be pretended that the country recognises Mr. Balfour as its leader? Or that the members of the party to which he belongs regard him in that light? Has a single contested election been fought since he became Prime Minister in which his name has been adopted as a battle-cry, or his influence been a dominant factor in the struggle? What the country wants, and what it must have in any one under whom it will serve, is a strong, clear, resonant voice that will speak for it, in language that the common man can understand, that will give it courage and inspiration in moments of trial and difficulty, and point clearly and steadily to some goal that is to be reached. It is not from Mr. Balfour that we have had any utterance of this kind. The Opposition, curiously enough, had the advantage of hearing such an utterance at Chesterfield, and might have profited by it if the wreckers of the Liberal party had not forthwith sown tares in the soil from which the good wheat should have sprung up. But Mr. Balfour has never pretended to make a speech like Lord Rosebery's at Chesterfield, has never attempted to lay his whole case and policy, his opinions and aspirations, before the party he is supposed to lead and the country he governs.

Human nature, not less than nature in the larger sense of the word, abhors a vacuum, and for months, for years past, the Ministerial party has groaned under the fact that it has had no real leader in the true sense of the word. Can one wonder that it should now be turning to Mr. Chamberlain, with the hope, I may almost say the conviction, that here at least it will find the man who can supply what is lacking in its equipment? His gospel is not of the highest, nor his temper the finest. Few impartial persons will regard him as an ideal leader or a heaven-born statesman. To some of his fellow-countrymen indeed his way of looking at life and

his methods for gaining his ends are almost abhorrent. But at least those of us who feel the strongest dislike for these things must admit that he has a voice, and that he can make that voice heard throughout the Empire whenever he chooses to speak. Coming among us now with fresh and brilliant prestige, and in the novel but grateful character of peace-maker and conciliator, it is not surprising that a large body of his own political associates should hail him as the leader who is destined to restore the damaged fortunes and reputation of the Unionist cause. Already his supporters in the press openly proclaim him as the Pitt in an Addington Administration, and a great number of the Ministerialists seem prepared to give him the titular as well as the practical leadership. Such is the political situation that confronts us to-day, and we who look on will await with extreme interest the further movements in 'the high chess game' that we are witnessing. Doubtless I shall be regarded as an opportunist for venturing to express my opinions in this fashion. I am nothing of the sort. I abide by my own opinion of Mr. Chamberlain's political career and of his character as a politician. But it is absurd to shut one's eyes to what is happening or is about to happen. To state facts plainly is not to proclaim oneself an opportunist.

Let us turn for a moment from the position of the Ministerialists to that of the Opposition. Here also we see the penalty that falls upon the party that has no recognised leader, no one whose right to give the word of command is generally admitted. An old Liberal like myself who has striven for forty years to follow his party flag may be forgiven if he feels some bitterness when he surveys the present plight of the Opposition. There is deep humiliation in the thought that, according to most Ministerial critics, the chief obstacle to the removal of the present Government from office is the fact that there is 'no alternative Ministry' to take its place. I do not admit that this is true, but there is sufficient truth in the statement to make it plausible and to secure its adoption by a very large and powerful section of the public. It would be unfair to lay the responsibility for this state of things upon any single person. The original cause of the demoralisation of the Liberal party must be sought far back in its history. It is of course obvious that the Home Rule split of 1886 began the process. But though the party then lost a powerful section of its members, it was not necessarily disunited and disintegrated by their secession. The actual process of internal disunion began in the years which immediately followed 1886, when Mr. Gladstone, with his whole mind concentrated upon one great object, the passing the Home Rule Bill, was striving by all possible means to gain a majority in the country and the House of Commons. It is no treason to his memory to say that, in his devotion to the cause to which he had consecrated the remnant of

his life, he did not follow the movements of the times as closely as he would have done under other circumstances. With him the question of Home Rule seemed to be not merely paramount, but to be the sole question that demanded his attention. It became the one test that he applied to his followers. They were left to have their own opinions upon all other subjects. It followed, as a natural consequence, that upon every question except Home Rule a wide latitude of opinion prevailed in the party, and naturally this condition enabled extreme men who held strong views upon particular subjects to exercise an influence that was altogether in excess of their numbers or their weight in the community. The notorious Newcastle programme was the first sign of the new and unfortunate state of things which had arisen for Liberalism. In that ridiculous, and now discarded, manifesto, a dozen measures of an extreme character were crowded together without any regard to the fact that the party was notoriously divided upon most of them. Mr. Gladstone desired a solid vote in favour of Home Rule. Other questions, he believed, lay beyond his ken, and must be dealt with by other men. But he committed the grave mistake of allowing Mr. Schnadhorst and the party leaders of the time to attempt to conciliate all sections of Liberals by combining in an omnibus programme all the measures which any fraction of the party desired to carry. He forgot that each of these fractions was thoroughly in earnest in the advocacy of its own nostrum, and that each was resolved to have the first place for its own particular item in the programme after Home Rule had been dealt with. Thus, when the Home Rule question disappeared from the field, the leaders of the Party had to deal, not with a united and homogeneous body of supporters, but with a number of distinct sections, each one of which had a policy of its own for which it sought to obtain precedence. There was another cause which aided much in the disintegration of the party at this time. This was the fact that the success of Mr. Parnell's policy in the House of Commons had made a profound impression upon the Liberals in that chamber. Mr. Parnell had succeeded in bringing Home Rule to the front by the extraordinary ability he showed in marshalling and organising his own particular body of followers, and he had shown what could be accomplished by a comparatively small party acting in absolute unison and under severe discipline. Other men thought that what Mr. Parnell had done they also would be able to do. A Welsh party sprang into existence, devoted to Welsh disestablishment and to other movements popular in the Principality, and resolute in the determination to press them forward without regard to the general interests of Liberalism. Then came the formation of a Scotch party, with its demand for Home Rule all round, and of a Labour party, with a distinctly Socialistic bias. In short, even before Mr. Gladstone's retirement, the Liberal Party had largely resolved

itself into a series of groups united only by their common feeling of loyalty to their illustrious chief. When he went, that tie was broken. It was an almost impossible situation that confronted his successor in the Premiership. No man who did not possess the immense prestige which Mr. Gladstone had won in a triumphant career of sixty years in Parliament could have hoped to weld into a disciplined and united army the men who had been allowed to taste the sweets of liberty and independence during Mr. Gladstone's later days. There was still a Liberal Party, it is true, both in Parliament and the country, but the freedom of action which was claimed by contending groups rendered it impotent as a whole. If no personal questions had arisen, and if Lord Rosebery had received from his colleagues the unwavering support which Mr. Gladstone had been able to command, his task must still have been one of enormous difficulty, and one which it would have taken years to accomplish successfully. But, as we know, personal questions did arise, even among those who stood nearest to the Prime Minister, and the extreme groups were led to believe that if they could only overthrow Lord Rosebery's authority the way would be open for their own triumph. It is worth while to recall the fact that when the Rosebery Government resigned, the Prime Minister, with the full assent of the majority of his colleagues, summoned his party to fight the election of 1895 on the question of the House of Lords. Immediately his two principal colleagues in the House of Commons set off, one to Manchester, to raise anew the flag of Home Rule, and the other to Derby, to announce that local option was the true question before the electors. After such a flagrant exhibition of the want of discipline and loyalty, even in the highest places in the party, it was impossible to feel surprised when the party itself went hopelessly to pieces. Of the history of the Opposition since 1895 it is not necessary to say much here. Indeed, the story has already been told pretty fully in these pages. It is a history of divided counsels, of personal intrigues which reflected no credit upon those engaged in them, and of the strenuous attempts of the most extreme men to capture the party organisation and the party itself for the propagation of their own views. The story of these years is not made more pleasant by the fact that the wreckers have made such free use of slander and misrepresentation in pursuing their ends, and that they have seemed to be chiefly inspired by a venomous personal hatred of a particular man. But whatever may have been their motives, they have at least succeeded in paralysing the Liberal Party, and in reducing the Opposition in the House of Commons to a state of impotence. Even when the Education Bill gave all Liberals an opportunity of uniting on a common platform, the weak strategy of the official leaders of the party caused the advantage which was thus secured to be lost, and the Opposition began its career at the opening of the present session hardly stronger

or more united than it was in January 1902, when the paralysis of the war still weighed upon it. And what an opportunity it has had since then! A month ago I drew attention to the reduced majorities of the Government, and pointed out the obvious moral. Since then all that has happened tends to confirm the belief that the days of the present Ministry are numbered. Yet no one will venture to claim for the Opposition that it has been the chief means of reducing the Government to its present state.

The grave loss of prestige which Ministers have suffered, and the successive crises through which they have passed since the session began, have been to a great extent the work of those who were elected as their followers and supporters. The birth of the new Fourth Party has been dramatically sudden, and not less dramatically complete. Yet, though in the end it has come upon us as a surprise, it has been long foreseen as inevitable. The more Ministers have trusted to the impotence of the Opposition for their own safety, the more certainly has a feeling grown up among the more independent of their followers that some means of checking their mismanagement of public affairs had to be found. Mr. Beckett and his friends were in no haste to break away from the Government. Last year it was only in the lobbies and clubs that their deep dissatisfaction with the Ministerial policy found expression, but the blunders of which the Government was guilty during the short recess, and more particularly the Venezuelan mess, brought things to a head, and gave the new Fourth Party its chance. It has used it with effect, and during the past four weeks the administration has received blow after blow from the hands of those who were regarded as its most faithful friends. Thus a new Opposition has come into existence, powerful and self-confident, and determined to teach the Government that it can no longer pursue the reckless happy-go-lucky policy of the last seven years. Mr. Brodrick's foolish and inadequate scheme of army reform has been the special object of attack by the new combination. If the scheme in itself was foolish, what is to be said of the way in which it has been defended by its author and his colleagues? Mr. Brodrick in particular has shown that he is wholly unable to grasp the true nature of the objections to his scheme. He has displayed great indignation against those members of his own party who oppose that scheme, and has even gone so far as to taunt them with want of patriotism. Liberals, who have so long been compelled to suffer under similar taunts, may smile at this curious change in the situation. The dissentient Unionists cannot fail to resent it. As a matter of fact, their hostility to Mr. Brodrick's plans is founded upon the deliberate conviction that those plans are not likely to give us the army we require. This is the point which is wholly missed by the defenders of the scheme. They insist that it is being attacked, not because of its demerits, but because of its cost, and



they have gone so far as to compare Mr. Beckett and his friends to the late Mr. Joseph Hume. The Opposition has naturally rallied to the support of the Fourth Party. Most Liberals had criticised Mr. Brodrick's proposals in a hostile sense before Mr. Beckett intervened, and naturally enough they have been eager to join forces with the new Opposition. The result has been an ominous reduction in the Ministerial majority even upon questions on which the continued existence of the Government depended.

Perhaps the most serious feature of the situation, so far as Ministers are concerned, is the fact that they are even now dependent upon the Irish Party for a working majority. The Nationalists refrained from voting in the crucial division on the Army estimates. If they had not done so—that is to say, if they had pursued the course which has been habitual with them for many years past—the Government would have had a majority of barely thirty. Nobody could misunderstand their abstention from the division. It meant that Mr. Redmond and his friends expected to be paid for refraining from joining in the attack upon the Government. The price they are to receive has not yet been revealed to us, but there can be few honest Unionists who have not experienced an unpleasant emotion at the bare suspicion that the Ministry to which they have pinned their faith is virtually trafficking in Irish votes. It is long since the political situation has been so curiously complicated and confused as it is at this moment. Wise men will be slow to believe in any break-up of parties or any revolutionary change in the composition of the House of Commons. But unquestionably both parties are being tried, and behind the Ministerialists at any rate there looms, with menace rather than with promise, the figure of Mr. Chamberlain. It is he who has the casting-vote. Will he give it in favour of Mr. Balfour's airy opportunism and agree to allow the Government of the country to be carried on by a combination with the Irish members to-day and with the semi-hostile Fourth Party to-morrow, or will he define his own intentions clearly and compel his colleagues to accept them as the basis of their policy? That is the question upon the answer to which the history of the present session and the fate of the Ministry now depend.

The Irish question is complicated by the fact that most Liberals, and many Unionists, believe that behind the question of the land lies that of Home Rule. It is a striking testimony to the changed character of the situation that a general belief should prevail that the present Ministry, if they remain in office, will bring forward what is called a moderate measure of Home Rule. A year ago such a suggestion would have been received with indignation. To-day men wait in silence and apparently in apathy to see whether it is well founded. Yet, if Ministers are going to advance

a large sum of money in order to enable the Irish tenants to become owners of their holdings, it is clear that something must be done to create a responsible body in Ireland with which the English creditor—in other words, the English Government—can deal. So the Home Rule question seems to be drifting towards at least a partial solution, and it is the solution which many of us have all along foreseen.

But Ireland is not the only cause of trouble to the Administration. Quite unexpectedly Ministers have found themselves plunged into a dispute over the whole licensing system. The Licensing Act of last year, in some respects a drastic and in others a foolish measure, has had at least one effect of importance. It has touched the consciences of the licensing authorities throughout the country, and has led them to deal far more stringently than they ever did before with applications for renewals of licenses. Fortified by the decision in the famous case of *Sharp v. Wakefield*, the authorities in many towns have boldly taken their stand on the belief that the number of licensed houses ought to be reduced, and they have acted on this belief in a way which has filled the license holders with consternation. The latter see that the magistrates can practically sweep away their licenses without granting them a penny in the shape of compensation, and they are all furious with the Government to which they have rendered so servile an allegiance for having allowed matters to be brought to this pass. So serious has been their revolt that the Lord Chancellor has been put up in the House of Lords to soothe their fears by propounding a theory which is meant to weaken the force of the decision in the *Wakefield* case. The Prime Minister has gone further, for in replying to a deputation of brewers and publicans he has denounced the action of the Justices who have dared to take measures for reducing the number of licensed houses, and has deplored the injustice of which the publicans and brewers have, in his opinion, been made the victims. The support of the liquor trade is, as everybody knows, one of the chief assets of the Ministerial Party, but Mr. Balfour will find himself landed in a worse dilemma than that which now confronts him if, for the sake of conciliating the publicans, he proposes anything in the nature of compensation from the public purse. The public, it is certain, will insist that dispossessed liquor-dealers should get their compensation from some other source. Here, then, is another embarrassment facing the Government, and it is difficult to see how the Prime Minister can escape from this dilemma. He is not likely to browbeat the Justices who are, after all, the recognised authorities on the question of licenses, into a reversal of the policy they have now adopted in the interest of the community at large. He cannot provide compensation from the public funds without raising a storm which would wreck the most

powerful Administration the country has ever seen. Yet if he fails to do so, he must reckon with the bitter hostility of the trade at the next General Election.

To add to the troubles of Ministers, the past month has furnished the unpleasant moment when the bill for the meal that has been eaten is presented. The amount of the bill has staggered everybody. Army estimates for 34,500,000*l.* and Navy estimates for 34,457,000*l.* are calculated to make the most improvident pause in astonishment and dismay. An expenditure of nearly seventy millions on the two Services in time of peace is a fact the significance of which the most thoughtless should be able to grasp. It has made all but the most reckless supporters of the Government ask themselves what must be the end of the road along which we are travelling at so great a pace. So far as the Navy estimates are concerned, although they are larger by more than three millions than the amount voted last year, no serious opposition has been offered to them in Parliament. The axiom that, no matter what other things may be neglected, the Navy must be maintained in a due state of efficiency is accepted not merely by politicians but by the nation at large. It is true that we should like more information than we have received as to the standard fixed by the Admiralty when it demanded these enormous estimates. Formerly a two-Power standard was that on which our naval administrators insisted. This year we are to spend more than France, Germany, and Russia combined, and possibly the end is not yet. The dullest can see that the great States of the world are engaging in a game of beggar-my-neighbour. If it is to be played out to the end, and if England, as everybody agrees must be the case, is to be the winner, we shall only escape something like financial ruin by practising in all other departments a rigid economy. It is here, however, that Ministers have blundered most seriously. They have allowed the Army estimates to mount to a higher figure than ever before, and they have done so for the purpose of carrying out a scheme of which hardly one of their own supporters approves, and which has called out into the field the new Fourth Party to make open war against it. Surely the time has arrived when the interests of mere departments, even of one so powerful as the War Office, should be set aside, and an attempt should be made to grasp all the conditions of Imperial defence, and to provide the nation with something better than a ruinous increase of expenditure upon our land and sea forces, each apparently acting in rivalry with the other, for the purpose of ensuring the safety of our shores. Lord Rosebery, in his speech on the 24th of March, laid special emphasis upon this side of the question, and endeavoured to give both the Government and the Opposition a lead which they might follow with advantage, if, indeed, they are capable of following any lead at all. The reorganised Committee of Defence, though it is objected to on constitutional

ground by certain pedants in the Liberal Party, is nevertheless a step in the direction of real reform. Lord Rosebery, continuing his crusade on behalf of national efficiency, implores the Ministry to make use of this Committee in order to adjust the rival claims of the Navy and the Army, and to draw up a general scheme of Imperial defence which will at least make such grotesque blunders as the occupation of Wei-Hai-Wei impossible for the future. Lord Rosebery did not speak as a party man—doubtless he would have given more pleasure to many of his friends if he had done so—but he spoke as a man of common sense, and his words ought not to be without effect among the members of both parties. There is no need to dwell in detail upon the other Parliamentary debates of the month, but they have made it clear that even the present House of Commons, elected on the crest of a great wave of Jingoism, is beginning to wake up, and to realise the danger that lies ahead of us. Upon one thing it is evident a large body of the Ministerialists, and the whole of the Opposition, are agreed. They will not support proposals which, whilst they drain the nation of its life-blood, are recognised as wholly unsatisfactory and inefficient.

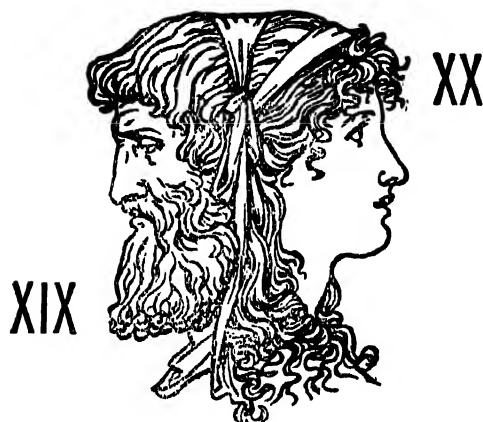
That the country, as well as the House of Commons, is waking up to its peril, has been shown by the two remarkable by-elections to which I have already referred. It is useless for the Ministerial apologists in the Press to repeat their clumsy explanations of disasters such as those which the Government had to face at Woolwich and in the Rye Division. Last autumn's tale of by-elections was bad enough for the Ministry in all conscience, but this year's record is infinitely worse. No one can doubt that the Ministry has lost the confidence of the electors, and that if a General Election were to take place now, only one contingency could save it from a defeat as severe as that which befell Mr. Gladstone in 1874 and Lord Beaconsfield in 1880. I put aside the idea entertained by some that Mr. Chamberlain may yet be able, by the full use of his powers as an advocate, to put matters right, and to set the shaken Government on its feet again. I do so because I cannot conceive that it is in the power of any man, however prominent his personality, and however great his ability, to accomplish such a feat as this. He may delay the catastrophe, but that is all.

The real contingency by which the fall of the Ministry might even now be averted is the continuance in the Liberal Party of the internal strife which has prevailed so long. So far as the rank and file of that party are concerned, there are healthy signs of reunion on a solid basis. Both at Woolwich and Rye, Liberal Leaguers and the opponents of the South African War fought side by side. They had enough, and more than enough, of material to use against the Government without raising anew the defunct controversies that attended the progress of the struggle in South Africa. It is to be

hoped that their leaders will not fail to recognise the growing determination of the party to become once more a united, and, if possible, a dominant, factor in the political life of the country. There is no question now of a recrudescence of what is called pro-Boerism. In a few exceptional constituencies the opinions of that section may still find favour, but in the overwhelming majority of cases the electors will absolutely refuse to countenance any candidate who comes before them to asperse the honour of the British Army, or to refuse to recognise accomplished facts and the burden of responsibility that an Imperial Power must always have to bear. The question of Home Rule is still, it is true, made a bone of contention by those who seek to use it against particular individuals; but it is now a bone without a scrap of meat upon it. Even Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, whose ambiguous utterances on this question have been unfortunate both for himself and for his party, does not seem materially to differ from Lord Rosebery or Mr. Asquith. Most Liberals feel that they do not necessarily abandon the principles which have governed their policy towards Ireland when they discard a worn-out formula which has no practical bearing on the politics of to-day. A poll of the entire party would, I am convinced, establish the fact that their chief purpose now is to undo the evil that has been wrought by the grossly unjust Education Act of last year, to check the extravagance which has laid so appalling a burden upon the shoulders of the nation, to attempt to bring the administration of our affairs into a state of efficiency, and, whilst maintaining all the duties that we owe to the Empire as a whole, to avoid the aggressive follies which, during the last seven years, have plunged us into hot water in every quarter of the world, and exposed us more than once to risks the mere recollection of which, now that they have happily passed, is sufficient to appal the bravest. That, I believe, is the policy upon which the great bulk of Liberals are now anxious to unite; and if any statesman or leader of men amongst them should throw any obstacle in the way of their union he will be betraying, not merely his own party, but something still greater, the nation itself.

WEMYSS REID.

THE  
NINETEENTH  
CENTURY  
AND AFTER



No. CCCXV—MAY 1903

THE IRISH LAND BILL

I

'A SCHEME OF PERNICIOUS AGRARIAN QUACKERY'

THE measure which, it is pleasantly said; is 'finally to settle the Irish land question,' would arouse to its worst the '*sana indignatio*' of Swift; it is well for its authors they do not feel the scourge of the great man of genius who described Laputa. The Land Bill is an elaborate scheme of ingenious but pernicious agrarian quackery, pregnant with many and far-reaching national evils. It is not only that, in Mr. Lecky's language, it is a 'burlesque of legislation' on a gigantic scale, and that it 'sets economic principles at complete defiance'—reckless conduct that has seldom escaped its penalties. Nor is it only that while it offers them ruinous Greek gifts, which, if they are wise, they will take care to eschew, it seeks to annihilate a

whole order of men, who certainly have not deserved this treatment, circuitously, and by a sinister process; its cruelty, indeed, is not much worse than its kindness. Proceeding as it does on an utterly immoral principle, it is rank with corruption from beginning to end; it is a monument of an unholy alliance between hitherto avowed enemies, to carry a huge plan of spoliation into effect, at the cost and the risk of the general taxpayer, through a system of bribery without a parallel; this Ministry has not been ashamed to support this expedient! The Bill, too, has been introduced in such a way that its most dangerous mischiefs have almost been kept out of sight; the hard-pressed millions of the Three Kingdoms have been left in the dark as to what may be imposed on them, should Parliament unhappily pass it into law. And the measure, assuredly, would not realise the optimistic expectations to which it owes its origin. It would bring to Ireland not peace, but a sword; it would be a disturbing, not a tranquillising, force, even admitting that it would do a certain amount of good. It would make the Irish land system, chaotic as it is, a worse and a more troubled chaos; it would produce a bitter land war in many counties, corresponding to the land war we have beheld in Connaught. And even if it had some fruitful results, it would be attended with a whole train of economic, social, and political evils; it would probably throw back many parts of Ireland into the condition in which they were before the Great Famine: every 'Nationalist' believes it would quicken the Home Rule movement. Nor would this be all, or nearly all: should this measure become law, it must, from the nature of the case, strengthen the demand for what is called 'the compulsory purchase' of all the rented lands of Ireland, and not improbably, whatever Ministers may say, may make that demand impossible to resist: it may thus lead to a confiscation, wholesale alike and disgraceful, and subjecting the taxpayer to a charge not less perhaps than that which Germany extorted from France. The Bill, I should add, rests on assumptions so unfounded that it is untrustworthy, were it for this reason alone.

Before examining this project it is necessary to glance at the efforts made, in the last half-century, to reform the conditions of Irish land tenure, for otherwise the subject cannot be understood, and, indeed, it ought to take their conceit out of British statesmen. The first of these attempts was the notorious Encumbered Estates Act, a measure designed, as we know from Greville, to make 'fresh havoc' of property in land in Ireland, and 'to regenerate Ireland' by this laudable method; it passed through both Houses, with scarcely a dissentient voice; Sir Edward Sugden, who knew Ireland, was the only eminent public man who even hinted a protest. The Act expropriated the Irish landed gentry in scores by a most cruel process; it was, in fact, a scheme of spoliation, naked but not ashamed; it was extolled for years as the perfection of wisdom, but it ended in

complete and disastrous failure. It transferred nearly a sixth part of the soil of Ireland, not, as was anticipated, to a race of solvent landlords, capable of faithfully doing the duties of property, but to a class of needy and hardfisted landjobbers, successors of the almost extinct middlemen; and, what was more important, it extinguished to an immense extent the equitable rights of the peasantry, not yet law-worthy. In the period of comparative rest in Ireland, that succeeded the abortive agitation of 1852, nothing was done to improve the Irish land system, though its essential vices were manifest to impartial minds; British statesmen were convinced that these would be removed, partly through natural causes, partly by the Encumbered Estates Act. The Fenian outbreak woke these men out of a fool's paradise; Mr. Gladstone addressed himself in 1869-70 to effect a thorough reform in Irish land tenure, the second branch of the famous Upas tree, which blighted Ireland with its far-spreading and baleful shadow. The measure he passed through Parliament had real and grave defects, but it redressed the worst grievances in the Irish land system, giving tenants compensation for improvements they had made on their farms, and protecting them by an actual or a potential tenant-right; in truth, it has been the only statesmanlike scheme applied in the last fifty years to the Irish land. It deserves special notice that Mr. Gladstone declared that the Land Act of 1870, as it is called, was 'to be a final and complete settlement'—the nonsensical cant now in the mouths of ignorant triflers. On the faith of this assurance millions have been lent to Irish landlords, sums, as affairs now stand, in no doubtful jeopardy. Mr. Gladstone, however, as in the parallel case of Home Rule, had ere long scattered his pledges to the winds. Having surrendered to the Land League after a half-hearted struggle, he induced Parliament to pass the famous Land Act of 1881, which forms at present the mould of Irish land tenure, and which, admitting that it has done some good, is now almost unreservedly condemned, and has been the source of infinite mischief. This measure was a clumsy and ill-conceived attempt to apply what is known as the system of the 'three F's' to the Irish land. 'Fixity of Tenure' was to be assured to the tenant through leases renewable for ever, at short intervals of time; 'Fair Rent' was to be determined, not by contract, but through tribunals set up by the State for the purpose, a proceeding unknown in civilised lands; 'Free Sale' was to be a right of the possessor of a farm, sometimes even against the will of his landlord, and tenant's improvements were to be exempted from rent, a provision, if reasonable in theory, by no means just in fact, considering the state of affairs in Ireland.

The Conservative Opposition railed at the Land Act of 1881; Lord Ashbourne, the present holder of the Irish Great Seal, exclaimed that it would be more wise and just to deprive Irish



landlords, at once, of a fourth part of their rents. But when Unionist Ministers came into office, they extended this legislation far beyond its original scope, and that in every conceivable way, in spite of its evident and increasing mischiefs, a policy of tergiversation to which few parallels can be found, and which I have always considered disgraceful. This climax of backsliding was reached in 1896; an Act was passed in that Session, which removed nearly all the safeguards devised by Mr. Gladstone to protect the landlord; it enormously increased the benefits the tenant had obtained, and changed the land system, in his interest; it was, in truth, so dangerous to the plain rights of property, not only in Ireland, but in England and Scotland, that it was all but rejected by the House of Lords, loyal as it was to Lord Salisbury's Government. Meanwhile bad administration was making bad legislation worse; it is impossible here to describe the conduct of the Land Commission and its Sub-Commissions, the agencies appointed to fix 'Fair Rent'; it must suffice to say that under the system of what are called first term and second term rents, they have reduced and are now reducing the agricultural rental of Ireland about 40 per cent., and that though a Commission of the very first authority reported in 1880-1 that rents in Ireland were, as a rule, low, and though Mr. Gladstone solemnly acquitted Irish landlords, when he brought in the Land Bill of 1881, of the mendacious charges preferred against them, and announced that, in his belief, their rents could be hardly diminished! This wholesale confiscation of the property of Irish landlords is proved by the simple fact, that the value of the fee in Ireland has been cut down by at least a third, and that the value of the tenant-right has increased in about the same proportion, a circumstance which a Government might reflect on; but when the proceedings of the Land Commission and its dependent Courts, and the system they have adopted in fixing 'fair rents,' were dragged into the light in 1897 by the able Commission of which Sir Edward Fry was the head, and when the gravest wrongs were proved to have been done, this Ministry persistently refused to afford any real redress. The results of the legislation of 1881 and its supplements, and of the administration which has given effect to these laws, may be summed up in a very few sentences. The landlord has been changed from an owner nearly into a mere rent receiver; he is so completely cut off from the land that he is all but precluded from laying out a shilling upon it. The tenant has been transformed into a kind of owner, but though he has gained advantages to which he has no kind of right, his tenure is by no means stable or secure, and he is actually encouraged by the law to waste his farm in order to work down its rent. Meanwhile the system of 'Free Sale' is producing excessive rents by the extravagant sums paid on the transfer of farms; as 'Fixity of Tenure' is renewable every fifteen years, Ireland

has been made a cockpit for endless lawsuits, engendering the worst kind of war of classes; everything in the Irish land system is unsettled and shifting; the sanctity due to contracts has been destroyed; and capital avoids the Irish land like a quicksand. And beyond all stands out the unquestionable fact that a huge confiscation of the property of a whole class has taken place, the more odious because masked in the forms of law and justice.

The men now in office for many years delight in blaming the Land Act of 1881; but they forget they have made it by many degrees worse; they have been *participes criminis*, and deserve far more censure. But they have long been aware of the evils of the Gladstonian remedy; they have endeavoured to supplant it by a remedy of their own, certainly as indefensible, and, on the whole, more dangerous. The system of converting tenants in Ireland into owners of the soil was inaugurated by the late John Bright, but the tenants had to pay a large part of the price; the transaction was a real, not a sham purchase. This condition, essential to industry and thrift, has been entirely removed since 1885; landlords in Ireland can now 'sell' their estates through the agency of the Land Commission, and can receive the purchase moneys from the State; their tenants are then transformed into possessors in fee, without having paid down a shilling of their own; they are only subject to 'purchase annuities' as they are called, much lower than any possible rents, even those rents facetiously known as 'fair,' and they pay these for a period of less than half a century! This proceeding, therefore, is in no sense a 'purchase'; it is a gift by the State to an unjustly favoured class, beyond question of the nature of a bribe; the analogies urged to excuse it are not worthy of notice. Under this system some 80,000 Irish tenants have been changed into owners in fee; and because they have paid their 'purchase annuities' as rent very well—I could, however, refer to striking exceptions—the experiment has been pronounced to have been more than successful. Yet 'Land Purchase'—the name is an economic falsehood—has been to a great extent a failure, as those who know Ireland predicted from the first would happen. Its authors hoped that it would form a body of loyal freeholders; hundreds of these men, emancipated from the control of landlords, are active emissaries of the United Irish League. Its authors believed that it would form a class of successful tillers of the soil; but bribery is not the parent of industry; thousands of these "purchasers" are worthless and bankrupt farmers, falling into the hands of bank managers or of local Shylocks. Besides, the new owners are neglecting drainage of all kinds, which, indeed, can only be carried on on considerable estates; and numbers have cut down every tree on their lands, destructive waste in a climate of superabundant rains. In addition, many of these 'purchasers' are sub-letting and

mortgaging their farms, as their renders to the State are much lower than any rents; they are thus producing again the almost vanished middleman, the harsh tyrant of rack-rented serfs; and instead of evolving 'single ownership,' and doing away with the 'dual ownership,' falsely said to have been 'created' by Mr. Gladstone, they are evolving double, treble, nay fourfold ownership! The evils caused by 'Land Purchase,' indeed, have so long been apparent that an apologist had to be found by the Government. A writer—he has since been raised to high place—has been employed to cry up this system, exactly as, forty years ago, writers were employed to cry up the Encumbered Estates Act; his report is a characteristic instance how plausible generalisation may be deceptive. The 'content,' the 'peaceableness,' the 'prosperity' of the new 'peasant proprietary,' as it is called, shine through his pages in attractive phrases; but the large exceptions he acknowledges confute his argument, and he urges that the State ought to interfere to remove the evils but too manifest, as the Intendants of the later Bourbons insisted that the French peasant should be sustained by leading strings, while they were making him out to be in excellent case!

These, however, are not the worst evils inseparable from a false and pernicious policy. 'Land Purchase,' I have said, draws a profound distinction—at once arbitrary and absolutely unjust—between rent-paying and 'purchasing' tenants; the first are left subject to renders much higher than the second; it should be added, if this Bill becomes law, this distinction will be immensely increased. This system, therefore, divides the occupiers of the soil in Ireland into a disfavoured multitude and an unfairly pampered caste; it necessarily fills the first with discontent, and that not without real reason; it tempts these men to refuse the payment of rent, in order that they may compel their landlords to 'sell,' and to make them 'purchasers.' 'Land Purchase,' accordingly, establishes against landlords a false measure of rent, analogous to a base coinage; it gives every tenant on such estates a grievance; it cruelly handicaps landlords who simply wish to be paid their just debts. We see the result in the quarrel on the De Freyne and Murphy estates caused by the act of the Executive Government in 'purchasing' a huge neighbouring estate and making the tenants fee-simple owners at 'purchase annuities,' a third less than the former rents; the De Freyne and Murphy tenants, resenting what they deemed the wrong of being placed at a disadvantage compared with their fellows, struck, not unnaturally, against the payment of their rents; two whole counties were thrown into grave disorder; and the quarrel was composed, not by the vindication of the law, but through the intervention of a Catholic Bishop! 'Land Purchase,' therefore, from the nature of the case, operates as a destructive, not a beneficial, force; whatever good it may do on a 'purchased' estate, it stirs up trouble

on adjoining 'unpurchased' estates; it is like one of the old fire-ships driven into a fleet to spread havoc around. And yet this is not the worst result of the ruinous distinctions made by this system. Men and women have wills and feelings of their own; Irish tenants under rents cannot tamely submit to be impoverished, compared with tenant 'purchasers'; to be lean goats in one fold and fat sheep in another; they insist that all tenants shall be placed on the same level of rights; this can only be effected by the expropriation of all landlords by force and converting all their dependents into owners in fee. 'Land Purchase,' therefore, has necessarily provoked the cry for the 'Compulsory Purchase' of the Irish land, a cry that certainly has much logic on its side, and that may be irresistible in the long run; it may thus lead to what really would be an act of robbery by the State, unparalleled in any civilised country, and imposing on the general taxpayer a colossal burden. In truth this policy is not only essentially bad, it is founded on a theory showing utter ignorance of simple human nature. As Edmund Burke wrote of the *philosophes* of the French Revolution, the sages of Land Purchase '*hominem non sapiunt*'; they shut up human beings like wild beasts in a cage to claw and bite each other to their mutual destruction.'

This is the policy pronounced by Mr. Wyndham, with an audacity not unworthy of Danton, to have been 'uniformly successful' throughout Ireland, which it is the object of this Bill so largely to extend that all or nearly all estates will be brought within its provisions. How this 'New Departure' in 'Land Purchase' has been brought about, is rather a curious episode in Irish affairs. Mr. Wyndham introduced an Irish Land Bill in the session of 1902 which may be described as a mere abortion; after a few parleys it was quietly withdrawn. The Chief Secretary seems to have been uncertain what he was next to do; but he professed himself willing to hear what could be said by representatives of Irish landlords and tenants; he hinted that a 'conference' might be held on the subject. A young gentleman, hitherto completely unknown, and not the owner, I believe, of an acre of land, rushed forward to take this idea up; he was followed by a small minority of Irish landlords, disgusted with their position on various grounds; these men entered into negotiations with chiefs of the United Irish League in order 'finally to settle the Irish Land Question,' a cant phrase I have heard for more than fifty years. The 'Conference' was a remarkable instance how adversaries of long standing may adjust their disputes, if a third party is at hand to be plundered. The high contracting personages agreed that 'Land Purchase' was the only way to reform the Irish land system; the landlords laid it down that, should they 'sell' their estates, they must receive from the State a sum equal to nearly fifteen years' purchase above the

market rate; the tenants' advocates laid it down that their clients must obtain enormous reductions in their yearly renders, and that the 'purchase annuities' must be made payable for a greatly extended period, in order, in some degree, to make up the difference between the actual and the artificial value of lands. This called into the field the landlords' 'Convention,' a body fairly representative of the Irish landed gentry; after condemning the 'Conference' in no doubtful language, the Convention agreed with its conclusions in part, a decision, I think, in the highest degree unfortunate. The Convention demanded that the 'selling' Irish landlord should be paid a sum of more than ten years' purchase above the market value for his estate; and though it did not sanction the claim that the tenants should secure the immense reductions to which the 'Conference' gave its assent, it declared that the difference between the actual and the proposed value of land should be made up, as far as this was possible, by the extension of the time for the payment of the 'purchase annuities' by the new owners. The two schemes, therefore, were practically at one in this. 'Selling' Irish landlords were to have a fancy price for their estates; the manipulation of the 'purchase annuities' might in some degree accomplish this end, and the risk of this and of any further advances to be required was to fall on the taxpayers of the 'Three' Kingdoms! These demands for an extravagant artificial price, of course, could not be listened to by any Ministry, but it was possible to make the huge reductions, which the Conference asserted might well be made, and in some degree to bridge over the gulf between the true and the fictitious value of estates, by extending the period within which 'purchase annuities' were to be paid.

Mr. Wyndham has acted upon these demands, as far as he could venture without incensing Parliament; the Land Bill follows in some respects the lines set down by the 'Conference' and the 'Convention,' but with modifications of the greatest importance. The measure may be described as a cunning scheme to expropriate all Irish landlords by degrees, making them the authors of their own extinction, but hiding the transaction by a system of bribes. 'Land Purchase,' as before, is to be 'voluntary' in name, that is, no landlord is to be forced to 'sell'; but, probably, it will be 'compulsory' in the last resort, however Ministers may pretend not to see things as they are. A very brief account of the main provisions of the Bill must be sufficient for the general reader. Landlords are empowered to 'sell' their estates, as they are now, by agreements with their tenants, a process involving considerable delay; or they may sell them to members of the Land Commission, known by the name of 'Estates Commissioners,' two dependent upon the will of the Castle. When an estate shall have been 'sold' in either way, the tenants are to be made owners in fee, subject to 'purchase annuities,' as

they are at present, and not paying down a single sixpence; but the 'purchase annuities' are to be payable for sixty-eight years and a half, not as they are now for only forty-nine; and they are to be calculated on a scale which will cut them down fully 60 per cent. less than the rents which were paid only twenty-five years ago, a significant fact to which I direct attention. In this way the existing value of land, which is barely more than eighteen years' purchase, may be forced up to twenty-three or even twenty-five years' purchase; but other expedients have been found to promote 'Land Purchase.' A bonus, in other words a bribe, is to be divided among 'selling' landlords, to the extent of 12,000,000*l.* in cash; this sum may be equal to perhaps two years' purchase, for Mr. Wyndham is wholly in error in estimating that he has to deal with a rental of only 4,000,000*l.*; this will certainly be 6,000,000*l.* at least; and by these means landlords will probably be able to obtain about twenty-seven years' purchase for their estates, but on rents artificially reduced some 40 per cent., a less sum, by many years' purchase, than the 'Conference' and the 'Convention' made a *sine qua non*. The landlords are thus to have a considerable bribe, not paid, too, in depreciated stock—a transaction that will cost a good deal of money; they are besides to 'repurchase' their mansions and demesnes, through advances to be made by the State. The security for the payment of the immense sums, for which the taxpayer may be made even directly liable, will of course be the 'purchase annuities' cut down and extended for an increased period; to these should be added securities, which this Ministry fondly imagines might really be made available. A Guarantee Fund created by the issuing of a new stock is to be made forthcoming to buy out the landlords; the ultimate responsibility, whatever may be said, will rest on the taxpayers of the three kingdoms. The fixing of 'fair rents,' which it was hoped this Bill would stop, is practically to go on as before; a slight check is sought to be imposed on it; but 'Nationalist' opposition will prevent this becoming law. The Bill contains large and ingenious provisions for managing estates sold through the Estates Commissioners, and generally for expediting 'Land Purchase'; it attempts, too, to restrain subletting and mortgaging by the new owners; but this last provision will probably be wholly abortive.

This is the measure which is to bring agrarian peace to Ireland, and to launch her upon the path of progress; the *Pacata Hibernia*, the vain dream of Bacon, is to be realised after the lapse of three centuries. The student of history and of economic science will, perhaps, be chiefly struck by the gigantic bribery which is the main characteristic of the Bill, and which forms not its least repulsive feature. Irish tenants—and I understate the case—are, without a pretence of justice or a shadow of right, to have their annual renders diminished 60 per cent. at least, compared with their rents of

1875 to 1880 ; and then, after a period of sixty-eight years and a half, without having done a single thing to better their lot in life, they are to acquire the fee in their holdings, 'rocked and dandled into their possessions,' in the words of Burke, by an act of wholesale corruption on the part of the State. And here it should be borne in mind that there is conclusive evidence that Ireland was not an over-rented land, even when the Act of 1881 became law, and that the renders which are to be now reduced are rents not depending on the will of landlords, but, as a rule, fixed by the Land Commission and its Sub-Commissions. How can a land system, based on a foundation such as this, be expected to prosper and to strike fruitful roots ; how can a flagrant violation, on a colossal scale, of the unerring principle that hard work and thrift can alone make a community flourish, be attended by aught but disastrous results ? When these *novæ tabulæ* of the Roman demagogue shall have been established in a whole country, what can be expected but that contracts can have no binding force ; that faith in ordinary dealings will not be held ; that the repudiation of obligations will become common ; that the ties which hold society together will be perilously relaxed ? The iniquity, too, of the project is perhaps not less odious than its bare-faced corruption. Are there no miserable householders in our great towns, far more entitled to assistance from the State than Irish tenants can possibly be, and are they to be left out in the cold ? Is the English and Scottish farmer, who has suffered far more from agricultural depression than his Irish fellow, to see rents across the Channel abated 60 per cent.—not to speak of other and more lasting benefits—and is he to obtain no corresponding advantage ? And what is the class for the behoof of which this system of universal bribery is to be set up ? Its leaders have been agitators of the most dangerous kind, some marked with the brand of the Special Commission ; it has, over a large part of Ireland, taken part in a revolutionary and socialistic movement, and has been in avowed sympathy with the bitterest foes of England.

Corruption, however, in the Irish tenants' interest is matched in this Bill, if to a less extent, by corruption in the interest of the Irish landlord. No doubt the hopes of the 'Conference' and the 'Convention' have not been fulfilled ; 50,000,000*l.* or 60,000,000*l.* will not be dropped, like manna from heaven, into the mouths of the landlords ; in addition to other not unsubstantial boons, they are put off with a sum of 12,000,000*l.* only, thrown to them, contemptuously, like a bone to a hungry dog, as an inducement to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage. But where is the justification for a bribe of this kind, even though, like the frail lady's bantling, it is 'merely a small one' ? Consols are barely above 90 ; the income tax is at fifteen pence in the pound ; taxes are being levied upon the necessities of life ; the strain on the resources of the State is intense ; the

national expenditure is on the increase. Is this the occasion to lavish a dole on Irish landlords, at least equal to two years of their rents, in order to accelerate 'Land Purchase,' and to give effect to a bad and disastrous policy? Is this the time to enable Irish absentees to spend moneys to which they have no right in London and Paris, and shamefully filched from the overburdened taxpayer? I shall refer only to a single instance: should Lord —— 'sell' his Irish estates, he will pocket a sum of about 30,000*l.* paid him by the Exchequer out of the taxes; what conceivable claim has he to this impudent bribe? No doubt he would make an excellent use of these moneys: he would lay them out as well as the possessor of the talents in Scripture: he would not hide them in a napkin, and turn them to no account. But is he to levy contributions for this purpose from the ill-fed labourer, from the pinched artisan, from clerks in offices at a salary of a hundred a year, from the millions of our population who can hardly eke out existence? Properly considered, this is one of the worst features of the Bill: its gross immorality and wrong are nowhere more apparent.

But if a sum of 12,000,000*l.* and other douceurs are to be flung, as a sop, to Irish landlords, this order of men will not obtain justice under this Bill, or anything like it. The memories of politicians are conveniently short, but when he introduced the Land Act of 1881 Mr. Gladstone solemnly announced that, should it appear that Irish landlords had suffered from the measure, their right to compensation could not be denied; and Parliament assented to the Bill on this express condition. Let us see how, under the present scheme, even a reasonable indemnity can be afforded to Irish landlords. I shall not stop to inquire whether, through the legislation of the last twenty-two years, and the maladministration attendant on it, they have not been cruelly despoiled and wronged; the fact does not admit of a question. I will take the case of an Irish country gentleman who, in the prosperous years from 1870 to 1878, had an estate with a clear rental of 2,000*l.* a year, subject to a family charge of 20,000*l.* The value of his lands would then have been about twenty-seven years' purchase, that is 54,000*l.*, so, had he sold at this time and paid off the family charge, he would have had a clear surplus of 34,000*l.* The agricultural depression of the last twenty years would have probably lowered his rental 400*l.* a year, had no vicious legislation intervened; his estate, therefore, would have only fetched 43,200*l.*, and this would have left him a residue of 23,200*l.*, the 20,000*l.* having been deducted. But his rental has been reduced about 40 per cent., through the proceedings of the Land Commission and its dependents; it is now, therefore, only 1,200*l.* a year; suppose that, through the operation of this Bill, its value shall have been artificially raised from eighteen to twenty-seven years' purchase, what, in these circumstances, would be his position? The estate,



which, thirty years ago, would have been worth 54,000*l.*, would now be 'purchased' for 32,400*l.*, say 32,000*l.* striking off law costs ; but the family charge would remain unchanged ; this victim, therefore, who in 1870-1878 would have had a capital of 34,000*l.*, would now be left with a residuum of 12,000*l.* only ! The Bill, therefore, while it bribes Irish landlords in the most indefensible and offensive way, does not even nearly redress their wrongs ; these can never be redressed by a measure of this kind. The only means through which they can hope to obtain even partial justice is to seek for a reform in the relations of landlord and tenant, the real way to improve the Irish land system, with some provisions as to mortgages and family charges ; they ought to have long steadily insisted on this, and no Government could have turned a deaf ear to them. They made a capital mistake in not adopting this course ; and now that the 'Conference' and the 'Convention' have committed themselves to 'Land Purchase' and all that this involves, they have set the general taxpayer against them, they have played into the hands of the United Irish League, they have missed the best prospect of obtaining relief. The conduct of the 'Convention,' the hands of which were forced, may be excused to a certain extent ; that of the 'Conference,' which took the first fatal step, is inexcusable, so far as regards the 'conferring landlords,' were it only that they have made themselves henchmen of the United Irish League.

Mr. Wyndham has, as far as possible, kept out of sight the financial part of the Bill, and all that this implies, in order to throw the taxpayer off his guard ; but this must distinctly be brought to the light. He takes care to inform us that the bribe of 12,000,000*l.* will only be a charge of 390,000*l.* a year ; this is after the fashion of a spendthrift who never thinks of the principal of a loan, if he pays the interest ; this is the recklessness denounced by Swift and Bolingbroke, when piling up the National Debt was still deemed perilous. Having assumed that 390,000*l.* a year would be the only possible liability of the State, he next tells us that 250,000*l.* a year can be economised in the Irish Civil Service ; and he triumphantly concludes that 140,000*l.* a year will be really the only charge that could be imposed by the Bill. That reductions in Irish administration could be made with advantage is a fact that does not admit of dispute ; for example, the Lord Lieutenantcy and its sham Court might be abolished, in the interests of Ireland and Great Britain ; some of the blotted salaries of men at the Castle ought to be reduced. But I much doubt if 250,000*l.* a year could be made available. National and University education in Ireland requires assistance from the State ; and it would be objectionable in the highest degree to diminish the great Irish constabulary force. In short, the notion that the 12,000,000*l.* bribe could only cost the Exchequer 140,000*l.* a year is, I am convinced, a mere chimera ;

but this is only a small part of the matter. 'Land purchase' has already made the State liable for 22,000,000*l.*; should this Bill largely extend the system, that sum might reach 50,000,000*l.*, 60,000,000*l.*, nay, 150,000,000*l.*; the only real security would be the 'purchase annuities,' the value of which would be extremely doubtful. That these annuities have as yet been well paid is true; but they are due, for the most part, from farmers in Ulster, men not likely to evade their debts; with respect to tenants in the three southern provinces, they are often not recovered without legal proceedings. But this is only a very small part of the risk; let the 'purchasers' multiply in great numbers; let a series of bad seasons occur; might not the United Irish League, following the well-known precedents of the 'No Kent Manifesto' and the 'Plan of Campaign,' issue a mandate forbidding the 'purchasers' to pay a shilling until Home Rule had been 'wrung from an alien government?' What, in that event, would the annuities be worth, enforceable by a department of an absentee State? From this point of view 'land purchase' is a trump card up the sleeve of the high-principled Irish patriot; let the general taxpayer look out while there is time. As to the notion that in a crisis like this a Government could fall back on the local Irish grants, which have been obtained as a collateral security by most unconstitutional means, the idea is simply a delusion, as Lord Randolph Churchill pointed out many years ago. Does Mr. Wyndham imagine that he could shut up National schools in Ireland, and let lunatics loose all over the country, in the hope of recovering 'purchase annuities'? This security, in a word, is not sound; though Mr. Wyndham, in a singular phrase, has pronounced it to be 'morally and mathematically safe.'

It is impossible to foretell with anything like certainty how this Bill would extend, or even quicken, 'Land Purchase.' Mr. Wyndham's assertion—a Castle shibboleth—that 'an immense majority' of Irish landlords are eager to sell their estates is about as true as what he proclaimed less than two years ago, that the United Irish League 'had not more than forty working branches.' Equally vain is the notion that under any conditions, even the most favourable that could be conceived, the fee simple of Ireland could be transferred in fifteen years, and 'a peasant proprietary' made its owners; under this Bill the process could not take less than fifty. It is probable, however, that a large number of landlords would sell through this measure, especially if the English and Scottish mortgagees of large Irish estates should call in their charges. Assuredly, however, a very great number would not sell on the terms this Bill offers. This would include the very best members of their class: those who were not encumbered to a great extent; those who, to their honour, would rise superior to bribes; those who would remain bound to their hearths and their homes; those who would resent an

attempt to entrap them like wild ducks lured into a decoy. Even Mr. T. W. Russell admits that a fifth part of the landlords of Ulster would not part with their properties on the conditions proposed. I have little or no acquaintance with Ulster, but I assert, with a knowledge very few possess, that not many of the great landed gentry in the southern provinces would sell under the provisions of this Bill: What then would be the inevitable results, during a period of probably half a century at least? The iniquitous distinction between 'rent-paying' and 'purchasing' tenants, the evils of which cannot be too often dwelt on, would be enormously aggravated by this Bill, through the monstrous reduction made in the 'purchase annuities'; tenants subject to renders probably 30 per cent. higher than their 'purchasing' neighbours would—and from their point of view not without real justice—have the strongest inducements to withhold their rents; and as the sphere of 'Land Purchase' would extend by degrees, a land war would spring up in many parts of Ireland, caused, not by the agitator, not by dishonest lawlessness, but by a most fatuous and destructive policy. Ireland, in a word, would be a scene of discord and contention for a series of years; 'these ruins,' in the emphatic language of Burke, 'would not be the devastation of civil war; they would be the sad but instructive monuments of rash and ignorant counsel in time of profound peace.' Nor is it difficult to predict what would probably be the end of this squalid and most disgraceful conflict. The landlords who would hold to their own would diminish by degrees; they would be subjected to pressure of different kinds, and to the cajolery of the men at the Castle, as their fathers were in the affair of Wood, described by Swift in his inimitable style; the limits of 'Land Purchase' would be greatly enlarged; the number of recalcitrant landlords would become comparatively small. The cry for 'compulsory purchase,' even now sounding throughout Ireland, would become fierce, intense, perhaps impossible to withstand; judging from what we have seen in Irish affairs, a Government might be formed which, like the frail fair in *Don Juan*, 'would consent, saying it would not consent,' and would sanction a confiscation, the most dishonourable even Ireland has beheld. Let the taxpayer put a veto on legislation of this kind; 'Land Purchase' is directly leading to it; it would expose him to a liability for untold millions, for which no really valid security exists.

The deceptions with which this measure is filled—the result of ignorance of the real state of Ireland—are numerous; a few only can be noticed. The policy of the Government, it is said, is to leave the Irish landed gentry their houses and demesnes; landlords are thus enabled to 're-purchase' these, and to hold on the tenure of 'purchasing' tenants. But the mansions and demesnes of Irish landlords are, as a rule, much too costly and large to allow them to be retained on these conditions; 'Land Purchase' would generally turn them into deserted

solitudes, like the wrecks of the castles of the old despoiled Englishry. Besides, a majority, probably, of Irish landlords, if compelled to sell, would exclaim, like Charles Edward to Fleury, '*tout ou rien*'; if they lost their estates, they would abandon their houses and demesnes and quit a country in which they had been foully betrayed. But the principal consideration in this matter is this: does anyone imagine, if Irish landlords were practically obliged to sell their rented lands, they would be permitted to keep the unrented at peace? Would not the cry 'All the land for the People' be raised again; would not the fine and large pastures of Irish demesnes attract the covetous eyes of a debauched peasantry—demoralised by the worst kind of corruption; would there not be a movement against the possessors of these 'vast cattle ranches, aliens, and Saxons who had no kind of right to them'; and would not a Government finally succumb to it? It is imagined again that the Bill would prevent the subletting and mortgaging which, it is now acknowledged, is one of the bad results of 'Land Purchase'; the checks it imposes are, no doubt, stringent, especially the reservation of a quit-rent to be held by the State, in the case of the new transformed owners; but these are not more stringent than those contained in most Irish leases, which have been systematically evaded during three centuries; and the check of the quit-rent will probably disappear from the Bill; an outcry has already been raised against it. In another and most important respect, the measure has disappointed the best hopes entertained by well-informed persons. Unionist Ministries have always denounced the Land Act of 1881; it was expected that the ruinous system of fixing rent, at short intervals of time, would be greatly limited, and brought to an end by degrees. But the Bill does but little in that direction. No doubt it provides that if three fourths of the tenants on an estate, and in some instances a majority only, shall agree to become 'purchasers' under this measure, the remaining tenants shall lose their right to have 'fair rents' fixed; but, besides that this condition would have little effect, at least for a time, it will almost certainly not become law, as a similar condition was dropped last year, in deference to 'Nationalists' and to Mr. T. W. Russell. Any other provisions in the Bill with respect to 'fair rents' are trifling, and on the whole are mischievous. This destructive system will continue unchanged for many years; no real attempt has been made to reform it; in fact, the policy of this Government obviously is to accelerate 'Land Purchase' by sending Irish landlords under the Caudine Forks of the Land and the Sub-Commissions, a policy which does not require a single word of comment.

Two other considerations of extreme importance present themselves to those who understand the Bill and know what] would be its probable effects. The Disestablished Anglican Church of Ireland is

an institution which commands universal respect: it has successfully emerged from a sea of troubles; its influence in Ireland is one of unmixed good; it is an institution which has a special claim on the support of England. Its resources, thanks to excellent management, are at present in a flourishing state, but they chiefly depend on the Irish landed gentry, who, shamefully treated as they have been, loyally keep it up; if this order of men shall be much diminished in numbers, and perhaps shall be extinguished by degrees, their fall must lead to the material ruin at least of their Church in Ireland. Are Englishmen prepared to bring about such a consummation as this: to quench the light of Protestantism in a whole kingdom; to hand Ireland over to a Catholic priesthood and its flocks? Again, the effect of this measure would be to reduce the renders of Irish tenants 60 per cent. at least below what they were thirty years ago, not to speak of turning them into owners of their farms; have English and Scottish landlords reflected what the result of this may be, not improbably, on their own rentals? I have little sympathy with a class of men who have acted as Jews to their Samaritan Irish fellows; but I detest spoliation and socialistic movements; spoliation in Ireland, it is not unlikely, may lead to spoliation in England and Scotland; confiscation, from the nature of the case, is contagious. The land systems of England and Scotland are, no doubt, very different from that of Ireland, but if English and Scottish tenants learn that Irish rents have suddenly been cut down fully 60 per cent. from their rate in 1870-8, I much question if they would tamely submit. I am certain they would find Radical support against the payment of their rents. It would, perhaps, then be discovered, when it would be too late, that the cases were not so completely opposite as has glibly been laid down in the House of Commons.

It would be interesting, had I the space, to look into the future, and to draw a picture of what Ireland would be, should 'Land Purchase' be largely extended and become universal. But I must confine myself to a single remark: Ireland is a land of a small agricultural area, and of a few rich pastures, of low hill ranges, and of tracts of inferior grazings, of vast bogs and morasses, of sluggish rivers, above all, of insignificant inland towns; it is the very last country in which what is known as 'a peasant proprietary' could possibly flourish. Nature herself abhors an artificial creation of this kind; her laws, and those of political science, would assert themselves, whatever might be done; an experiment of unwise imprudence would be doomed to failure.

I have now glanced at the main features of this Bill; I will not say that it would do no good; as Burke showed, as to the achievements of the Assembly at Versailles, 'They who make everything new have a chance that they may establish something beneficial.'

But I assert, with a profound conviction, that should this measure become law, it will prove disastrous to Ireland and to Great Britain, and will certainly have a calamitous end, as so many experiments on the Irish land have had. It is political quackery of the very worst kind, disseminating corruption by shameless bribes, at the cost and the risk of the taxpayer and the State; it will subject the millions of these kingdoms to unknown but huge burdens; it will spread through Ireland disorder and unrest, and may lead to a confiscation for which there could be no excuse; it will create precedents dangerous to all property in land, not only in Ireland, but in England and Scotland; it will, in a word, be a parent of infinite mischiefs. I am happy to reflect that I have denounced the policy this Bill embodies, from the moment when it was first set on foot; as I denounced the Encumbered Estates Act half a century ago; as I denounced the ruinous legislation of 1881; and every prediction I have made has been verified.

For the rest, if I am an Irish landlord, I have been an Irish land reformer through a long life, and have done not a little in this very province. And if, as an Irish landlord, who holds a fragment of a great inheritance lost by confiscation and conquest, by a title anterior to the first Norman Conquest, I protest against a measure of this kind, deceitful, treacherous, and pernicious alike, I write without any personal vindictive feeling. My rental has been raised, not lowered, through the legislation of the last twenty-two years. It may be my lot, like that of the wise Persian, to say 'it is bitter that one who knows much shall not be able to prevail'; he perished in the waters of Salamis; I flatter myself I shall keep my estate, spite of legislation that might elicit a grin from Machiavel. Be this as it may, I have done my duty in condemning, not without real knowledge, a measure pregnant with evil as this is, and especially in warning the taxpayer to what it may lead.

WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS.

*Gartnamona, Tullamore, King's County.*

*THE IRISH LAND BILL*

## II

## THE LATEST: IS IT THE LAST?

THE glamour of Mr. Wyndham's eloquence increased the proverbial difficulty of appraising the Irish Land Bill fairly on its introduction. And this artistic effect of the first hearing was hardly impaired even when one read the speech in cold blood; and the almost universal approbation with which the main principles of the Bill were received in the House showed itself also in the early comments of the press so generally as to arouse misgivings amongst some of the most friendly onlookers. It seemed too good to be true. Was it really possible that the Chief Secretary could harmonise the interests, so obviously divergent, of the British taxpayer on the one hand, and the Irish agricultural community on the other? Landlord and tenant in Ireland had indeed, it seemed, been brought to a wonderful pitch of unanimity and the extremists on both sides well-nigh silenced; but could this be maintained except at the expense of the predominant partner?

Despite such wise head-shakings, however, one thing was clear. Mr. Wyndham had created, or at any rate preserved and utilised to the full, an atmosphere of general confidence; all classes and parties were favourably predisposed; no Bill could have a better start.

But naturally—nay, properly—when the measure itself came to be studied, criticism began on both sides of the Channel; and though much of it, in Ireland at all events, is constructive in intention, it is apt to conceal the general feeling in favour of the Bill amongst the great mass of landlords and tenants, especially as the tendency is always to wander off into details and to lose sight of the broad principles. But discussion of details should of course be reserved for Committee, and before that stage is reached a word or two on the main issues involved may not be out of place, viewing the matter rather from the British than the Irish standpoint.

And first a glance must be taken at the situation, so peculiar, not to say startling, as regards the Irish land question, that opinion in England may well be puzzled and somewhat sceptical at what seems a sudden transformation. Is the change real, deep, and vital, or only a scenic effect cleverly staged by the genius of political managers? The hopes raised in England, the chorus of approval in

the House of Commons, the favourable 'atmosphere' prevailing out of doors, are, of course, largely the reflection of similar conditions which seem diffused in Ireland. Have these latter any reality, any guarantee of permanence? How did they arise, and when? Are they anything more than a happy accident under the influence of Mr. Wyndham's lucky star? He has certainly taken the tide at the flood, if it be a tide, but that is just the question. Are the forces of Nature behind him? If so it will surely lead on to fortune.

The new factor in Ireland is, of course, the Land Conference of landlord and tenant representatives last December, and indeed it came as almost as great a surprise to many politicians in Ireland as it did to the British public generally. The extremists on both sides derided the idea. The Nationalist leaders at first received it nearly as coldly as the leaders of the Landowners' Convention. But the mass of the farmers had no such misgivings. They knew what they wanted, though their wants were not very speedily audible, owing to the highly centralised state of the Nationalist party. The leaders on the other side also miscalculated the prevailing feeling of their brother landlords, and emphasised all the difficulties of such a conference, which, indeed, were obvious enough to many of its strongest supporters, and which nothing but an overwhelming movement of public opinion could have enabled them to surmount. But such a movement was there in full force, and it was all the more resistless because it had been generated slowly and had in one of its aspects, and that the most important, been almost unnoticed by politicians. Even in Ireland such spontaneous growths do not spring up in a moment. Even in Ireland the more gradually they have been evolved the more enduring they are likely to prove. On its negative side the process of putting an end to a land system unsuited to the country has been only too gradual, but the remarkable thing to observe now is, that the new movement is far from being merely destructive or the outcome of a mere rapacity on the part of the tenants, but has a positive side also, and arises largely out of a desire for social peace and reunion of classes, and that this too is no mushroom growth. Partly no doubt a reaction from the bitter agrarian feuds which culminated twenty years ago, it first took definite shape in the Co-operative movement which in turn inspired the labours of the Recess Committee and the Financial Relations agitation. This last again led to the establishment of frankly democratic County Councils,<sup>1</sup> while the Recess Committee gave birth to the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, both which, the County

<sup>1</sup> It is significant that three of the landlord representatives at the Land Conference, Lord Dunraven, Colonel Everard, and Colonel Poë, are elected members of their County or District Councils, while the fourth, Lord Mayo, sat on the Recess Committee with Mr. John Redmond.



Councils and the new Department, have given an immense impetus to the desire and the capacity for social reconstruction. Surely there are here the elements of permanence and healthy life; and they show the improved relations to have been a natural development culminating in the 'Dunraven Treaty.' Nor is the new spirit confined to the agricultural community. The Chambers of Commerce of Dublin and Limerick early discerned its bearing on the national life and passed resolutions in favour of the Land Conference. Therefore without exaggeration the whole country may be said to have become possessed with the new hopes of internal harmony and development which under wise guidance should help to bring about their own realisation.

And surely this better feeling between classes in Ireland, and the prospect of reconstruction on the foundation of a sounder land system may well raise hopes also of better feeling and sounder relations between the two islands. And if the Bill is passed in a form to insure a peaceful revolution, and the financial aid comes with a good grace, it will certainly prove a main factor in determining the larger political problem. Unfortunately such hopes inevitably take forms on the two sides of the Channel (or of the House) which do not make for peace. Unionists hope and believe that the Irish farmers will cease to agitate for Home Rule when they have got the land. Nationalists passionately asseverate that 'purchase' will make the farmers more ardent Nationalists than ever, and the landlords less ardent Unionists. It is idle to prophesy, though my instinctive feeling is that the new owners will desire Home Rule less than before, and the quondam owners will fear it less; and that the consequent softening of asperities, not only within Ireland but between the two countries, will lead to a peaceful process of devolution, Irish national life developing on its own special lines within the Union; though I am as firm as ever in my conviction that an Irish Parliament would be as disastrous to Ireland as to England. But I have always maintained that the Home Rule question could not be seen in its true proportions nor its dimensions gauged as long as it was bound up with the Land question, and it is to be regretted that English Home Rulers have not followed Mr. Redmond's example and agreed to leave Home Rule out of the discussion, and that Unionists on their side have not refrained from provocative prophecy.

British opinion, however, apparently requires the assurance of something more than permanence. Sixty-eight years—the term over which the repayment of advances under the Bill is spread—is more than two generations, and if the measure is to have the universal application claimed for it, men naturally ask is it going to be final? Is the latest Irish Land Bill going to be also the last? This brings us to the consideration of the main principles on which

the Bill is framed, and (apart from certain limitations and exclusions on which a word will be said below) I have no hesitation in saying that those principles insure finality as complete as is possible in human affairs.<sup>2</sup> I shall indicate certain 'organic details' of the Bill, as Mr. Gladstone would have called them, which hardly seem to give effect to these principles, and on which the working of the measure will mainly depend, and incidentally consider some of the chief points still in dispute. But the principles themselves are now practically agreed to by all parties in Ireland,<sup>3</sup> and need not be discussed at any length. They will all be found in the report of the Land Conference<sup>4</sup> and may be briefly stated as follows:

(1) That dual ownership should be abolished by voluntary agreements between landlord and tenant on a basis mutually satisfactory to both.

(2) That the operation should be conducted without litigation or social strife.

(3) That in order to avoid the expense, delay, and friction of State investigation, the purchase money agreed on should be advanced by the State within limits fixed by the Bill, expressed in terms of the tenant purchaser's annual liability to the State in repayment of advance.

(4) That this annual liability should be substantially below the 'second term' rent.

(5) That the vendors' income should be assured to them, and that the residents among them should be encouraged to remain in the country.

(6) That safeguards should be adopted against the creation or perpetuation of uneconomic holdings by sub-division, sub-letting, or usurious money-lending.

(7) That the State should contribute by free grant or 'bonus' to bridge the difference between what the tenant could prudently undertake to give and the landlord could afford to take.

Passing over for the moment the positive limitations and exclusions, let us now see where the Bill fails to carry out fully its own principles.

The Land Conference suggested that the reduction to the tenant purchasers in their future annual instalments should be from 15 to

<sup>2</sup> Obviously land tenure with which this Bill deals does not cover the whole ground of agrarian reform, and Mr. Wyndham has shown a statesmanlike appreciation of the need, which will be greater than ever under a peasant proprietor system for agricultural development and education, for better and cheaper transport, for better and cheaper land transfer, and other auxiliary measures. But they can only be glanced at here.

<sup>3</sup> I do not, of course, ignore the splendid 'Athanasian' opposition of Mr. Davitt to the whole principle of offering inducements to the landlords to sell without loss of income; but his force of character, sincerity, and disinterestedness have given prominence to his views out of all proportion to the amount of support they have obtained amongst the tenant farmers of Ireland.

<sup>4</sup> Commons Return, No. 89 of 1903.

25 per cent. below second term rents or their fair equivalent. The Bill, keeping the same mean of 20 per cent., stretches the limits at each end, the range being from 10 to 30 per cent. This, though not a departure from the principle of a maximum and minimum limit, tends to weaken its effect, and, combined with the restriction of the State 'bonus,' of which more anon, has given rise to a demand by the National Convention on behalf of the tenants for the omission of the maximum limit altogether. Its removal would have grave consequences and might seriously impede or even arrest the operation of this healing measure. For in the first place, in order to facilitate sales, the life owner who can prove he has been receiving the rents for six years is given 'power to sell' without any previous investigation of title, the trusts of the settlement attaching thenceforth to the purchase money instead of to the land. This certainly could not be allowed with any justice to incumbrancers and reversioners if the life owner could sell at any reduction, however ruinous, and would necessitate importing again the preliminary investigation of title which it is one of the main objects of the Bill to get rid of and which would stop the sale of many properties on the very threshold. Secondly, the removal of this limit would greatly widen the area of dispute and imperil the newly established social peace. The narrower the limits can be made without injustice the easier and more pacific the process will be; and the State as the honest broker should do all it can to bring the parties to agreement. At the National Convention held in Dublin in Easter week, Mr. William O'Brien and other leaders frankly advised the tenants to combine to keep down the price and prevent the weaker brethren from giving too much. It is only fair to add that Mr. O'Brien expressly deprecated 'any violent or unfriendly action' in this connection, and so long as there is no boycotting or intimidation no one can complain of such united action, though, remembering the history even of the past twelve months, 'combination' is an ominous word. But at any rate no one can deprive the tenants of their legal right to combine; they will all be free agents so far as the landlord is concerned. The mere possibility of combination will prevent an exorbitant or even unreasonable price being demanded. No doubt some landlords will get out on more favourable terms than others owing to their circumstances as to incumbrances &c., but the vast majority will be willing to sell if they can do so without loss. On the other hand, though they fully share the tenants' desire for peace, they have no intention of making peace at any price or of selling in a panic, and any attempt to dictate terms wholesale will simply exclude the most solvent estates from the operation of the Act. Principles (2) and (3) seem therefore somewhat impaired by the limits being extended, and would be well nigh abandoned by the omission of the maximum limit of reduction.

The next principle which seems to me imperfectly carried out is that of safeguards against uneconomic conditions. The provisions for

this purpose are (1) the retention by the State of one-eighth of the purchase money in the form of a permanent-rent-charge, giving a right to inspection and control, and (2) a system of 'espionage' by rate collectors, registrars of births and deaths, and the Valuation Office, for the discovery of subdivision or subletting. As regards (1) no one in Ireland, except the Land Nationalisers led by Mr. Davitt, has a good word for it unless reduced to a peppercorn, in which case it would lose the one recommendation it has for the landlords of slightly easing the finance by reducing the rate of the tenant's instalments from 3*l.* 5*s.* to 3*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* per cent. It may be mere sentiment—for of course such a rent-charge is the same as a quit-rent under which most estates in Ireland are held and which nowise impairs the absolute ownership—but evidently there is a deep-rooted prejudice against it in the minds of the tenants, and under these circumstances it would hardly seem worth retaining, unless its effectiveness for the object in view were amply proved. In any case, for what it is worth as a safeguard (which in my opinion is not much), the State has the power for sixty-eight years, and if by that time it has not taken effective and positive measures for establishing economic conditions further restrictions and merely negative remedies will be of little avail. The only real cure is to be sought, as in Denmark, Germany, France, and Northern Italy, through (a) agricultural co-operation in all its various forms accompanied by (b) State aid on the educational side, and in other matters such as transport, which are beyond the reach of individual effort or local associations, and must be dealt with on national lines by a central authority. The first (a) has already made considerable progress under the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, though there is room for almost indefinite extension; and the second (b) is being earnestly taken in hand by the Congested Districts Board in the south and west and by the Agricultural Department over the rest of the country. Both systems would be brought more rapidly and completely within the reach of the 'un-economic' peasant if the suggestion of Mr. W. F. Bailey in his recent report on the 'Present Condition of Tenant Purchasers'<sup>5</sup> were adopted of appointing inspectors to supervise the working of the Purchase Acts rather as advisers than in any detective spirit, an arrangement which would be more effective than any amount of 'espionage,' and infinitely less invidious and irritating.

Lastly, I come to the 'bonus,' and this of course is the crux of the whole matter. Without a 'bonus' the scheme would work but on a small scale and could not approach to a final solution. Heavily incumbered owners might make a profit by selling at (say) twenty-five years' purchase<sup>6</sup> (which would give the tenant the mean reduction of 20 per cent.) and paying off charges bearing 4½ or 4¼ per cent. interest, and this might suffice to compensate them for the loss they

<sup>5</sup> Commons Return, No. 92 of 1903.

<sup>6</sup> For simplicity's sake the mean is taken throughout.

must sustain on reinvesting the proceeds of the 4 per cent. security, which they are selling, in trustee stocks at 3, or at the outside  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , per cent. And accordingly something of the kind is provided, though the word is carefully avoided, not only in the Bill, but in Mr. Wyndham's speech, if I remember right, and though the clauses dealing with it are far from clear. Moreover, the manner in which it is allocated, on a scale in inverse proportion to the amount of the purchase money, has found no acceptance in any quarter in Ireland. Last and worst of all, the amount (12,000,000*l.*) is quite insufficient to bring about anything like universal sales or achieve finality,<sup>7</sup> even if it were treated frankly as a 'bonus,' and not mortgaged to pay for law costs &c., as seems to be proposed.

Nor is this question to be regarded as merely for the advantage of either class in Ireland or even of both. As pointed out above, not the least important of the consequences to be expected from such a Bill is the promotion of a better feeling between the two countries, which will hinge very largely on this 'bonus' question, according as it is handled in a broad and generous spirit or a haggling calculating one. In Ireland the twelve millions is universally regarded as Irish money, inasmuch as Mr. Wyndham was careful to explain that it would practically be recouped by savings, for which there should certainly be ample room, in Irish administration, and for this it is surely plausible to urge that Ireland should get credit. Nay, would it not be sound policy, and even good business, to encourage such economies by ear-marking the whole amount saved for purely Irish purposes? In fact, Mr. Wyndham himself practically admitted the principle when he said in introducing the Bill, 'May not Ireland come to this House on a Unionist basis and say, "May not these economies be used for that object which we prize above all others?"'

<sup>7</sup> Assuming the permanent rent-charge is abandoned and that ten out of the twelve millions were given as an all-round *bonus of 10 per cent.* on the 100 millions at which Mr. Wyndham estimates the total purchase money, an owner selling at twenty-five years' purchase (which gives the tenants the mean reduction of 20 per cent. below second term rent), would escape loss if he paid off encumbrances amounting to seven years' purchase of his rental and bearing  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest or upwards, if he could reinvest the balance (72 per cent.) of purchase money at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Below that line no difficulty would arise on this score, but above it the owner could not sell without loss except at a price proportionately increased. This would certainly exclude a considerable number of gilt-edged estates as they may be called, and probably among them many of the largest. I subjoin the figures:

*Estate of £100 a year Rental with Mortgage of £700 bearing  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.*

Landlord's present income	£	s.	d.	Purchase money = £100 - 20 capitalised
Less agency . . . . .	100	0	0	at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
£700 at $4\frac{1}{2}$ . . . . .	5	0	0	= £2,461 + 10 per cent. bonus
	29	15	0	246
	34	15	0	= £2,707
	65	5	0	
				£2,707
				less mortgage 700
				£2,007 at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. = £65 4s. 6d.

But whether the bonus is English or Irish money there is no question of its involving any appreciable charge to the taxpayer. The difficulties of the present financial situation are generally recognised in Ireland, and there is no disposition to make any unfair demand on the Imperial Exchequer. But how does the case stand? Mr. Wyndham has already 'saved 440,000*l.* a year during the last few years,' and pledges the Government to save 250,000*l.* a year more within five years 'as a minimum estimate.' Now, Ireland might fairly claim credit for the past savings of 440,000*l.*, but, even without that, 250,000*l.* is 3½ per cent. on 7,692,300*l.*, which is a great deal more than could possibly be called for within five years. Indeed, if the total 'bonus' were increased from twelve to twenty millions and the advances spread over fifteen years—a very moderate estimate of the time required—the amount required in five years could hardly exceed seven millions.

Twenty millions would have bridged the gulf, insured finality, and appealed to the Irish imagination. Beside Mr. Morley's bold though far from reckless estimate of twenty-two,<sup>8</sup> Mr. Wyndham's twelve looks poor indeed. Perhaps Mr. Morley had in mind Burke's maxim, 'Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom.' At any rate, it is magnanimity rather than pecuniary liberality that is wanted.

I must pass on to say a word on certain exclusions. First, it is to be regretted that the capital advance to any one tenant should be limited to 3,000*l.*, even apart from the apparent hardship to the individual tenants affected, though there is unfortunately only too good reason for some such limit, for it is estimated that the farms above this line represent some 2,500,000*l.* rental as compared with the 4,000,000*l.* Mr. Wyndham deals with below that level, while the families comprised in the former class would not number a tenth of those in the latter; and even Mr. Wyndham's maximum of 150 millions would not suffice for them all. It must be remembered, however, that their exclusion may in many cases prevent the sale of whole estates if the limit is absolute and invariable. The 'Ashbourne' Amending Act of 1888 gave a discretion to the Land Commission of increasing the advance up to 5,000*l.* where 'expedient for the purpose of carrying out sales on the estate of the same landlord,' and it is to be hoped that this discretion is not abrogated by the Bill, as Mr. Redmond seems to suppose. On the other hand, no doubt many of these large farmers could find the balance of the purchase money above 3,000*l.*, while in some cases farms of this size might be divided with advantage; but without some provision for these cases hundreds of smaller men may be shut out along with him by the exclusion of a single large farmer.

Space forbids me to go into the case of the evicted tenants,

<sup>8</sup> In debate on the Address, 24th of February, 1903. It is noteworthy that Mr. Morley's estimate of the total rental to be dealt with is the same as Mr. Wyndham's, viz. 4,000,000*l.*

some of whom are excluded possibly by inadvertence, or the congested districts, but there is one exclusion of a whole class, viz. the labourers, which I cannot altogether pass over. I have for many years advocated opportunity being given to the labourers occupying Union cottages, built by Boards of Guardians, to buy their holdings in the same way as the farmers; and every year deepens my conviction of the mischief of the present system for the labourers themselves, for the ratepayers, and even for the farmers. This is not the occasion to discuss the matter at length, and perhaps it will be said that this Bill is a Land Bill, not a Labourers' Bill, and I admit that it would be dealt with more effectually in a separate measure. But, depend upon it, the labour side of the land question cannot safely be ignored, quite apart from the question of justice or desert, and independence and the magic of ownership with them as with the farmers is the surest foundation on which to build up character and durable institutions. The provisions of the Bill regarding them are very meagre, and there will probably be no time to consider them adequately, still less to add to them, and it might therefore be better to postpone the whole matter this year; but there should be a distinct understanding that this branch of the question should be dealt with in a comprehensive spirit next year.

One word more as to the exclusions generally. They seriously invade the first principle I have stated as underlying the whole structure of the Bill—namely, the abolition of dual ownership—and no serious attempt is made to amend the system for the excluded unfortunates left under its baneful influence, while Part III., which modifies that system in some respects, is a very doubtful improvement. I am far from complaining that Mr. Wyndham leaves undisturbed the 'judicial' tenants' right to a periodical revision of rent which is an essential part of any system of rent-fixing by the State; nor am I suggesting that the tenants should be coerced into purchasing by exclusion from the Land Act of 1881. But such revision need not necessarily involve periodical revaluation of the land, in which the mischievous part of the revision consists—which rewards only the bad farmer and gives no security to the improving tenant. If we are really to get practical universal abolition of dual ownership by purchase, it would be waste of time to tinker at the Act of 1881, in which case most of Part III. would be better omitted altogether. On the other hand, if the exclusions prove of serious dimensions (which Heaven forbid!), some more effective means must be found for removing this blot. I still hope and believe it may not be necessary.

I will only add that, though an Irish landlord, I have approached this question with a profound sense of the various interests involved—agrarian, social, political, national, imperial; and I trust I have not wholly failed to treat it with a due regard for those great public interests.

MONTEAGLE.

## THE CRISIS IN THE CHURCH

### A REPLY TO LORD HALIFAX

THE majority of the House of Commons who voted for the Church Discipline Bill will be interested to see their action receive the complete though unintentional justification afforded by Lord Halifax's article in last month's *Nineteenth Century*. He occupied, I believe, a seat in the Peers' Gallery during the debate. From this coign of vantage he could not of course contribute his views to the discussion. Had some good fortune placed his article in the form of a speech before us, we should have all recognised how vain was the notion that Lord Halifax and his friends are to be suppressed by the paternal pressure of episcopal discipline.

The questions raised by the article are of great interest in their legal and constitutional aspects, apart from any theological importance which may attach to them. Lord Halifax defines the attitude which a section of the clergy maintain towards the Sovereign, Parliament, the Ecclesiastical Courts and the Episcopate, and he also states the grounds on which they seek to reconcile their claims with obligations resting upon the ministry of the National Church as by Law established.

The debate proceeded in the House of Commons upon the general admission that a condition of lawlessness exists in the Church of England. Lord Halifax quite accepts the proposition; but the law breakers, he says, are not an extreme section who have revived mediæval teaching and practices to the disturbance of the general harmony, but consist of the Protestant members of the Church who acquiesce in her creed and formularies as they have obtained during the three centuries following the Reformation. He is all for the enforcement of the law. 'No one denies,' he tells us, 'that the law ought to be enforced.' But the law which Lord Halifax would enforce is a version revised and expurgated by himself, with its canons so framed that they entrap his opponents and let his friends go free. The sword of justice is to have full play provided he can direct its blows. He gives us some illustrations of the class of clerical delinquents against whom this wholesome rigour might be exercised with advantage to the Church. It need scarcely be said



that none of the offenders is of his own school. To use a phrase appearing in another connection, he would 'drag before the Courts' the parish priest who omits 'to say Matins and Evensong daily,' who 'mutilates the Athanasian Creed'; who does not provide for the celebration of the Eucharist on Saints' days, and 'at an hour which does not impose too great a strain in observing the Church's rule of fasting Communion'; who does not reserve the Sacrament or keep 'Friday abstinence and the Fast of Lent' or disregards 'vigils and Saints' days' and the like. It would probably turn out that much of this litigation would be stifled at the birth by the exercise of the right of every jurisdiction to protect its procedure from vexatious abuse. There is a glow of inquisitorial fire in the ardour of Lord Halifax's wrath against one or two Broad Churchmen whom he regards as holding heterodox opinions. He urges the Diocesan of one of these clergymen to make short work of him: to 'warn his parishioners against his teaching, to authorise another priest to perform services in the parish in some temporary church until it pleased God to remove' the lawful but unorthodox incumbent 'elsewhere.' So he is handed over, if not to the Civil, at least to the Supernatural Powers. 'It would create a scandal, no doubt,' Lord Halifax admits. One wonders what would be the comment if a similar scandal arose from episcopal action equally prompt and vigorous but directed against a member of the party of the Catholic revival.

Lord Halifax enjoys a happy persuasion of security in thus invoking the terrors of the law against those he deems lax or heterodox; because, as he explains, he and his friends enjoy a complete immunity.

*First.*—Parliament cannot touch them. Its authority in matters of Church discipline has been destroyed by the admission among its members of Presbyterians, Dissenters and Jews. 'The tacit concordat' between Church and State has thus been broken. The 'Acts of Uniformity are now dead,' and the 'Church reverts to her original and inherent liberty.' This method of repealing statutes is new to jurisprudence and the Constitution. It would be interesting to know by what recondite ecclesiastical canon so extraordinary a proposition is supported. If it were applied to the sphere of public morals, as Lord Halifax applies it to Church government, it might with equal force be contended that a marriage within the prohibited degrees or the second marriage of a married person was an exercise of 'original and inherent liberty' to which the individual had reverted because the admission of Dissenters, Agnostics, and Jews to Parliament had invalidated the Acts against incest and bigamy, and that these statutes were 'now dead.'

But in his treatment of the authority of Parliament in our own times—crippled as he contends by the presence of Nonconforming members—Lord Halifax does not show the courage of his argument.

He is no less disrespectful towards the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth—free as they were of this infirmity—when their statutes present obstacles to his claims. He has to get rid of the Act of Uniformity of that reign. The theory of the broken concordat owing to the admission of Jews and Dissenters will not serve. It is enough, therefore, to sweep the statute aside by the question, 'Would Mr. Keble, would Dr. Pusey have admitted the right of Parliament to determine the ritual of the Church?' This posthumous imputation of unexpressed opinions to deceased divines is a still more novel and somewhat ghostly method of reforming the law.

*Secondly.*—Lord Halifax disposes of all interpretations of Church formularies pronounced within recent years by the Ecclesiastical Courts and markedly by the Privy Council which are in conflict with the teaching and practices of the Catholic revival. These 'Courts have no authority over the consciences' of the clergy who disregard their decisions. They are interpretations of the rubrics for 'which the Privy Council alone is responsible.' These judgments of the supreme tribunal of the National Church give him no difficulty. 'They have been very generally repudiated by the episcopate and by the Church at large.' In what form and by what sanction this vague reversal of judicial pronouncements by the 'Church at large' has taken place is not explained. Mr. Bright once said in effect that the prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister had been rescinded by the public sentiment. This application of Lord Halifax's principle of the tacit rescission of unpalatable legal obligations by bodies 'at large' who are called upon to obey them may satisfy him that there is something defective in his easy method of reversing legal judgments.

Curiously enough he blames the Bishops, not for accepting as binding the decrees of the first Ecclesiastical Court in the realm—he hints the contrary—but because their repudiation of the Privy Council judgments has not been emphatic and outspoken enough. 'While,' he says, 'they have not ventured, at least in later times, or perhaps even wished, to enforce the interpretations of the Privy Council as a true exposition of the law and rubrics of the Church, they have never had the courage or the principle openly and unmistakably to vindicate their own authority as against that of the Privy Council,' i.e. 'their authority as Catholic Bishops acting on Catholic principles.' It would be interesting to know if the Bishops accept as true the first part of the above statement. If so, the attempt to abolish the episcopal veto needs no further justification.

One is a little surprised that so well-equipped and candid a controversialist as Lord Halifax should, in adopting this familiar clamour against the Privy Council, ignore the fact that this tribunal consists of the Sovereign himself, acting on the advice of his council, who report their opinion to him, and that its constitutional and ecclesiastical authority is sufficiently established for all practical purposes

by the Book of Common Prayer, which makes the king 'supreme governor of the Church of England' and of 'all estates of the realm whether they be ecclesiastical or civil.'

*Thirdly.*—Lord Halifax, having got rid first of Parliament by wiping out the Acts of Uniformity, and then of the Ecclesiastical Court by the voice of the 'Church at large,' his next obstacle is the action of the bishops themselves. But he finds it no less easy to dispose of their decisions when there is any danger of their going against him. Every ecclesiastical ruling to which obedience can be rightly claimed must comply with the following conditions:

(a) It must be the judgment of a bishop or 'ecclesiastical person.'

(b) It must be 'arrived at and delivered on principles recognised by the Church,' i.e. 'the whole Church, including the rest of Christendom' and in 'obedience' to 'the duty which the English Episcopate owes to the *Primate of Christendom* and the rest of the Catholic Episcopate East and West.' '*Rome*,' he adds, '*may reject our Bishops' claims, but that rejection cannot relieve them from the obligation those claims impose.*'

These conditions of the validity of episcopal ordinances make the position of Lord Halifax and his friends quite secure. They disregard Parliament with its Presbyterian and Nonconformist taint, the Sovereign and 'supreme governor of the Church of England' in council; they act only in obedience to the 'Primate of Christendom and the rest of the Catholic Episcopate East and West.' These 'foreign jurisdictions,' condemned by the thirty-seventh Article of Religion to which the Bishops are invited to defer, have already, as Lord Halifax knows, pronounced on his side, and their influence will obviate all danger of decisions adverse to his claims.

He gives practical effect to these principles by setting aside the Lambeth Opinions in reference to incense and reservation, because they are not arrived at in conformity with the conditions thus prescribed. The Archbishops showed no deference to the authority of the Primate of Christendom, and their decisions do not, therefore, bind the Catholic conscience. With the Pope of Rome 'come to judgment' the last frail barrier between the Church of England as Lord Halifax conceives it and the 'rest of Christendom' falls to the ground. The Reformation Settlement and all it accomplished has indeed vanished into mist.

Lord Halifax is satisfied that the Bishops are on the side of the Catholic revival. They are to aid and enforce it. He appeals to them to assert their 'authority' as 'Catholic prelates,' and adds that 'they will not deny they are such.' He places before them as their ideal Archbishop Laud. 'What Archbishop of Canterbury in later times appeals to the heart and imagination of Churchmen like Archbishop Laud, who has so deep a place in their veneration?' He wore the crown of martyrdom. He fell a victim to the 'scaffold

and the block on Tower Hill,' and as he points out, if his true follower in these days of less summary but still painful penalties would 'only act really consistently with that Catholic Faith and those Catholic principles which he professes to hold . . . he would do a work of incalculable value not merely to the Church of England but to the whole of Christendom, but it would be at the price of a life of which every day was a martyrdom.' Lord Halifax argues at some little length that the rites of ordination, 'the Mass' and the confessional are of substantial 'identity' in the Anglican and Roman Churches, and he contends that this conformity to a common standard shows on which side the Church of England 'ranges herself in the controversy between Catholics and Protestants.'

The Bishops thus brought into line with the 'rest of Christendom' under its Primate are called upon to 'proclaim the Catholic Faith'—which seems indeed to be a new religion in this country—to insist among other doctrines upon the 'grace conferred by the sacraments:' on the 'presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist:' on the '*power of the keys and the gift of absolution.*'

He then makes a frank disclosure of the plan of the ecclesiastical campaign which underlies the illusory mists—roseate with the hues of forbearance, charity, gentleness and the rest—spread by the Prime Minister and the Vicar General over the picture. The Protestant faction in the Church must be got rid of. 'They have to be shown that they are in the position of the lodger who is trying to turn the rightful owner of the house out of doors.' Protestant teaching must be extirpated. The days of grace are growing to an end. 'The patience' of the real householder 'may be' and apparently has been already 'exhausted.' 'Protestantism has effected a *de facto* lodgment within the borders of the Church, *an anomaly in itself hardly tolerable*, which hampers the Church in her office of proclaiming the truth at every turn, and which makes any really consistent action on the part of her Bishops as Catholic prelates to be at the present moment almost impossible.' . . . 'It remains true that within the Church of England there are practically something very like two religions.' He prescribes the conditions on which alone he will tolerate or hold any truce with the 'other religion.' *First* it must not strengthen its fortifications: it must not be allowed to 'consolidate the position of those within the Church who from a Catholic point of view ought never to have been allowed to occupy the position they now hold'; and *secondly* he and his friends must have a free hand; 'nothing must be done by the rulers of the Church to make the recovery of Catholic doctrine and practice more difficult.'

The fact that such impossible conditions are even submitted shows how unbounded is Lord Halifax's confidence in the support and protection of the Bishops. He counts on their aid in evicting the 'something very like another religion.' The 'Church must organise herself *under her own leaders the Bishops*: she must do *for herself*

what her needs require. She must *take* what will not be given. If done *wisely* and *prudently*, there need be no insuperable difficulty in such action. *Governments and Parliament will only be too glad to be rid of Ecclesiastical affairs.*' The italics here and elsewhere are mine.

Lord Halifax counts, not without reason, upon the supineness of the Ministry and the indifference of Parliament. His faith, however, in the co-operation of the Bishops in this conspiracy against the government of the Church shows more of mediæval sentiment than of the logical application of his own principles. Why should Parliament be disqualified for ecclesiastical legislation by the presence of Nonconformists, while the Bishops receive an unquestionable Catholic patent from the hands of the Sovereign and civil governor of the realm on the recommendation of a Prime Minister who was possibly at one time a Jew, and who may very probably to-morrow be a Unitarian? Recent Premiers have been High-Churchmen. Had the Bench been filled by a fifteen years' premiership of, let us say, Lord Palmerston or Sir William Harcourt, what would Lord Halifax have said of the Bishops then?

I have—I fear, at great length—called attention to this exposition of the views of the advanced party in the Church. Nothing can be more valuable at this juncture than such a manifesto. I have made larger quotations than a consideration for the patience of my readers would justify, because I have feared lest a paraphrase of such remarkable propositions should create a doubt of my version of the author's meaning.

Protestant Churchmen may well indeed protest against the Oxford Movement, being allowed to continue unchecked until their exclusion from the communion of their fathers is complete. But mere protests against the denial of their right of membership in the National Church will not now suffice. They have to encounter a proud and defiant party, which raises a menacing front, claims to speak in the name of the Church, boasts the approval and sympathy of her 'Catholic prelates,' threatens with excommunication the Protestant faction which have '*de facto* obtained a lodgment within her borders—an anomaly hardly tolerable.' It is idle to hope to appease such assailants by pious exercises, by a parliamentary litany of peace and goodwill, and an obsequious appeal to the Bishops whose timidity, unconcern or sympathetic indulgence during the last sixty years have allowed this party to gather head and to assert a claim to dominate the whole Establishment. Litigation in the Church Courts, while they have some authority left, is doubtless an unpleasant medicine: but still more drastic and repugnant remedies may be necessary later on.

It is outside the original scope of this article to comment on the course pursued by the Bishops during the last twenty-five years, or to speculate upon the causes which have closed the Church Courts or

kept them idle for that period. The least controvertible indication of the policy of the episcopal bench is to be found in the history of the litigation by which it was sought in the year 1878 to compel the late Bishop Mackarness of Oxford to allow a suit to be instituted against the Rev. Thomas Carter of Clewer. Lord Bramwell on juridical grounds, and in a characteristic vein of trenchant humour, condemned the exercise of a discretion which prohibited proceedings for a breach of the law for reasons personal to the accused person or connected with the policy or administration of the law itself. The issue of this protracted struggle established by tacit proclamation an episcopal interdict against resort to the Church Courts. Two propositions were made clear: first, that the episcopal bench had set its face against further litigation at the suit of the laity; secondly, that the bishops were not themselves disposed of their own volition to put the law in motion against law-breaking clergy. No suggested reasons for this policy can be universally attributed to the members of the bench. The 'scandal' of litigation and strife may have seemed more serious than the spread of the mediæval revival. Sympathy with the Catholic movement was probably stronger in some cases than zeal for the administration of the law. The cost of instituting proceedings by the diocesan himself may well have seemed prohibitive. Most powerful of all, no doubt, has been the disposition to trust unduly to the weight of official influence in strange oblivion of Lord Halifax's position that the counsels and opinions of the episcopal office count for nothing if they merely derive their authority from the law of the Church as declared by statute and the courts, and do not instead found their obligation upon the duty of obedience which Anglican prelates owe to the Primate of Christendom and other foreign jurisdictions.

It is not strange that laymen who had at great cost obtained a clear exposition of the law on important points should have accepted the tacit invitation of the bishops to leave in their hands the duty and responsibility of enforcing compliance with its provisions. The result we see in the present position of the Catholic revival, accompanied by the declaration which Lord Halifax makes of its claims. We have had silent courts, and a vociferous Mr. Kensit: no law suits, but brawling in church: Lady Wimborne's League and the Liverpool Bill: last, but not least, Lord Halifax's article: in short the 'Crisis in the Church.'

The apologists for the bench in the recent debate were not very convincing in their criticism of Mr. Taylor's Bill. Living bishops had but in few cases vetoed suits; in very few indeed had they been asked to allow them. But there was no admission that they had broken with the practice of their predecessors for the last twenty-five years, or any undertaking that they were now prepared to sanction litigation. It was true that the obligation of enforcing

the law rested with the episcopate, and that there was not a single recorded suit by any bishop against any one of the several hundred clergy acting in admitted breach of the law throughout the country. The main if not sole reason assigned for this inaction was the cost of litigation. If so, why had not Parliament been asked to throw this burden upon some public fund? Why was not Mr. Taylor's Bill accepted, and this and other amendments engrafted on it? The episcopal veto was alleged to be a necessary appanage to the dignity and influence of the episcopal office. It cannot surely be true that the exclusive right of authorising, instituting, and conducting litigation with his own clergy in his own or the provincial courts is an essential part of the spiritual jurisdiction of a diocesan. No authority was vouched for the proposition: much could be found the other way. It involves a strange combination of the pastoral, judicial, and executive functions in the ecclesiastical sphere, and does no little violence to the accepted views of merely civil jurisprudence. The ideal presented apparently is, that the bishop should discharge in his own person the irreconcilable duties of exhorting, prosecuting, judging, condemning, interdicting, and depriving his recalcitrant clergy.

Elementary principles are often the surest guides of policy. *Fiat justitia*. While the law exists let it be enforced. Why close the Courts of the Church when every other tribunal in the country is open to the poorest suitor who complains of the most trivial wrong? Law, which is certainly better than riot and the martyrdom of rioters, may prove no remedy. It will at least have been tried. And the trial of all available expedients, even if it fail, has at least one satisfaction: it exposes the worst. To know the worst of the present system of Church government is better than a false security or the unrest of apprehension. There are still the unexhausted resources of legislation which may hold the promise of other and better systems for trial in the future.

Meantime the object of my article has been accomplished if I have said something to vindicate the action of the majority of the House of Commons. While Parliament is charged with the duty of government in regard to the Church of England, it cannot without the gravest responsibility dismiss the appeal to enforce the law of the Church in the sense established by the Statutes and Ecclesiastical Courts of the realm. Those who supported the recent Bill have at least clear consciences. They have done and are ready to do what legislation can effect to save the Church from the spread of the movement of which Lord Halifax is the distinguished exponent and advocate. Without the assistance of the Government these efforts will be in vain. The responsibility for the protraction of a *status quo* which Protestant Churchmen find intolerable rests with the Prime Minister and those who support him.

J. LAWSON WALTON.

## *THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY*

### *IN GERMANY*

ALMOST every country possesses a more or less turbulent party which is considered to be a party of subversion: Great Britain has the Irish Nationalists, France the Nationalists, Germany the Social Democrats. That subversive party represents either unruly or unhappy men of limited numbers who are united by a common grievance, such as the Irish Nationalists; or it is composed of a moderate number of malcontents of every kind, class, and description, who are loosely held together by their common desire to fish in troubled waters, such as the French Nationalists; or it consists of vast multitudes of all sorts and conditions of men, such as the Social Democrats in Germany, and is then the unmistakable symptom of deep-seated, wide-spread, and almost universal popular discontent. In Germany alone, of all countries in and out of Europe, it has happened that by far the strongest political Party has received neither sympathy nor consideration at the hands of the Government. Instead, it has again and again, officially and semi-officially, been branded as the enemy of Society and of the Country, 'Die Umsturzpartei,' the party of subversion. For instance, at the Sedan banquet on the 2nd of September 1895 the present Emperor declared in a speech that the members of that vast Party which had polled 1,786,000 votes in 1893 were 'a band of fellows not worthy to bear the name of Germans,' and on the 8th of September in a letter to his Chancellor His Majesty called the Social Democrats 'enemies to the divine order of things, without a fatherland.'

It can hardly be doubted that in the future, and perhaps earlier than is generally expected, the Social Democrats will be called upon to play a great part in German politics, and possibly also in international politics, though their influence upon foreign policy would be indirect and unintentional. It would, therefore, seem worth while to look into the history, views, composition, and aims of that interesting Party, which may be said to be in many respects unique. As the full history of the Social Democratic Party in Germany would be as bulky as that of the British Liberal Party, it will, of



course, be impossible to give more than a mere sketch of it in the pages of this Review. It may, however, be found that a sketch brings out the essential points and light and shade more clearly and more strongly than would a lengthy and detailed account.

The creation of the Social Democratic Party in Germany, like the inauguration of many other political movements in that country, is not due to the practical politician but to the bookish doctrinaire. Roughly speaking, it may be said that that Party has been created by the writings of the well-known Socialist authors Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Ferdinand Lassalle. It suffices to mention these names in order to understand that German Social Democracy was at first animated by the spirit of the learned and well-meaning, but somewhat nebulous and very unpractical, idealists who had read many books, and who sincerely wished to lead democracy from its misery and suffering straight into a millennium of their own creation without delay and without any intermediate stations. The fate of the followers of Marx, Engels, and Lassalle varied greatly. Some of them dissented and founded comparatively unimportant political schools and groups of their own, some became anarchists like Johann Most, some lost themselves in theoretical speculations and became respectable professors, but the vast majority of Lassalle's followers developed into the Social Democratic Party in Germany, and that Party became, by gradual evolution, the level-headed political representative of German labour under the able guidance of talented working men. Its present chief is the turner, August Bebel, and among the most prominent members of the Party are workmen such as Mr. Grillenberger, a locksmith; Mr. Auer, a saddler; Messrs. Molkenbuhr and Meister, cigar workers; Mr. Bernstein, the son of an engine driver; Mr. Von Vollmar, formerly a post official. Working men such as those mentioned manage, lead, and control the Party, which may be said to embrace about 2,500,000 men, and maintain perfect order and absolute discipline amongst that vast number.

From its small beginnings up to the time of its present greatness, German Social Democracy has been democratic in the fullest sense of the word. Some working men of a similar stamp to those mentioned, together with Wilhelm Liebknecht, a poor journalist, created the Party, organised it, and led it. These leaders were always under the constant and strict control of the members of the Party. Individual members often inquired, sometimes in an uncomfortably democratic spirit, not only into the expenditure of the meagre Party Fund, which for a long time did not run into three figures, and of which every halfpenny had to be accounted for, but even cross-examined the Party leader, the aged Liebknecht, as to his household expenses, and censured him for taking a salary as editor-in-chief of the *Vorwärts*, the great Social Democratic Party organ,

and keeping a servant, instead of living like an ordinary working man. The idea of absolute equality, which is often found in small democratic societies, but which is usually lost when the society expands into a Party, especially if that Party is of enormous size, has been strictly preserved by the Social Democrats in Germany. This conservation of its original character was all the easier as the Party had neither a great nobleman nor a distinguished professor for a figure-head, nor even wealthy brewers and bankers for contributors to the Party Fund, who might have influenced the Party policy as they do in this country. Thus the Social Democratic Party was, and has remained, essentially a Labour Party; it has preserved its truly democratic, one might almost say its proletarian, character. However, it has been sensible enough not to write consistency on its banners, and has quietly dropped one by one the Utopian views and doctrines which it had taken over from the bookish doctrinaires who were its originators.

The Constitution of the German Empire gave universal suffrage to its citizens, and the number of Social Democratic votes, which had amounted to only 124,700 in 1871, rose rapidly to 352,000 in 1874, and to 493,300 in 1877. Bismarck had been watching the rapid development of Social Democracy with growing uneasiness and dislike, and was casting about for a convenient pretext to strike at it when, on the 11th of May 1878, Hödel, an individual of illegitimate birth, besotted by drink, and degraded by vice and consequent disease, fired a pistol at the Emperor William. Long before his attempt on the Emperor, Hödel had been expelled from the Social Democratic Party to which he had once belonged, on account of his personal character and his anarchist leanings, and he had joined the 'Christian Socialist Working Men's Party' of Mr. Stöcker, the Court preacher. Consequently it was not possible, by any stretch of imagination, to lay the responsibility for his attempt at the doors of the Social Democratic Party. Nevertheless, Bismarck endeavoured to turn this attempt to account in the same way in which, in 1874, he had laid the moral responsibility for Kullmann's murderous attempt on himself upon the Clerical Party against which he was then fighting. He at once brought forward a Bill for the suppression of Social Democracy, but that Bill was rejected by 251 votes against 57.

By one of those fortunate coincidences which have always played so conspicuous a part in Bismarck's career, a second attempt on the Emperor's life was made by Nobiling, only three weeks after that of Hödel, and this time the aged monarch was very seriously wounded. At one moment the doctors feared for his life, but in the end the copious bleeding was a blessing in disguise, for it rejuvenated the Emperor in mind and body.

The two murderous attempts, following one another so closely,

naturally infuriated the population of Germany, and, though Nobiling also was not a Social Democrat, Bismarck succeeded this time in turning the feelings of the people against Social Democracy. He immediately dissolved the Reichstag and fanned the universal indignation at the crime to fever heat by his powerful press organisation; in the numerous journals throughout the land which were influenced from the Chancellery in Berlin it was constantly declared that these repeated outrages were the dastardly work of Social Democracy. At the same time a reign of terrorism against Social Democracy was initiated by the German police authorities. Countless political meetings of the Social Democrats were forbidden, a large number of Social Democratic newspapers were suppressed, and the law courts inflicted in one month no less than 500 years of imprisonment for *lèse-majesté*.

During the enormous excitement prevailing and in the seething turmoil caused by those two attempts, by the critical state of the Emperor, by the passionate campaign of the semi-official press against the Social Democratic Party, and by the relentless persecutions waged against the members of that Party by the police, the new elections took place, and, naturally enough, their result was that a majority in favour of exceptional legislation against Social Democracy was returned into the Reichstag. Bismarck brought the famous Socialist Law before Parliament without delay, and it was quickly passed, and was published on the 21st of October in the *Reichsanzeiger*.

Then the reign of terror, of which the Social Democrats had already received a foretaste, began in earnest for that unhappy Party. Within eight months the authorities dissolved 222 working men's unions and other associations, and suppressed 127 periodical publications and 278 other publications, by virtue of the discretionary powers given to them by the Socialist Law. Innumerable *bona fide* co-operative societies were compelled by the police to close their doors without any trial and without the possibility of appeal, and numerous Social Democrats were equally summarily expelled from Germany at a few days' notice, through the discretion which the new Act had vested in the police. Many were placed under police supervision, others were not allowed to change their domicile. Thousands of Social Democrats were thus reduced to beggary, many being thrown into prison, and many fleeing to Switzerland, England, or the United States.

The first effect of the new law upon Social Democracy was staggering. The entire Party organisation, the entire Party press, and the right of the members of the Party to free speech, had been destroyed by the Government, and for the moment the Party had become a disorganised and terrified mob. Everywhere in Germany scenes of tyranny were enacted by the police. In Frankfurt-on-the--

Main, a Social Democrat was buried, and, for some trifling reason, the police attacked the mourners in the very churchyard with drawn swords, and thirty to forty of the men were wounded. In 1886 a collision took place between some Social Democrats and some policemen in plain clothes, who, according to Social Democratic evidence, were not known to be policemen. With incredible severity eleven of the Social Democrats were punished for sedition, some with no less than ten and a half years' penal servitude, some with twelve and a half years of imprisonment. For the moment the Social Democratic Party was staggered by the rapidly succeeding blows. The election of 1878 reduced the number of Social Democratic votes from 493,300 to 437,100, and in the next election, that of 1881, it sank even as low as 312,000.

Prosecutions were not brought merely against such Social Democrats as were considered lawbreakers by the local authorities and the police. On the contrary, the German Government directed the law with particular severity against the intellectual leaders of the Party in Parliament, in the vain hope of thus extirpating it. Bebel and Liebknecht, the heads of the Party and its leaders in the Reichstag, were dragged again and again before the law courts by the public prosecutor, often only in the attempt to construct, by diligent cross-examination, a punishable offence out of some inoffensive words which they had said, and time after time the prosecution collapsed ignominiously, and both men were found not guilty; time after time they were condemned to lengthy terms of imprisonment for *lèse-majesté*, high treason, and intended high treason. Liebknecht received his last conviction of four months of imprisonment, for *lèse-majesté*, as a broken man of nearly seventy years, and even his burial in August 1900 was marked by that petty and annoying police interference under which he had suffered so much during his life. No less than 2,000 wreaths and other floral tributes had been sent by Liebknecht's admirers, yet, in the immense funeral procession, in which about 45,000 people took part, not one wreath, not one banner was to be seen, for the police had forbidden their inclusion in the procession. Though hundreds of thousands of Social Democrats attended the funeral in the procession and in the streets of Berlin, and in spite of the provocative orders of the police, no breach of the peace occurred, no arrest took place, an eloquent testimonial to the orderliness and discipline of the Party of subversion.

Bismarck soon recognised that his policy of force and violence promised to be unsuccessful. Therefore he tried not only to vanquish Social Democracy by breaking up the Party organisation, confiscating its books and documents, by destroying the Party press, and by taking from Social Democrats the right of free speech, but he tried at the same time to reconcile the German working men with the Government that persecuted them by a law instituting State Insurance

for workmen against old age and disablement, in order to entice them away from their leaders, and to make them look to the State for help. However, his Workmen's Insurance Laws failed to fulfil the chief object which they were to serve. According to the Social Democratic leaders the Imperial Insurance scheme kept not one vote from Social Democracy, especially as the Insurance Law did not satisfy the workers by its performance. German workmen complain that the benefits which they derive under the Insurance scheme are purely nominal, that the premiums paid come chiefly out of their own pockets, that the contributions made by the employers are insufficient, and that the cost of the management is excessive. Consequently it is only natural that this law has failed to appease outraged German democracy, and that it is scorned by it as a bribe.

Gradually the terror of prosecution wore off and became familiar to Social Democrats, political meetings were held in secret, Party literature printed in Switzerland was smuggled over the frontier and surreptitiously distributed. By-and-by the Party pulled itself together, and found that determination and perseverance which are only born from adversity, and which are bound to lead individuals and parties possessing these qualities to greatness. The campaign of oppression and the creation of martyrs had done its work. As Bismarck had created the greatness of the Clerical Party by the 'Kulturkampf,' with its prosecution of Roman Catholicism, even so he created the greatness of the Social Democratic Party. Social Democracy began again to take heart, and, from 1881 onwards, we find a marvellous increase in the Social Democratic votes recorded, notwithstanding, or rather because of, all the measures taken against it by the Government. In eighteen years the Social Democratic vote has increased sevenfold. The astonishing progress of the Party since 1881 is apparent from the following table :

Election	Social Democratic Votes polled	Total Votes polled	Percentage of Social Democratic Votes
1881	312,000	5,097,800	6.12 per cent.
1884	550,000	5,863,000	9.68 per cent.
1887	763,100	7,540,900	10.11 per cent.
1890	1,427,300	7,228,500	19.74 per cent.
1893	1,786,700	7,674,000	23.30 per cent.
1898	2,107,076	7,752,700	27.18 per cent.

When Bismarck saw Social Democracy increasing, notwithstanding all his efforts at repression, he tried another method. It happens very frequently in Germany that three, four, or more candidates, representing as many parties, stand for one seat. If in such a case none of the candidates obtains a majority over the combined votes given to all the other candidates, a second poll has to take place between the two candidates who have received the largest number of

votes, whilst the other candidates have to withdraw. In the elections of 1898, for instance, a second poll took place for no less than 48 per cent. of the seats. In order to destroy the chances of Social Democratic candidates in the very frequent second polls, Bismarck and his press used to constantly brand the Social Democratic Party as the State-subverting Party, and to enjoin 'the parties of law and order,' as he called the other parties, to stand shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy of Society and of the Fatherland.

Thirteen years have passed since Bismarck's dismissal, but official Germany has not yet discovered a new method for the treatment of Social Democracy, and therefore it merely copies Bismarck's example. The Social Democratic Party is still loudly denounced to every good patriot as the Party of subversion, which has to be shunned and combated, and thus the election managers of the numerous parties and factions, which number more than a dozen, have, up to now, in case of a second poll, preferred giving the votes of their Party to the candidate of any other Party to incurring the odium in official circles of having helped a Social Democrat into the Reichstag. But voices of protest begin to be heard all over Germany against the official fiction which brands Social Democracy as a pest, the enemy of the Country, of Society, of Monarchy, of Family, and of the Church. In December 1902 Professor Mommsen, the greatest living historian, wrote in the *Nation* :

There must be an end of the superstition, as false as it is perfidious, that the nation is divided into parties of law and order on the one hand, and a party of revolution on the other, and that it is the prime political duty of citizens belonging to the former categories to shun the Labour Party as if it were in quarantine for the plague, and to combat it as the enemy of the State.

In March 1890 Bismarck was dismissed by the present Emperor, and a few months later the exceptional law against Social Democracy disappeared. The net result of that law had been that 1,500 Social Democrats had been condemned to about 1,000 years of imprisonment, and that the Social Democratic vote had risen from 437,158 to 1,427,298. The effect of the Socialist Law with all its persecution was the reverse of what Bismarck had expected, for it has made that Party great. If less drastic means had been employed by Bismarck, if less contempt and contumely had been showered upon Social Democracy by the official classes and Society, and if instead consideration for the legitimate wishes and confidence in the common sense of the working men's Party had been shown by the Government, Social Democracy would not have attained its present formidable strength.

Among the various causes which led to the rupture between the present Emperor and Prince Bismarck, a prominent place may be assigned to the difference in their views with regard to the treatment of Social Democrats. When William the Second came to the throne he

clearly saw the failure of Bismarck's policy of oppression, and, probably influenced by the liberal views of his English mother, resolved to kill Social Democracy with kindness. This idea dictated his well-known retort to Bismarck, 'Leave the Social Democrats to me; I can manage them quite alone!' Even before Bismarck's dismissal William the Second demonstrated to the world his extremely liberal views regarding the German workmen with that astonishing impetuosity and with that complete disregard of the views of his experienced official advisers to which the world has since become accustomed. On the 4th of February 1890 an Imperial rescript was published which lacked the necessary counter-signature of the Imperial Chancellor, whereby the responsibility for that document would have been fixed upon the Government. This Imperial pronouncement declared it to be the duty of the State ' . . . to regulate the time, the hours, and the nature of labour in such a way as to ensure the preservation of health, to fulfil the demands of morality, and to secure the economic requirements of the workers, to establish their equality before the law, and to facilitate the free and peaceful expression of their wishes and grievances.' A second rescript called together an International Conference for the Protection of Workers.

These Imperial manifestations, which emanated directly from the throne, were greeted with jubilation by German democracy, but the extremely liberal spirit which these documents breathed vanished as suddenly as it had appeared, and gave way to more autocratic and directly anti-democratic pronouncements, with that surprising rapidity of change which has become the only permanent and calculable factor in German politics. Whilst the words of the Imperial rescripts were still fresh in every mind, and whilst German democracy still hoped to receive greater consideration at the hands of the Government than heretofore, and looked for a more liberal and more enlightened régime, messages like the following, addressed to democracy, fell from the Imperial lips :

We Hohenzollerns take Our crown from God alone, and to God alone We are responsible in the fulfilment of Our duties.

The soldier and the army, not Parliamentary majorities and resolutions, have welded together the German Empire.

*Suprema lex regis voluntas.*

Only One is master in the country. That am I. Who opposes Me I shall crush to pieces.

*Sic volo, sic jubeo.*

All of you shall have only one will, and that is My will; there is only one law, and that is My law.

Parliamentary opposition of Prussian nobility to their King is a monstrosity.

For Me every Social Democrat is synonymous with enemy of the nation, and of the Fatherland.

On to the battle, for Religion, Morality, and Order, and against the parties of subversion. Forward with God! Dishonourable is he who forsakes his King!

The Emperor did not confine himself to making in public pronouncements highly offensive and hostile to German democracy such as those mentioned, but set himself the task of actively combating Social Democracy. Consciously or unconsciously, he gradually dropped into Bismarck's ways, which he had formerly condemned, and copied, to some extent, Bismarck's methods, Bismarck's tactics, and Bismarck's mistakes. When, on the 13th of October 1895, a manufacturer named Schwartz was murdered in Mülhausen by a workman who had been repeatedly convicted of theft, William the Second telegraphed to his widow, 'Again a sacrifice to the revolutionary movement engendered by the Socialists,' imitating Bismarck's attempt at foisting the guilt for an individual crime upon a Parliamentary Party which then comprised 2,000,000 members.

The Socialist Law of 1878 had been a complete failure, as has already been shown. Nevertheless, the Government tried not exactly to revive it but to introduce, under a different title, a near relative of that law of exception which breathed the same spirit of intolerance and violence, for in 1894 a Bill which is known under the name 'Umsturz Vorlage' (Subversion Bill) was brought out by the Government. This Bill made it punishable 'to attack publicly by insulting utterances Religion, the Monarchy, Family, or Property in a matter conducive to provoke a breach of the peace, or to bring the institutions of the State into contempt.' That Bill, which, with its flexible provisions, would have allowed of the most arbitrary interpretations, and would have virtually given a free hand to the police and to public prosecutors and judges anxious to show their zeal and patriotism in the relentless persecution of Social Democracy, was thrown out in the Imperial Reichstag. Notwithstanding the failure of that Bill another Bill, of similar character but intended for Prussia alone, was laid before the Prussian Diet on the 10th of May 1897, empowering the police to dissolve all meetings 'which do not conform with the law or endanger public security, especially the security of the State or of the public peace.' This Bill also was rejected by the Prussian Diet.

Shortly after this second failure, William the Second made another and still more startling attempt to suppress Social Democracy. On the 5th of September 1898, he declared at a banquet in Oeynhausen, '. . . a Bill is in preparation and will be submitted to Parliament by which every one who tries to hinder a German worker who is willing to work from doing his work, or who incites him to strike, will be punished with penal servitude.' Naturally this announcement, which promised that strikers and strike-agitators would in future be treated as felons, created an enormous sensation throughout the country. After a delay of nine months, which betrayed its evident hesitation, the Government brought out a Bill, which, however, had been considerably toned down with regard to its



promised provisions. Still it was draconic enough, for it made threats against non-strikers, inducing to strike, and picketing, punishable with imprisonment up to one year. Its *pièce de résistance* was the following paragraph :

If, through a strike, the security of the Empire or of one of the single States has been endangered, or if the danger of loss of human lives or of property has been brought about, penal servitude up to three years is to be inflicted on the men, and penal servitude up to five years on the leaders.

This Bill, like that of 1894, possessed an unpleasant elasticity which could make it an instrument of tyranny in the hands of judges anxious to please in an exalted quarter, and the 'Penal Servitude Bill,' which had so rashly and so loudly been announced *urbi et orbi* by His Majesty, shared the ignominious fate of the two Bills before mentioned.

The attempt to pass a Bill of repression directed against Social Democracy through either the Reichstag or the Prussian Diet will probably not be so soon renewed by the Emperor, but those who know William the Second can hardly doubt that His Majesty deeply resents his repeated failure to crush Social Democracy by legislation, notwithstanding the repeated 'solemn promises' which he has made in public that he would initiate such legislation. Therefore the question is often raised among the people, 'Will the impetuous Emperor continue to tamely give way to Social Democracy and to the Reichstag, or what will he do to enforce his will?'

The Conservative parties and the National Liberal Party, which cultivates only that kind of Liberalism which is pleasing to the Government, have already loudly recommended a solution of that difficulty. I give the views of some of the most prominent members of the Conservative Party. Count Mirbach stated at the meeting of his Party on the 1st of January 1895 that universal suffrage was a derision of all authority, and recommended the abolition of the secret ballot. The same gentleman stated in the Prussian Upper House, on the 28th of March 1895, 'The country would greet with jubilation a decision of the German Princes to create a new Reichstag on the basis of the new Election Law.' In the same place Count Frankenberg stated two days later, 'We hope to obtain a new Election Law for the German Empire, for with the present Election Law it is impossible to exist.' Freiherr von Zedlitz, Freiherr von Stumm, and von Kardorff, uttered similar sentiments. At the meeting of the Conservative Party on the 8th of March 1897, Freiherr von Stumm said, 'The right to vote should be taken away from the Social Democrats, and no Social Democrat should be permitted to sit in the Diet,' and Count Limburg-Stürum likewise advocated their exclusion. The official handbook of the Conservative Party, most Conservative and many Liberal papers, have warmly

applauded these views, whereby a *coup d'état* by the Government is cordially invited.

Will the Emperor listen to these sinister suggestions when the difficulties in German home politics become acute, for their chief importance lies in the fact that they have largely been made in the confident assumption that they would please William the Second? Will he act rashly on the impulse of the moment, or will he act with statesmanlike prudence? Or will he allow a chance majority of Conservatives and National Liberals to alter the Constitution and to disfranchise democracy? So much is certain, that the Emperor's personal influence for good or for evil will be enormous when the Social Democratic question comes up for settlement. Will he use his vast power with the recklessness of the soldier or with the caution of the politician?

The aims of the Social Democrats in Germany, generally speaking, are similar to those of the workers in all other countries—they wish to better themselves politically, economically, and socially.

Politically, German democracy is not free. Though universal suffrage exists for the Imperial Reichstag, it little helps German democracy, for the German Parliament has far less power over the Government than had the English Parliament under Charles the First. The facts that the Emperor can, at will, dissolve Parliament, according to Article 12 of the Constitution; that he nominates and dismisses officials, according to Article 18; and that the Cabinet is only responsible to the Emperor, prove, if any proof is needed, the helplessness of the German Parliament before the Emperor and his officials, who are nominated and dismissed, promoted and decorated by him, and by him alone. Parliament in Germany has no control whatever over, and hardly any influence upon, the policy of the Empire and upon its administration. Its sole duty is to vote funds and laws.

In the single States, German democracy fares still worse. The election for the Prussian Diet, to give an instance, takes place upon the following system. The whole body of the electors is divided into three classes according to the amount of taxes paid, each class contributing an equal amount and having the same voting power. The practical working of this curious system may be illustrated by the case of Berlin. The voters of Berlin belonging to those three classes were in 1895 distributed in the following way:

Voters of the first class . . .	1,460
„ „ „ second „ . . .	9,372
„ „ „ third „ . . .	289,973
Total of voters in Berlin . .	300,814

The figures given prove that the three classes system is the capitalistic system *par excellence*, for each of the rich men voting in

the first class in Berlin possesses two hundred votes, each of the well-to-do men in the second class has thirty votes, and the combined first and second classes, or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the electorate in the case of Berlin, form a solid two-thirds majority over the remaining  $96\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the electorate. There are, besides, some further complications in that intricate system which it would lead too far to enumerate. At any rate, it is clear that that kind of franchise is worthless to democracy. A similar kind of franchise prevails in other German States.

Socially also, German democracy has much to complain of. Except in the large centres, the position of the German working man is a very humble one. There are two words for employer in German, which are frequently heard in Germany, 'brotgeber' and 'brodherr,' which translated into English mean 'breadgiver' and 'breadmaster.' These two words may be considered illustrative of the German worker's position towards his employer in the largest part of the country. Further grievances of German Social Democracy are the all-pervading militarism, the exceptional and unassailable position of the official classes, the prerogatives of the privileged classes, and the widespread immorality which has undermined and debased the position of woman in Germany. Nothing can better illustrate the latter grievance of Social Democracy, which is not much known abroad, than reference to the daily papers. For instance, in a number of the *Lokalanzeiger* under my notice, there are to be found the following advertisements :

Seventy-four marriage advertisements (some doubtful).

Forty-nine advertisements of lady masseuses (all doubtful).

Nine demands for small loans, usually of 5*l.*, by 'modest widows' and other single ladies (all doubtful).

Six acquaintances desired by ladies (all doubtful).

Five widows' balls, 'gentlemen invited, admission free' (all doubtful).

Thirty apartments and rooms 'without restrictions' by the day (all doubtful).

Forty-seven maternity homes, 'discretion assured; no report home' (all doubtful).

Sixteen babies to be adopted.

Sixteen specialists for contagious disease.

These advertisements, found in one daily journal of a similar standing to that of the *Daily Telegraph*, and similar in kind and extent of circulation, explain better the state of morality in Germany, and the consequent attitude of the German Social Democratic working man towards morality, than would a lengthy dissertation illustrated with voluminous statistics. This state of affairs explains the importance with which the question of morality and of the position of women is treated in the political programme of Social Democracy, and redounds to the credit of the German working man.

In order to become acquainted, not only with the actual wishes of Social Democracy, but also with the tone in which those wishes

are expressed, and with the manner in which they are formulated, we cannot do better than turn to the *Official Handbook for Social Democratic Voters* of 1898. The passages selected are such as prove in the eyes of German officialdom that Social Democracy is the enemy of the Country, of Society, of Monarchy, of the Family, and of the Church. At the same time, they clearly show the fundamental ideas of that Party, and clearly reveal the spirit by which it is animated. The *Handbook* says :

The aim of Social Democracy is not to divide all property, but to combine it and use it for the development and improvement of mankind, in order to give to all a life worthy of man. Work shall become a duty for all men able to work. The word of the Bible, 'He that does not work neither shall he eat,' shall become a true word.

Marriage, in contradiction to religious teachings, is in innumerable cases a financial transaction pure and simple. Woman has value in the eyes of men only when she has a fortune, and the more money she has the higher rises her value. Therefore marriage has become a business, and thousands meet in the marriage market, for instance, by advertisements in newspapers, in which a husband or a wife is sought in the same way in which a house or a pig is offered for sale. Consequently unhappy marriages have never been more numerous than at the present time, a state of affairs which is in contradiction to the real nature of marriage. Social Democracy desires that marriages be concluded solely from mutual love and esteem, which is only possible if man and woman are free and independent, if each has a free existence and an individual personality, and is therefore not compelled to buy the other or to be bought. This state of freedom and equality is only possible in the socialistic society.

Who desires to belong to a Church shall not be hindered, but he shall pay only for the expenses of his Church together with his co-religionists.

The schools and the whole educational system shall be separated from the Church and religious societies, because education is a civil matter.

The God of Christians is not a German, French, Russian, or English god, but a God of all men, an international God. God is the God of love and of peace, and therefore it borders upon blasphemy that the priests of different Christian nations invoke this God of love to give victory to their nation in the general slaughter. It is equally blasphemous if the priest of one nation prays the God of all nations for a victory over another nation. In striving to found a brotherhood of nations and the peaceful co-operation of nations in the service of civilisation, Social Democracy acts in a most Christian spirit, and tries to realise what the Christian priests of all nations, together with the Christian monarchs, hitherto would not, or could not, realise. By combining the workers of all nations, Social Democracy tries to effect a federation of nations in which every State enjoys equal rights, and in which the peculiarities of the inner character of every nation may peacefully develop.

In reading through the lines quoted, or indeed through the whole book, or the whole Social Democratic literature available, one cannot help being struck with respect for this huge Party of working men and its powerful aspirations towards a higher level, notwithstanding a certain crudity of thought, and a certain amateurishness of manner which occasionally betrays itself, but which time and experience will easily rectify.

Ideas such as those quoted have been instrumental in framing

the programme of the Party, which is idealistic as well as utilitarian. The ten demands of the programme are given in abstract :

(1) One vote for every adult man and woman ; a holiday to be election day ; payment of members.

(2) The Government to be responsible to Parliament ; local self-government ; referendum.

(3) Introduction of the militia system.

(4) Freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

(5) Equality of man and woman before the law.

(6) Disestablishment of the churches.

(7) Undenominational schools, with compulsory attendance and gratuitous tuition.

(8) Gratuitousness of legal proceeding.

(9) Gratuitous medical attendance and burial.

(10) Progressive Income Tax and Succession Duty.

Were the Social Democrats as black as they have been painted, the leaders could not have kept the millions of their followers in such perfect order. Again, if the Social Democratic politicians were selfish or mercenary, as has been asserted, they would not die poor men. Liebknecht once said, and his case is typical for the leaders of Social Democracy, 'I have never sought my personal advantage. If I am poor after unprecedented persecutions, I do not account it a disgrace. I am proud of it, for it is an eloquent testimony to my political honour.' The *Kölnische Zeitung*, commenting on these words, justly observed, 'It would be unjust to deny to Social Democracy the recognition of the high personal integrity of its leaders.' While the gravest scandals have discredited more than one German Party and its leaders, the Social Democratic Party has, so far, stood immaculate—an eloquent vindication of the moral force of democracy, which force has been so thoroughly misunderstood in Germany.

The lack of understanding and of sympathy with Social Democracy and its aims is not restricted to official circles in Germany, which are entirely out of touch with democracy. Typical of these views on Social Democracy is the following pronouncement by Professor H. Delbrück, the distinguished historian, which appeared in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* for December 1895 :

The duty of the Government is not to educate Social Democracy to decent behaviour, but to suppress it, or, if that should be impossible, at least to repress it, or, if that be impossible, at least to hinder its further growth. . . . What is necessary is that the sentiment should be awakened among all classes of the population that Social Democracy is a poison which can be resisted only by the strongest and united moral opposition.

German democracy in the shape of the Social Democratic Party can not only raise the claim of moral force and numerical strength, of discipline and integrity, but can also be proud of the consummate

political ability of its leaders and of the spirited support which these leaders have received from all the members of the Party. No better and no juster testimonial, with regard to these qualities, can be given than the recent pronouncement of the great German historian, Professor Mommsen :

It is unfortunately true that at the present time the Social Democracy is the only great Party which has any claim to political respect. It is not necessary to refer to talent. Everybody in Germany knows that with brains like those of Bebel it would be possible to furnish forth a dozen noblemen from east of the Elbe in a fashion that would make them shine among their peers.

The devotion, the self-sacrificing spirit of the Social Democratic masses, impresses even those who are far from sharing their aims. Our Liberals might well take a lesson from the discipline of the Party.

Whilst other German parties have split into factions or have decayed, owing to the unruliness of their undisciplined members or to the apathetic support given by the voters, or to the skilful action of the Government which brought about disintegration, the Social Democratic Party alone in Germany has, since its creation, constantly been strong and undivided, notwithstanding the many and serious difficulties which it has encountered. It is, no doubt, by far the best-led, the best-managed, and the most homogeneous party in Germany, and is, indeed, the only Party which, from an English point of view, can be considered a Party. Similarly, there is in Germany no journal more ably conducted, for the purpose which it is meant to serve, than the Social Democratic Party organ the *Vorwärts*.

The Social Democratic Party does not possess in the Reichstag that numerical strength which one might expect from the numerical strength of its supporters, for it is greatly under-represented in that assembly. This great under-representation springs partly from the fact that, in the frequently occurring second polls, the other parties have usually combined to oust the Social Democratic candidate as before related ; partly it is due to the fact that German towns are still represented by the same number of deputies as they were in 1871, notwithstanding the immense increase in the German town population since that year. No redistribution has been effected or seems likely to be effected, because the German Government does not wish to strengthen the Liberal and Social Democratic parties which, so far, have had their chief hold on the towns, and Parliament has no means of enforcing a redistribution. Owing to the rapid growth of the towns, they are greatly under-represented, whilst the country is correspondingly over-represented. In 1893 the voters in the Parliamentary country divisions of the Empire numbered on an average 22,537, whilst the voters in the town divisions numbered on an average 41,098, and that disproportion has been still further increased since 1893. In that year there were seventy-five

Parliamentary country divisions with less than 20,000 voters, whilst there were twenty-nine town divisions with more than 40,000 voters, and in consequence of this state of affairs it happens that Schaumburg, with only 8,987 voters, and the district Berlin VI., with no less than 142,226 voters, are each represented in the Imperial Diet by one deputy. Berlin is entitled to eighteen deputies, yet it is represented in the Reichstag by only six deputies.

How enormous is the disproportion between votes and representatives in the Reichstag, and how this disproportion works in favour of the two Conservative parties and of the Conservative Clerical Party, and to the disadvantage of the Liberal parties and the Social Democratic Party, may be seen from the following table :

*Result of the General Election of 1898.*

	Votes	Members in Imperial Diet	Average Number of Votes per Member
Social Democrats . . . . .	2,107,100	57	36,966
Centre (Roman Catholic Party) . . . . .	1,455,100	102	14,266
National Liberals . . . . .	971,300	47	20,666
Conservatives . . . . .	859,200	52	16,523
Freisinnige (People's Party) . . . . .	558,300	27	20,677
Free Conservatives . . . . .	343,600	22	15,618
Anti-Semites . . . . .	284,000	10	28,400
Nine parties and factions . . . . .	1,173,800	76	14,129
Total . . . . .	7,752,900	393	19,727

The consequence of this disproportion of votes to members in the different parties is that the Social Democrats, who command 27·18 of the votes, have only 14·11 of the seats in the Reichstag, whilst the Conservative Party, with only 11·08 of the votes, has 13·23 of the seats, and the conservatively inclined Centre Party, with 18·77 of the votes, has no less than 25·6 of the seats. Based upon the same proportion of votes to members which obtains with the Centre Party, the representatives of the Social Democratic Party in the Imperial Diet should have numbered 148 and not fifty-seven.

The political outlook for the Social Democratic Party seems distinctly promising if not brilliant, provided that the strongest factor in German politics will allow that Party to continue to exist. Popular dissatisfaction has greatly increased in Germany during the last few years, partly on account of the industrial depression, but chiefly on account of the numerous political mistakes which the Government has committed. The introduction of the new highly protective tariff, which was cajoled and conjured through Parliament in so strange and so surprising a fashion, is especially resented by the masses in the towns and in the country, for it will enrich both the big manufacturers and the big landowners at the expense of

the industrial workers and of the small peasants. The small peasants, who count more than 5,000,000 families, may give a surprise to the German Government at the next election. Formerly the German peasant was the most reliable supporter of the Government; his conservatism was blind, he read little, and he voted for the Conservative candidate as he was told by the squire; of late, however, Social Democracy has been getting a hold upon the peasant; he reads more, and he will in future vote largely for the Social Democratic candidate.

Whilst Social Democracy has been flourishing and increasing, the various Liberal parties in Germany have been decaying for many years. The reason for that phenomenon is that the Liberal Party has striven to represent only such Liberalism as was approved of by the Government. Therefore Liberalism shunned the Social Democratic Party and its leaders, in Parliament and out of it, like poison, in accordance with the official *mot d'ordre*. Consequently the liberally-inclined German workman, small trader, clerk, teacher, &c., whom that approved Court Liberalism—which in reality was Conservatism in disguise—did not suit, dropped Liberalism and gave his vote to the Social Democratic candidate. But the German Liberal Party leaders were blind and obstinate, and thus the disintegration of their following is proceeding further. Now the well-to-do Liberal citizens also are beginning to turn away from the Liberal parties in large numbers, disgusted with the servile attitude which these parties have adopted, and are joining Social Democracy, hoping for reforms from that Party, which is the strongest Party in the country, and which, at least, has the merit of being straightforward. It appears that an incredibly large number of bankers, merchants, and professional men of Liberal views will, in the next election, vote for Social Democracy.

In view of the coming *débâcle* of the old Liberal parties many Liberals are strongly recommending the co-operation of the Liberal parties with Social Democracy. Whether such co-operation will take place in the next Reichstag remains to be seen, but Liberal co-operation may be expected in the very important second polls. Therefore it seems possible that the next Reichstag will see a Social Democratic Party of about one hundred members (perhaps even more) elected by three million voters.

As far as can be seen, Social Democracy is bound to become, in course of time, perhaps already at the coming elections, the commanding Party in the Reichstag, and the question suggests itself, What will be the outcome of such a situation? The favourite stratagem of splitting the Social Democratic Party in the same way in which Bismarck split the Liberal Party, reducing it thereby from 155 in 1874 to 47 in 1881, will probably be found impracticable, for the simple reason that Von Bülow is not Bismarck, and that the



Social Democrats are not Liberals. Hence the German Government may soon stand before the alternative of either capitulating to the Social Democracy, or of allowing a conflict to arise between the Imperial Government and Parliament. As Social Democracy intends 'to protect democracy against absolutism and militarism,' which the Government of Germany represents in an exalted way, the capitulation of the Government to Social Democracy seems unlikely. Consequently we may well expect that a serious conflict between the German Government and Parliament will take place, which will remind us in its nature of that between Charles the First and his Parliament, which, similarly to the German Parliament, was chiefly a money-voting and law-assenting machine, without any real control over the Government. Therefore, that conflict may, in the beginning, take the shape of the conflict between Charles the First and his Parliament, and the funds required by the Government may be refused. But here the parallel will probably end. What the nature and eventual result of that conflict will be, nobody can foretell. It may mean the eventual advent of a Liberal era in Germany, and the democratisation of that country; it may mean a governmental *coup d'état* in accordance with the recommendations of the Conservative parties, involving the abolition of universal suffrage or its restriction upon the Prussian model; it may mean a great European war, provoked in order to divert popular dissatisfaction from home affairs to foreign questions. At any rate, the position of home politics in Germany promises to shortly become a critical one.

Before German statesmen try further experiments in crushing democracy, more dangerous than those which they have tried before, they will do well to ponder over the wisdom of the proverb, '*Laissez faire, laissez passer*,' and to consider that the greatness of all Anglo-Saxon countries rests securely upon the rock of free democracy, and that in no Anglo-Saxon State has Social Democracy ever flourished.

O. ELTZBACHER.

## *THE CANALS OF MARS— ARE THEY REAL?*

THE interest excited by the new astronomy during the last quarter of a century has been very widespread. Its connection with chemistry, electricity, magnetism, and photography, and its relation to the prismatic analysis of light by the spectroscope, have afforded many opportunities for popular explanation.

But the new astronomy has of late become increasingly recondite. It now demands the utmost efforts of the physicist and the chemist for the interpretation of the observations effected by the union of powerful telescopes and spectroscopes; or for the discovery of the deeper teachings of celestial photographs, like those of the nebulosities around the recent new star in Perseus. It opens to our gaze day by day far-reaching vistas of mysterious truth which call for exploration in every direction. Depths of meaning, utterly unexpected and apparently unfathomable, are found in the minutest details seen in spectral lines and recorded by photography. The new astronomy, owing to the very profundity and complexity of its recent developments, is consequently becoming much less popular, although of proportionately increased interest to all who are well versed in physical science.

The present, therefore, may be a fitting time to turn from the complicated and almost too engrossing revelations of celestial spectroscopy and chemistry and photography to what is comparatively a very insignificant corner of the wide field of astronomical science. I propose, in this article, to discuss our knowledge of the planet Mars with regard to the study of the features of its surface.

Such study, it is true, may in a sense be termed physical, and may seem to some extent to be embraced in the term astronomical physics, which is frequently used as a synonym for the new astronomy. I shall, however, endeavour to consider the features and condition of the planet's surface, apart from the use of such instruments and branches of science as have an especial connection with the new astronomy. I shall regard that surface, as far as possible,

simply as revealed by the lenses of the telescope, and depicted by the hand of the observer.

And, as the new astronomy has needed the help of physicist, chemist, and photographer, so I hope to show that the present condition of the observation of Mars calls for the aid of physician and surgeon; of the physician in his knowledge of the action of the brain and the nervous system in observers—of the surgeon, as an oculist, with reference to the constitution and functions of the human eye.

We must, however, first inquire, what details have so far been seen upon the surface of Mars? From the time of Huyghens, in 1659, lighter and darker markings have been constantly noticed, and sketched by a long succession of observers. With occasional exceptions they have proved to be permanent. The larger dark portions have generally been supposed to be seas. But, more recently, it has also been suggested that they may be due to vegetation, or to a mingling of vegetable growth and water, the latter being sometimes deeper and sometimes shallower, permanent as in a sea, or more or less transitory as in swamps and marshes. To certain parts such names as gulfs and bays and inlets have been assigned.

The brighter portions of the surface have been assumed to be land. They have been called continents or islands or regions. Up to the year 1877 a very small number of observers, *e.g.* Schroeter, Secchi, Kaiser, and especially the late Mr. Dawes (justly famed for the remarkable distinctness of his vision), had noticed a very few narrower dusky markings, which seemed to run along in approximately straight directions until they joined a sea or a bay, like large rivers terminating in an estuary. It was, however, thought that the detection of such delicate details must be very doubtful, and little attention was paid to them.

But in the especially favourable opposition<sup>1</sup> of 1877 the astronomer Schiaparelli, of the Brera Observatory, Milan, observing under the pure Italian sky, with an excellent 8½-inch Merz refractor, noticed a remarkable series of dark and almost invariably straight lines, of uniformly narrow breadth, crossing the brighter portions of the planet's surface, and more than thirty in number. He announced his discovery; but at first its reality appeared to most astronomers to be almost incredible. Schiaparelli termed these lines '*canali*,' or channels, and very carefully mapped out their positions. By English-

<sup>1</sup> An *opposition* of Mars—i.e. an epoch when it is seen nearly in the opposite direction to the sun—involves a near approach of the planet to the earth and other good conditions for its observation. Owing, however, to the ellipticity of its orbit, our distance from Mars is much less in some oppositions—as, *e.g.* in 1877, 1892, and 1909—than in others. Those of 1899 and 1901 and of the 29th of March last have not been favourable in this respect; but each succeeding one of the next three—viz. in 1906, 1907, and 1909—will be increasingly so.

speaking astronomers the well-known name of 'canals' is now generally given to them.

When Mars was next seen in opposition in 1879, its greater distance from the earth diminished its apparent diameter by about one-fourth, and the area of its disc by fully two-fifths. Nevertheless Schiaparelli again saw all the canals (with one exception) which he had recorded in 1877, and about twenty others. Moreover, towards the close of that same series of observations, on one evening, one canal appeared to be doubled. In place of a single narrow line, of which it had previously consisted, another similar line was seen to run along in addition, and (to use his own words) 'perfectly parallel to the first.' This canal was the one which he had named 'The Nile.'

The above-mentioned surprising observation was followed, when Mars was next observed at the time of an opposition, viz. in December 1881, and in January and February 1882, by the detection (in spite of the planet's disc being of less than two-fifths of the area which it had exhibited in 1877) of more than twenty similar cases of undoubted doubling, seventeen of which were seen between January 19 and February 19. In 1884, upon a somewhat smaller disc, Schiaparelli saw more than fifteen doublings. In 1886 only one appeared, when the disc was of the same size as in 1884. In 1888 he again saw several canals doubled, since which date many have continued to appear double from time to time, there being sometimes fewer and sometimes more.

Let us inquire whether these remarkable observations of the distinguished Italian astronomer have been confirmed. Until the year 1886, apart from the few instances which are somewhat obscurely indicated in the earlier drawings of Dawes and others, previously mentioned, astronomer after astronomer tried in vain to see the canals. A few are found in a chart of Mars drawn by Burton and Dreyer in 1879, and in some drawings by Niesten in 1882, and two in a drawing by Mr. Knobel in 1884. But in these exceptional cases no doublings were noticed.

It was not until 1886 that Perrotin and Thollon, with the new 29-inch refractor of the Nice Observatory, first perceived one, and presently sixteen or more canals, some single and some double, which agreed closely in their positions with those recorded by Schiaparelli. This may be considered to be the first definite confirmation of the extraordinary network drawn by the latter in his charts.

Since then many observers have been able to see a continually increasing number of the canals just as Schiaparelli recorded them; and have formed charts of the surface almost exactly corresponding with his, but containing various other canals in addition to the total of about eighty which he has recorded. For instance, in 1892 Mr. A. Stanley Williams, at Brighton, very skilfully detected about

twenty, and saw several doubled.<sup>2</sup> In 1894 he saw at least twenty-five, of which fully one-fourth were doubled. In 1894 Antoniadi at the Juvisy Observatory perceived nearly forty;<sup>3</sup> and in 1896 forty-six, of which forty-two agreed with Schiaparelli's. Two other observers, the Rev. T. Phillips at Yeovil, and Captain Molesworth in Ceylon, each using a large reflecting telescope, saw many more.<sup>4</sup>

Excellent charts of the canals, quite comparable with those of Schiaparelli, may be seen in Vols. II, IV, VI, and IX of the *Memoirs of the British Astronomical Association*, formed from the combined drawings of many observers; and one, more recent and still more full of detail, in *Knowledge* of November 1902, p. 252. To such an extent have Schiaparelli's canal observations been confirmed, that Miss Clerke, in the fourth edition of her most valuable *History of Astronomy*, has lately affirmed that 'further inquiries have fully substantiated the discovery made at the Brera Observatory. The canals of Mars are an actually existent and permanent phenomenon.'<sup>5</sup> While Antoniadi has recently said, 'Notwithstanding the natural scepticism of many scientific men, every opposition brings with it its own contingent of confirmation of Schiaparelli's discovery of linear markings, apparently furrowing the surface.'<sup>6</sup>

But all other delineations of the planet seem to be surpassed by those made at Mr. Lowell's observatory, at Flagstaff, Arizona, a locality selected with much care for the especial purity and clearness of its air. Mr. Lowell was there assisted by Professor W. H. Pickering and Mr. A. E. Douglass, with whose aid 917 drawings of Mars were made between the 24th of May 1894 and the 3rd of April 1895. More than twice as many canals as Schiaparelli saw were found, running across the brighter portions of the surface, nearly all of them being observed more than once, and some more than a hundred times. A very few of Schiaparelli's were missed, probably, in part, because of their somewhat awkward position upon the disc. The total number recorded was 139. And, in addition, Mr. Douglass made the surprising discovery of forty-four others, visible it would seem as lines of greater darkness across the larger dark, or dusky, portions of the surface.<sup>7</sup> The sum total of the observations is given in a chart of startling complexity, in which, however, only about seven are drawn doubled.<sup>8</sup> A new feature, or one at any rate but little noticed before, is also shown in this chart, viz. that about fifty-three apparently small lakes (or it may be oases of vegetation) are shown at points where two canals intersect, or where a number meet together. Another map, as elaborate, but not indicating so many doublings or so many

*Memoirs of British Astronomical Association*, vol. ii. p. 157 *et seq.*

*Id.* vol. iv. p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* vol. vi. p. 65.

*History of Astronomy in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 279.

*Memoirs Brit. Astr. Assoc.* vol. ix. p. 68.

*Mars*, by Percival Lowell, p. 145.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* p. 217.

so-called lakes, has been published by Herr Léo Brenner of Manora, Lussinpicolo, Istria, as the result of his observations in 1896 and 1897.<sup>9</sup>

We may now consider the above statements somewhat critically. If it be proposed to admit the actual objective existence upon Mars of these very numerous formations, many difficulties immediately arise. All who have seen them have been puzzled by their number; the complexity of their interlacing and triangulation; their visibility when the disc of the planet is of very small size; their straightness; their immense length, which in some cases reaches to 3,000 or 4,000 miles (nearly equal to a whole diameter of the planet); and their uniform and great breadth, in different instances estimated at 30, 40, or even 60 miles. This breadth has naturally suggested that it must at any rate be a mistake to imagine them to be lines of water, but that it is more likely that they may be lines of vegetation extending along a canal of water which is itself too narrow to be seen. It is to be noted that the very narrowest line which it is considered that a telescope can possibly reveal upon Mars must be at least 18 miles in width. As to the distance between the two lines of the doubled canals, the observations indicate that it varies from about 30, to as much as 360, miles.

The visibility of the canals is observed to be greater sometimes than at other times. Now, it is probable that the climate of Mars is very dry, its atmosphere of small density, its clouds rare, and its land mainly desert. Nevertheless white spots are seen around its poles, which are generally termed the polar snows. These wax and wane with the alternation of the summer and the winter of the two hemispheres, and are most likely not of great thickness, as they almost, and sometimes altogether, disappear in the height of the summer. Mr. Lowell has consequently strongly maintained that the melting of such a polar snow-cap forms a sea of water around its boundary, from which a supply gradually finds its way into the canal system, causing vegetation to spring up, as on the earth along the Egyptian Nile. The circular spots observed at the intersection of two or more canals might, in that case, be fertile oases in the midst of surrounding desert.

It is true that Schiaparelli thought that he perceived, during several consecutive oppositions, that the doubling of canals occurred chiefly after the spring equinox and a little before that of autumn upon Mars. If so, it might also be suggested that, at the time of the most abundant supply of water from a polar cap a second parallel channel, 30 to 300 miles away from one previously employed, might be utilised for additional irrigation in certain cases, and cause a second line of vegetation to spring up. This might produce the apparent doubling. To this, however, it is

<sup>9</sup> *Bulletin, Société Astron. de France*, 1899, p. 28.

replied that the doubling is generally completed in the course of so few days (or even hours) that it is hardly probable that any vegetation could be developed so rapidly.

Mr. Lowell and some other astronomers have maintained that the whole system of canals appears to be so elaborately constructed, and so cleverly planned, that it must have been made, or at any rate elaborated, by the organised work of intelligent inhabitants, with a view to the support of life amid the arid deserts of Mars. This idea has naturally taken such a hold of the popular mind as to suggest that if we could wave flags as large as Ireland; or send forth Marconigrams by means of Hertzian waves of sufficient intensity, without their involving, like Nebuchadnezzar's furnace, the destruction of those who manipulated them; or if we could put forth electrically illuminated advertisements with letters each larger than London; we might begin by suggesting to these intelligent beings that two and two make four, and then lead them on by degrees to understand, and possibly to answer, other interesting communications. But the general consensus of astronomical opinion is nevertheless, I believe, expressed in the words which Mr. Maunder used in 1895, 'Canals, in the sense of being artificial productions, the markings on Mars which bear that name certainly are not.'<sup>10</sup>

As numerous almost as the writers who have discussed the canals are the varied hypotheses promulgated for their explanation. Some have suggested that they may be tracks drawn by meteorites as they have rushed along the surface; or by minor planets, which became close satellites of Mars in the earlier stages of its formation, and presently in grazing contact ran round and round it. Others have supposed that they may be fissures, generally following the course of great circles, and in some parts radiating from central points. These, it is said, might be caused by the cracking of an unsupported crust left behind by a contracting interior; or, on the other hand, by the resistance of the interior to the contraction of a more rapidly cooling crust. It has even been suggested that vapours continuously rising out of such fissures may perform a part in producing the single, or doubled, appearance of the various canals. The space at my disposal forbids the mention of other theories, or the discussion of such as I have named. They are all, I believe, unsatisfactory. They all alike involve great improbabilities, and fail to satisfy the necessary conditions.

The general appearance, as well as the exceedingly complicated interlacing and arrangement of these numerous so-called canals, is therefore of so puzzling and enigmatical a character that I think it may well suggest the question: Are they really there?

Still greater difficulty belongs to the question of their duplication. Indeed many observers, who appear to be convinced that

<sup>10</sup> *Memoirs Brit. Astr. Assoc.* vol. ii. p. 163.

the single canal-like lines are real, are very much disposed to doubt the reality of the doubling, and, at any rate, give up the attempt to explain it.

Antoniadi, *e.g.*, in 1898 wrote that 'he wished to express his strong scepticism on any idea of reality attached to the Martian geminations.'<sup>11</sup> Again, in 1901, he says, 'Nous devons avouer notre agnosticisme dans cette mystérieuse question.'<sup>12</sup> Once more he speaks of 'the illusory character of this gemination.' Miss Clerke called it, only last year, 'an apparently insoluble enigma,'<sup>13</sup> and then referred to various conjectures of 'diffraction, oblique reflection from overlying mist-banks, and refraction acting by a sort of mirage,' put forward by way of explanation. Among other equally unsatisfactory suggestions, Mr. Lowell mentions one which supposes that 'a progressive ripening of vegetation from its centre to its edges might cause a broad swath of green to become seemingly two,' *i.e.* the tint of the central portion would become lighter in the midst of two darker lines. Even he, for his own part, however, can go no further than the statement, 'Exactly what takes place . . . I cannot pretend to say.'<sup>14</sup> In 1898 Schiaparelli wrote, 'The field of plausible suppositions is immense. The great liberty of possible supposition renders all explanations arbitrary.'<sup>15</sup> While he had previously said that 'none of the ingenious suppositions corresponded entirely with the observed facts, either in whole or in part,' and further remarked that, if asked 'Can you suggest anything better?' he must reply candidly, 'No!'<sup>16</sup> Last year, in his *Manual of Astronomy*, Professor Young, a very high authority, stated that 'the gemination still remains a mystery.' Flammarion, in his splendid monograph on Mars, considers 'that the explanations put forward are certainly premature.'

Once more, therefore, the difficulty of finding any explanation of this doubled appearance, as well as the conviction of many competent observers that it is illusory, justifies, I think, the question previously asked as to the single canals: Are they really there?

In asking this question, however, I do not for a moment suggest that these numerous canals, both single and double, have not been repeatedly seen. There is no question as to the skill and competency of the observers, but the question really is: Where are they seen? Are they seen on Mars, or in the observer's eye or brain? Nor would I even deny that they may ultimately be proved to be upon

<sup>11</sup> *Memoirs Brit. Astr. Assoc.* vol. vi. p. 102.

<sup>12</sup> *Bulletin Société Astr. de France*, 1901, p. 272.

<sup>13</sup> *History of Astronomy in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 279.

<sup>14</sup> *Mars*, by P. Lowell, p. 196.

<sup>15</sup> *Publications, Astr. Soc. of the Pacific*, 1898, p. 212.

<sup>16</sup> *Astronomy and Astrophysics*, 1894, p. 722.



Mars itself, for there are certainly extant drawings of a remarkably confirmatory character, which have been simultaneously made by observers situated far apart, as for instance in England, France, or Italy. But I maintain, as I began by saying, that the question needs much further study, such as may be greatly helped by medical and surgical science.

I will support this last statement by the quotation of a few remarks from various astronomical publications which have especial reference to it. For instance, Antoniadi says, 'The linear markings are visible only by rare glimpses, each glimpse lasting scarcely as long as a second';<sup>17</sup> and again: 'Wrong focussing plays an important rôle in the gemination of the Martian canals.'<sup>18</sup> Mr. Maunder remarks how the observer 'has to study the planet at the telescope, to patiently trace out the different details, and then depict them more or less *from memory* in his sketch.'<sup>19</sup> This looking alternately through the instrument and then to the sketching paper must clearly involve special effects both upon eye and brain. Again we find Flammarion quoting with approval another remark of Mr. Maunder's, 'We cannot assume that what we are able to discern is really the ultimate structure of the body which we are examining.'<sup>20</sup> In like manner Mr. A. Stanley Williams, whose numerous drawings of the canals, single and double, are some of the most important and beautiful that have been published, has nevertheless expressed the belief that 'if we could approach Mars to within a few miles, the appearance presented by these so-called canals would be so changed that we should not recognise them at all.'<sup>21</sup>

The following remarks by the same very successful observer are also very pertinent, in regard to the great difficulty involved in seeing them: 'My eye invariably requires at least two months' continuous observation of a planet before it acquires its full sensitiveness to the most delicate details.' 'When the eye is not in perfect training, nearly all the canals have the aspect of broad diffuse streaks.'<sup>22</sup>

Schiaparelli has made mention, from his own experience, of the 'variation of its focus owing to fatigue of the eye.' Antoniadi, in a valuable memoir published in March 1898, has referred to a remark of the great physicist Helmholtz, the well-known inventor of the ophthalmoscope, that 'the eye is far from being a perfect organ.'<sup>23</sup> And by way of example he quotes Dr. Lloyd Andriegen as having shown 'in his microscopical studies that, when very small objects were examined by him with high powers, near to the limit of visibility,

<sup>17</sup> *Journal of Brit. Astr. Assoc.* vol. xii. p. 113.

<sup>18</sup> *Memoirs, B.A.A.* vol. vi. p. 86.

<sup>19</sup> *Knowledge*, vol. xviii. p. 57.

<sup>21</sup> *The Observatory*, vol. xxii. p. 228.

<sup>22</sup> *Bulletin, Société Astr. de France*, 1898, p. 175.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.* vol. xviii. p. 74.

<sup>23</sup> *Id.* vol. xxii. pp. 226, 227.

the images became doubled after a certain time. The eye could not maintain its mechanism of accommodation in unchanged and continuous action, but underwent an oscillatory or intermittent effect.'

The Abbé Moreux mentions in the same volume a remark by Giraud-Teulon as to the formation by the crystalline lens of the eye, when the retina is not exactly in focus, of a series of points surrounding a more or less dark disc, instead of a simple circular disc such as an ordinary lens, out of focus, would form; 'the points being equal in number to the sectors of the crystalline.'<sup>24</sup> An explanation of apparent duplication can be hence deduced.

We find others referring to the optical illusion of a doubling caused by the passing of 'air-waves,' or by 'a temporary alteration of the focus of the eye'; while several astronomers of high repute consider, that the effect of contrast often causes the eye to see as a single-line canal what is really the outer boundary of a large and slightly shaded space. We may also notice that it has been of late supposed that canals are seen on Mercury and Venus, and on two of the satellites of Jupiter, especially at the Flagstaff Observatory; where those upon Venus have appeared astonishingly clear in spite of its dense cloud canopy. It would therefore once more seem that those who are best able to see the canals on Mars may to some extent be subject to what has been termed the 'canaliform illusion.'<sup>25</sup>

General Tennant, F.R.S., an observer of unquestionable skill, some years ago spoke of the duplication of an image in the telescope as familiar to him in his observations, 'and a common result of the fatigue of the eye.'<sup>26</sup>

Mr. Edwin Holmes, a well-known astronomer, has remarked on the effects of slight undetected astigmatism in an observer's eye, and on the way in which lines looked at through a somewhat tilted spectacle-lens become doubled.<sup>27</sup>

Various astronomers have also tested the effect of looking at dark lines on a brighter background when at such a distance as to be out of focus, and especially if seen by a short-sighted person. Under such circumstances they not only become broadened and fainter, but very often doubled.

A surgeon, with whom I recently tried this experiment, when looking at a single dark line, on going to a certain distance from it, suddenly exclaimed, 'It looks like a tuning-fork.' Two lines crossing each other at right angles, when seen at a distance such that they appear to be indistinct, but not doubled, also form at their intersection a spot which resembles one of Mr. Lowell's oases.

Again, in 1892, at the Arequipa Observatory, in Peru, Professor

<sup>24</sup> *Bulletin, Société Astr. de France*, 1898, p. 316.

<sup>25</sup> *Knowledge*, April 1902, p. 82.

<sup>26</sup> *The Observatory*, vol. xviii. p. 410.

<sup>27</sup> *Journal Brit. Astr. Assoc.* vol. x. p. 300.

W. H. Pickering carefully tested the appearance of fine parallel lines drawn on white discs and seen from a suitable distance through a telescope. In the original memoir many very interesting details are given; e.g. that when the atmospheric conditions were best for seeing, 'fine lines were the easiest to separate, but somewhat coarser lines were easier when the seeing was poor.' It was also found that there was a certain limit of closeness in the lines that could be separated, depending upon the aperture of the telescope. This corresponds to the well-known fact that a telescope with lenses of a given diameter cannot separate the discs of double stars which are within a certain proximity. It proved, in fact, that the angular distance apart of the fine lines needed, in general, to be twice as great as in the case of the components of a double star.

And the following *very* remarkable fact was noticed: viz. that, in 1882, the apparent distance apart of the pairs of lines forming the doubled canals seen by Schiaparelli was in general about the very least that the power of the telescope,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, then used by him, could possibly distinguish. When, however, in 1886, he used a telescope of 19 inches aperture, the lenses of which would suffice to reveal a much finer separation, the same canals appeared to him to be in most cases just that smaller distance apart. If, therefore, the amounts of separation seen by him were real, 'it is certainly singular,' as Professor Pickering remarks, 'that when the aperture of his telescope was doubled, the separation of the canals all over the planet happened to be reduced one-half;' and 'that the separation of the canals' in each case 'should happen to coincide so exactly with the separating power of the telescope that he used.' Professor Pickering concludes by saying that:

If the duplication of the canals were merely subjective and dependent upon some personal peculiarity, there is no reason why it should not be seen in comparatively small telescopes quite as well as in larger ones. On the other hand, if the duplication is real, it should, under equally good atmospheric conditions, be very much better seen in a large instrument than in a small one. Heretofore, however, quite as many duplications have been detected with telescopes of six to ten inches in diameter as have been found with much larger instruments. These facts, taken in connection with the experiments above described, lead me to the belief that the capacity for seeing the duplication distinctly is a personal one, which some observers possess and others do not. The true appearance of the canals is, according to my belief, owing to the properties of light itself, always that of single hazy bands, the supposed duplication arising only when the bands become unusually narrow and distinct.<sup>28</sup>

Mr. B. W. Lane, in an important and interesting article published in *Knowledge* last November, narrates experiments made by putting white discs of 'about three and a half inches diameter, in not too good a light,' at such a distance from an observer that details could

<sup>28</sup> *Annals of Harvard College Observatory*, vol. xxxii. part ii. pp. 150, 151.

not be very distinctly seen. On these discs were rough sketches of the large dark patch on Mars often termed the Hour-Glass Sea, as well as of certain other parts of its surface, and of some of their surroundings. Boys who knew nothing about the canals, and others (*e.g.* a lady who was only told to look for spots and shading), drew what they could see, after somewhat prolonged and steadfast gazing.

As a result, in addition to the dark portions really there, lines were inserted in the drawings (some of which are reproduced in the article) corresponding in many cases most remarkably with the canals drawn in those same parts by Schiaparelli. It is stated that one of the boys, of eleven years of age, when the original sketch was shown to him, could hardly believe that the lines had never been there, 'so certain was he that they were actual realities.' Mr. Lane found that he himself saw similar lines after about two minutes gazing. Also, if the experiment were repeated on successive days, that they became less misty in appearance, increasingly distinct, and sometimes doubled. They were best seen on rough drawing paper. In some cases a radiation of lines from a central patch was also seen as on Mars.<sup>29</sup>

At the close of the article the following statement is added by Mr. Maunder:

Acting on the suggestion of Mr. Lane's letter, and by the kind co-operation of Mr. J. E. Evans, head-master of the Royal Hospital School, Greenwich, I have quite recently subjected a number of drawings of Mars—free from canals—to boys in that school, for them to copy. The result was striking. Four out of five drew no canals, but the remaining fifth supplied them. And it was clear that this was directly a question of their distance from the drawing. Boys near the drawing saw too well and distinctly to imagine spurious lines. Boys at a great distance could only perceive the leading features of the drawing. But those at mean distance, by whom the minor details were imperfectly perceived, in many cases rendered these by straight narrow 'canals.'

I have myself tried this experiment, and have found a distinct tendency in the eye to see a straight line running to or from any part of a large dark patch that was so shaded as to be slightly darker than the part adjacent to it, or even when a slight want of flatness in any portion of the paper caused a difference in the amount of its illumination.

Further striking and confirmatory details connected with such experiments might be quoted, and reference might well be made to various peculiarities observed in the canal system, such as the remarkable parallelism of successive canals running in series over very extensive portions of the planet's surface. Many other points also deserve attention; as, for instance, the especial directions of those canals to which the phenomenon of doubling seems at certain times to be limited. But what has been stated may suffice to show not only the difficulty of seeing these canals at all, the limited number of

<sup>29</sup> *Knowledge*, Nov. 1902, pp. 250, 251. (See also Dec. 1902, p. 276.)

observers who have seen them well, and their very puzzling appearance, both when seen as single lines and still more when doubled; but also the importance of the statements made by so many capable observers as to the results of eye-strain, atmospheric waves and tremors, oscillatory and involuntary changes of focus in the eye, the action of the crystalline lens, and other intra-ocular effects, doubtless combined with such brain processes as hope and the nervous desire to see, imagination and the formation of preconceived images. To which must be added the important evidence of the experiments of Professor W. H. Pickering, Mr. Lane, Mr. Maunder, and others.

What, then, is the conclusion to be drawn? It is, I think, probable, that the so-called canals (with the exception perhaps of a few of the darkest and most prominent seen with low telescopic power) may not really exist upon Mars; and also that the apparent doubling, seen in many of them, may be still more delusive. I think that what is seen may for the most part be an appearance produced by the observer's eye, when affected by the strain of long and earnest gazing through the telescope. I consider that this conclusion is supported by the experiments quoted, and by the physiology of accommodation, astigmatism, and diplopia in the human eye. And I believe that there is also a subtle influence which is often conjointly effective upon the brain and nerves of an observer.

When much has been seen, more is wished for, and then more is seen. Those who once begin to see canals generally go on to see an increasing number; and others may presently see what they have recorded. Even Antoniadi wrote in 1898 that 'had it not been for Professor Schiaparelli's wonderful discoveries, and the foreknowledge that the canals are there, he would have missed at least three-fourths of those seen now.'<sup>30</sup> Many of the drawings of portions of the surface by Schiaparelli, which have been very often reproduced, easily impress themselves on the memory. They may therefore be the more likely to form imaginary cerebral images. It is certain that individual observers have occasionally drawn some features as they had previously been depicted in Schiaparelli's charts, when many other observers have testified that they could not be seen at that particular time.

I would that photography could come to our aid and definitely determine the mythical character, or otherwise, of the canals. A few photographs of Mars, it is true, have been secured, sufficient to show the white caps at its poles, and in one case to reveal a large, although very temporary, extension of such white surface. But the small amount of light in a sufficiently magnified image of the planet, as well as its comparatively rapid rotation on its own axis, and still more the extreme faintness and minute delineation of the

<sup>30</sup> *Memoirs, Brit. Astr. Assoc.* vol. vi. p. 63.

canal markings, render it hopeless to appeal for the information required to any possible photographs.

Astronomers are no doubt very well acquainted with the laws of optics as applied to the eye. They have made, and may yet make, many experiments connected with their action. They are accustomed to allow for individual peculiarities in observation; as, for instance, when what is termed personal equation affects the rapidity with which different observers touch a key to record what they see. They may therefore very skilfully judge of the effect produced in observations of Mars by such processes of the eye, or brain, or nervous system, as I have referred to. Nevertheless I strongly feel that it would be well, during the next few oppositions of Mars, if some skilful nerve specialists and oculists could work in conjunction with some of those practised observers who have seen the canals. They might both assist in observing, and, at the same time, carry out careful researches into the optical delusions which brain or eye may experience in connection with telescopic observation; especially as regards the seeing of fine lines near to the limit of distinct vision, and with reference to the results of the mental and ocular strain thereby involved. I believe that, in all probability, more progress would thus be made in the solution of the enigma of the canals than could be attained in any other way. At any rate, I feel that what is needed, at present, is not the putting forward of any more hypotheses as to these canals, however ingenious, but rather the co-operation with the highest skill of the astronomical observer, of such medical and surgical help and investigation as I have suggested.

E. LEDGER.

## THE MONUMENTS IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

THE public have been for many years sufficiently familiar with the fact that the Abbey church of Westminster is everywhere terribly overcrowded with public and private monuments, and that the time has almost come when it will be impossible either to admit new interments or to erect further memorials of any sort within its walls. By a singular piece of good fortune the destroying hand of the modern 'restorer,' which has done so much mischief elsewhere, has been warded off from Westminster Abbey; and no one will now be so bold as to propose that the needless shiftings and wanton destruction of the memorials of the dead which have disgraced the restoration of so many of our parish and cathedral churches should be permitted at Westminster, even for the laudable purpose of finding space to continue for the present and future generations that association of the names of illustrious Englishmen with 'the Abbey' which has for so long been part of our national traditions.

In the absence of any generally acceptable plan for enlarging Westminster Abbey the nation must ultimately be forced to face the question whether there is to be any definite place for national burials and monuments. But we shall, no doubt, be told that there is no necessity for insisting upon this conclusion, as it will not really be reached until the available space in St. Paul's Cathedral, as well as Westminster Abbey, is absolutely exhausted. It will perhaps be thought that the third largest church in Christendom must surely contain ample room for all the great men likely to die within the next hundred years or more. Yet there could not be a greater mistake, as I shall have no difficulty in showing: indeed the main object of the present article is to call attention to certain facts with regard to St. Paul's which practically very much restrict its use for monumental sculpture.

It may be desirable to recall, in the first instance, the history of the existing monuments. Although the building of the present church, which had been commenced in 1675, was finished in 1710, it was not until 1796, *i.e.* after a lapse of eighty-six years, that the first

monuments were erected, notwithstanding that many burials, notably that of Sir Christopher Wren, had taken place in the crypt.

The great cathedral may have seemed to the men of the early eighteenth century a thing so much to their taste and so complete in all its parts, that they would not tolerate the idea of any addition to it, in spite of the fact that certain learned people of the period quarrelled with many of the architectural details which they failed to find in the copybooks. At all events, the capitular body seems to have been perfectly well contented with what Lord Orford called its 'excess of plainness'; and when some one pointed out to Dr. Osbaldeston, Bishop of London, that Wren had himself provided for the introduction of monuments, he obstinately adhered to his own opinion that churches were better without them.

The change of sentiment which happened in the last ten years of the eighteenth century was perhaps largely due to the influence of the newly founded Royal Academy, and certainly, in a wider sense, to the revived interest in the remains of Græco-Roman sculpture initiated by the writings of Winckelmann. In 1791 the Dean and Chapter gave their consent to the admission of monuments 'under proper restrictions,' the decision having been come to upon the application of a committee for permission to erect a statue to Howard, the philanthropist. At that time funds were being collected for a monument to Dr. Johnson, which would in ordinary course have been erected in Westminster Abbey church, where he was buried; but at the instigation of Sir Joshua Reynolds its destination was changed for St. Paul's. So accomplished an artist as Sir Joshua felt instinctively the necessity for the symmetrical disposition of monuments in a classical building, and he must have foreseen how admirably the statue of his friend Johnson would balance that of Howard. These statues, both of them the work of that able sculptor, John Bacon, R.A., and both dated 1795, were placed in the position they still occupy, under the north-eastern and south-eastern quarter-domes, practically at the same date, in 1796, four years after Sir Joshua's death. The editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1796 presented his subscribers with an engraving of the Howard statue, and printed a letter from the sculptor giving 'the ideas that predominated in his mind whilst forming the statues of the late Mr. Howard and of Dr. Johnson.' At the same time the editor made the following comment, which was, of course, seriously meant, although it can nowadays only raise a smile:—

The introduction of monuments into the cathedral church of St. Paul's, whilst it forms a grand epoch to the Professors of the Imitative Art will convey to posterity a striking example of the liberality of the present Dean and Chapter.

The statue of Sir William Jones, the Oriental scholar, another work of Bacon's, and dated 1799, was placed under the south-west



quarter-dome. In this, as in the two previous statues, he evidently carefully considered the scale it was necessary to adopt in order to harmonise with the building—a scale ‘colossal’ in the technical sense, *i.e.* over life-size, and one which might very easily have been exaggerated with fatal effect. The statue by Flaxman of Sir Joshua Reynolds was placed under the fourth or north-western quarter-dome in 1813, and satisfactorily completed what may be called a desirable enrichment of an important part of the structure of the church.

Proper regard for scale, coupled with a due sense of the relation of the sculpture to the surrounding architecture, is the redeeming feature of the greater number of those monuments in St. Paul’s which were voted so liberally by Parliament, or erected by public subscription, during the eventful period of the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is indeed remarkable, and a subject for much congratulation, that such a quantity of colossal sculpture, admittedly of no transcendent merit either in conception or execution, should have been placed in the church with so little injury to its dignity or its fitness for public worship. The nave, including the nave-arcades (with the single exception of the graceful and noble monument to the Duke of Wellington), remains up to the present date absolutely free in all its lines, and nothing whatever interferes with the visitor’s enjoyment of the magnificent western prolongation of the nave, probably the most stately and beautifully proportioned piece of neo-classical architecture outside Italy.

It must not, however, be supposed that the original allocation of the monuments was in all cases so happy as at the present time. In connection with the changes in the choir in 1858 and 1870, which have seriously altered the character of Wren’s design as a whole—however unavoidable they may have been in order to adapt the church for the great congregational services of recent times—it became necessary to move the important monuments of Lord Nelson and Lord Cornwallis from the conspicuous places they occupied under the great arch at the entrance of the present choir. They were accordingly transferred to analogous, but much less important, positions under the great southern arch of the dome-area. Those positions were already occupied by monuments to Captain Burgess and Captain Faulknor, R.N., which had consequently to be removed elsewhere. Captain Burgess’s monument, one of the most tasteless in the church, was therefore transferred to the westernmost bay of the south aisle of the nave. At the same time the opportunity was cleverly seized of turning out from under the great northern arch of the dome-area a still more objectionable group of sculpture to the memory of Captain Westcott, R.N. This latter group was replaced by the above-mentioned monument of Captain Faulknor (including a group representing the dying hero falling into the arms of Neptune

and crowned by Victory) which originally stood where Lord Cornwallis's monument has found what we may hope is its final resting-place. If anyone wishes to see Captain Westcott's monument they will find that it occupies the easternmost bay of the south aisle. The sculptured group forming the principal part of it represents the gallant officer in a classical costume (or rather lack of costume), supported in an unhappy fashion, partly by a coil of rope and partly by a Victory, whose figure is sloped at such an angle as to suggest that she is skating 'on the outside edge.' Ludicrous as these figures unfortunately are, they are not so utterly commonplace as the group of portentous dimensions in the adjoining central bay which commemorates Bishop Middleton, the first Bishop of the Church of England in India. Perhaps this monument, like some others, such as Earl Howe's, Sir John Moore's, and Lord Rodney's, has been unfairly treated by taking away an iron railing that was round it; and if this is so the railing might surely be replaced with advantage in this instance.

Irreparable damage has been done in Westminster Abbey and in other ancient churches by the removal of the fine wrought-iron railings placed round the medieval tombs; and the similar removals in St. Paul's, notwithstanding that the railings themselves were simple rather than dignified, are to be regretted, as the sculptors must have taken the enclosures into account in preparing their designs. Grilles or railings are in many cases of great value as contributing to that sense of reserve and aloofness from casual surroundings which is generally essential to monumental sculpture. A lamentable instance of the ill-effects of removing the railings round a public statue is the case of the bronze figure of James the Second by Grinling Gibbons, which stood behind the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall. The figure looked so forlorn and unprotected when the railings had been taken away, that it excited the compassion of the Office of Works itself, and it was consequently removed to an enclosed space next Gwydr House, but it was not allowed to rest there, and now we hear of some wild project of sending it away to Hampton Court, perhaps the most inappropriate place that could possibly have been chosen.

The taking away of the railings around the equestrian statues of Charles the First at Charing Cross and George the Third in Cockspur Street was no less unfortunate, but has not yet led to proposals for removing those works of art from their present sites.

Probably very few of the readers of this Review who take an interest in the Fine Arts have ever given more than a passing glance at the monuments at St. Paul's; and many people will be prepared to accept without question the opinion expressed in an elaborate History of Art recently issued in Germany that St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey are more like chambers of horrors than

museums of sculpture. The modern visitor is too much repelled by the general conception common to nearly all these monuments to do anything like justice to them. There is indeed an undeniable poverty of invention, as well as an absence of fine taste and intimate knowledge of form, in the majority of these productions. We object nowadays to the triviality and triteness of such objects as Victory pointing out the figure of Lord Rodney to the Historic Muse; Britannia, attended by Sensibility and the Genius of Great Britain, crowning the bust of General Dundas; Britannia calling the attention of two sailor boys to the statue of Lord Nelson, or, as in another instance, directing a youthful soldier towards the inscription on the base of the sarcophagus of General Le Marchant. No sympathetic emotion is produced by a Victory overcome with grief, reclining nearly at full length under the sarcophagus of Captain Hardinge, or by another Victory who makes use of her wreath as a sash for the purpose of helping to lower Sir John Moore's body into the tomb.

It is hardly necessary to insist upon the fact that the simplest motives are really the most touching and appropriate for sepulchral monuments. This is nowhere so finely exemplified as in the Attic tomb-reliefs of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.; but they are treated with an exquisite taste and the most evidently genuine feeling, as well as with a sense of nobility of form derived from the great art of the School of Phidias and his immediate successors. The fact is that it is the artificial character of the sentiment rather than the bad art of the early nineteenth century that repels the present generation. In this respect the monuments in St. Paul's do not differ greatly from monuments of the same date on the Continent of Europe, and they should be accepted as part of the history of the age to which they belong. Their inferiority to contemporary work in France and Italy must be set down to a low level of attainment on the part of our sculptors at that time, mainly due to a general national want of sympathy and appreciation for the sculptor's art.

I have already referred to the characteristic feature of the architecture of St. Paul's, viz. to the simplicity and magnitude of its component parts, as opposed to the multiplication of small parts in Gothic architecture. This characteristic is, of course, common to all buildings of its style, but it is more particularly of importance in churches of vast dimensions such as St. Paul's and the Roman basilica of St. Peter. The magnitude of component parts, coupled with symmetrical disposition of those parts, necessarily imposes a certain scale upon everything of a permanent character added to the building.

The due attention to scale which marked the first statues erected in St. Paul's in 1796, and also the large groups of the naval and military monuments of the earlier part of the nineteenth century, has been lamentably wanting in some of the monuments added during

the last few years. Take, for example, the monument of General Gordon, which occupies the central bay of the north aisle of the nave. The sarcophagus, with its recumbent figure no larger than life-size, seems lost in its present position, almost on a level with the floor, and suggests rather a bier temporarily placed in a mortuary than a stately monument to a national hero. The same neglect of the requirements of scale applies also to the monument of Lord Leighton, which looked a refined piece of work when seen in plaster in the comparatively small sculpture gallery of the Royal Academy, but appears almost insignificant in St. Paul's. Moreover, it suffers from close proximity to the Wellington monument, which has a sarcophagus of somewhat similar but bolder outline. The Leighton cenotaph is also injured by the poor quality of its pseudo-cipollino marble.

It is impossible to write on the subject of the national monuments at the present time without touching upon the question of the completion of the Wellington monument, which has recently attracted a good deal of attention, but not all from the point of view adopted in this paper. If some cynical or far-sighted person in or about the year 1852 had foretold that more than fifty years after the death of the great Duke of Wellington the monument ordered by Parliament to be erected to his memory in St. Paul's Cathedral would still be in an unfinished state, the prediction would certainly have been looked upon as an insult to the nation and to the national hero. And yet that is the real position of affairs in the year of grace 1903, a position which would be at least intelligible if the design of the monument were unworthy of its subject or unsuited to the building in which it stands. But so far is this from being the case that it is admitted by all competent persons that the work is, beyond challenge, the finest piece of monumental sculpture ever conceived by an Englishman and one of the masterpieces of the world.

Everyone interested in the subject knows that the monument was expressly designed by Alfred Stevens, in accordance with the terms of the competition, to go under one of the arches of the nave of the cathedral. Partly owing to financial difficulties in which Stevens had involved himself by undertaking to do the work for an absurdly inadequate sum of money, and partly because of the ignorance and prejudice of Mr. Ayrton and Dean Milman, one of its main features, the equestrian statue of the Duke, was suppressed; and thus truncated, it was thrust away in what is known as the Consistory Chapel.<sup>1</sup> A petition to Government for its removal to

<sup>1</sup> It is with no desire to say anything disrespectful of so great a scholar and excellent a man as Dean Milman, but as a useful reminder of the false conclusions that eminent men may arrive at in regard to subjects outside their sphere, that I reprint the following extracts from a letter of the Dean addressed to the Office of Works on the 17th of January 1887:

'You are so kind as to await, so Penrose informs me, my judgment about the

the site for which it was originally intended was got up in the year 1883 and received considerable support from members of Parliament, artists, and others, but the action then initiated proved quite fruitless, and, in all human probability, Stevens's work would have remained hidden away up to the present day, if it had not been for the generous and untiring efforts of Lord Leighton, one of the most public-spirited artists this country has produced. He raised and largely contributed to funds which enabled him to remove the monument from the Consistory Chapel and re-erect it under the central arch of the northern arcade of the nave. Unfortunately Lord Leighton's death prevented his carrying out his further purpose of completing the monument by adding the equestrian group, the idea of which—so essential to his design—Stevens had never given up. Indeed, he continued to work upon the model of this group, notwithstanding that he had been called upon by the Office of Works to produce a different design, and although he knew very well there was no possible room for it in the Consistory Chapel.

In a letter to the *Times* in July 1895, Lord Leighton wrote as follows :

The monument has been transferred to its proper position and surroundings : it now awaits completion and it is in this necessary work that I would ask the co-operation of such of your readers as are careful of a supreme artist's fame.

The original design of the sculptor, which may be seen at present by the side of the unfinished monument, shows an equestrian statue of the great Duke occupying the now vacant pedestal which surmounts the whole and worthily crowning the magnificent conception.

More than six years passed after Leighton's death ; and, so far as is known, nothing practical was suggested by anyone till last year towards carrying out the proposal he had made in his letter to the *Times* in July 1895. There have, however, always been some persons amongst the few who care for sculpture in this country who have never given up the hope of seeing justice done to Stevens, and there have always been others who have felt it a national disgrace that the most important memorial of the Iron Duke should remain in an unfinished state. It is not surprising, therefore, that last summer a small committee of admirers of Stevens and the Duke of Wellington was formed quite unostentatiously for completing the monument

design for the Wellington monument before you give your final order. I can offer no objection, provided the Duke does not ride into the Cathedral on the top of his own monument. . . .

'In truth I think it very probable that the design may be effective when worked out in rich marbles. . . .

'The recumbent figure of the Duke is fine, though perhaps not very original. At all events, since you relieved the Cathedral itself from the incumbrance of so large a structure, and, with great judgment, suggested the chapel which it is to occupy, I do not look upon the object with the apprehension which I must confess I felt at one time.' (See Command Paper, entitled 'Correspondence relative to the Wellington monument St. Paul's Cathedral 1870.')

with the approval of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's; the Bishop of Stepney, a member of the Chapter, being appointed chairman of the committee. Accordingly, arrangements were made for the purchase of Stevens's model for the equestrian group, which had been carefully preserved by the piety of one of his pupils; and a young sculptor of talent, who is said to be an enthusiastic admirer of Stevens's work, was given a commission to finish the model in order that it may be placed in position and, if found satisfactory, cast in bronze under his supervision. It should be clearly understood that in this, as in all similar questions of the introduction or modification of monuments at St. Paul's, no action can be taken in the building itself without the concurrence of the architect who holds the office of Surveyor to the Fabric, and is the responsible adviser of the Dean and Chapter with regard to everything directly or indirectly affecting the architecture of the church.

The public were assured by the committee's letter in *The Times* of the 24th of January that the plaster model by Stevens will be preserved untouched for comparison and verification, and that Mr. Tweed's model—cast from it and worked upon no further than is absolutely necessary—will be tried in position before it is handed over to the bronze-founder. (On the faith of an imperfect illustration which appeared in *Black and White* on the 10th of January Stevens's model has been recently described as 'in a most incomplete and fragmentary state,' and Lord Leighton in his letter of July 1895, from which I have quoted, refers to it as 'rough and unfinished.' On the other hand, we are assured by Mr. Gamble (letter in the *Times* of the 12th of February), a pupil of Stevens's, that when the master died the model was standing in his studio all but ready for the foundry. Mr. Gamble, evidently moved at the prospect of Stevens's work being improved upon, exclaims, 'No, no! Charge Mr. Tweed with the rectifying of the horse's tail, which was the only part left in clay unfinished.'

The artistic world has, however, been quite recently placed in a position to form its own conclusions on the question how far Stevens had carried his work on the horse and its rider; the March number of the *Architectural Review* having published an article which gives a good description, with illustrations of the existing models and drawings of the equestrian group. Two photographic reproductions from the side and two from the front view of the cast upon which Mr. Tweed is at work are given, as well as an illustration of the small sketch model in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington. These are sufficient to show not only how fine a masterpiece we have been deprived of for nearly thirty years, but also how little remains to be done in order to finish the plaster cast sufficiently to admit of its being put up for trial in the place to be finally occupied by the bronze casting. In looking at the photographs

proper allowance must be made for the misleading point of view from which they have necessarily been taken. The limbs of the horse, owing to their nearness to the camera, appear too thick, and other parts look out of drawing. It is also necessary to bear in mind the elevated position which the finished work will occupy. The only portions of the horse actually missing are one of the hoofs and a considerable part of the tail. The last-mentioned part was treated in an extremely original way, being swished round on the animal's flank, but there will be little difficulty in reproducing this feature, as it is fully represented in the small model at South Kensington. The Duke's head, which was removed from Stevens's cast before it was consigned to the crypt of St. Paul's, many years ago, has been most carefully preserved, and is one of the finest things of its kind in modern sculpture.

We must reluctantly admit that there is no possibility of our being able to obtain such a perfectly finished work of art as Stevens would have given us if he had been able to put the finishing touches to the model; but surely what is wanted is that we shall have as much of Stevens as possible, and as little as possible of Mr. Tweed or any other man, academician or non-academician. If we have high finish we shall not have Stevens's work, but somebody else's. Surely Mr. Tweed, working under a committee which has assured us as to its intentions, can be trusted to do no more than is absolutely necessary. High finish is not essential for a work to be placed at the level at which the equestrian group must stand, but character and the character of Stevens's own handiwork is essential. No one would dream of 'carrying further' the unfinished figures of Michel Angelo on the tombs of the Medici in Florence.

We do not think it worth while to discuss the not very material question whether the completion of the Wellington monument should be undertaken by the Government or should be carried out under the responsibility of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's by a committee approved by them. The main point which concerns the public is that the work should be done quickly, and that nothing more should be done than is absolutely requisite in order to show Stevens's own handiwork on the equestrian group to the best advantage. It will rather be consonant with the object of the present paper to point out how perfectly the whole monument, when completed, will comply with the all-important condition that such a work must be designed with due relation to its architectural surroundings. The main problem which Stevens had before him in preparing his scheme was the designing of a structure so light and graceful in form that it would appear to fill satisfactorily the space under one of the nave arches without in any way seeming to block it up, or interrupt the sequence of the massive arcades which form the principal architectural feature of the nave. But in its present

truncated condition the monument only fills the space between the piers, and the arch above is left entirely empty. This fact alone imperatively calls for the erection of the equestrian group and its pedestal, and should entirely dispose of the theoretical objection which some persons besides Dean Milman have felt to an equestrian statue placed over a recumbent effigy of the dead. The most famous precedent for such an arrangement is, of course, the fourteenth-century monument to Can Grande della Scala over the door of S. Maria Antica in Verona, but there are very many others in Italy, not outside but inside important churches, and we need go no further than the sacarium of Westminster Abbey to find two instances of the same idea. Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, are each represented 'on their barded horses' in the trefoil which fills up the pediment above their tombs. The Earl of Lancaster has his hands folded in prayer, but the Earl of Pembroke is riding gaily along in full armour with a surcoat over it, which was originally brilliantly coloured. These figures are, it is true, in relief and not in the round; but as a scheme for a monument the idea is the same as Can Grande's; and surely no more appropriate scheme could be found for the memorial over the grave of a Christian knight than to set forth in sharp contrast the fulness of life and the solemnity of death. The motive is commoner in Renaissance than in Gothic art, although the 'lively effigy' does not very often take the form of a man on horseback. It has been objected that the Greeks of the fifth or fourth century B.C. would not have dealt with the problem in this way, and that is true enough. They would, as in the Dexileos monument in Athens, have shown the man in full vigour of life trampling over his enemies; but they would have suppressed altogether the recumbent effigy of the dead hero which appeals most closely to modern sentiment.

The failures in the matter of scale in the case of the Leighton and Gordon monuments should impose great caution upon those responsible for admitting and placing further monuments in St. Paul's. They should be called upon to emphasise very distinctly the necessity for observing the rules which governed the scale and placing of the earlier monuments. They cannot insist that only fine works of art should be admitted; but they can and are bound to insist that the church committed to their charge shall not be deliberately spoilt by crowding it with sculptured groups or wall slabs for which there is really no room. It is to be observed, that, unlike the interior of so many churches in Italy, where we find vast wall spaces urgently calling for paintings and monuments to cover them, the interior wall surfaces of St. Paul's are fully occupied by pilasters, panels, and windows, with full architectural details and rich floral decoration in wrought stone. Unless, therefore, the architectural design is cut into or blocked out, there is hardly any available space



for monuments of any size, and as regards the main architectural lines of the building the vital importance of keeping them perfectly free as in the nave cannot be too strongly insisted on.

If anyone wishes to satisfy himself how small is the room now left it will only be necessary for him to refer to a ground plan of St. Paul's giving the position of the existing monuments. Such a plan will be found in the useful handbook of the Reverend Lewis Gilbertson, sold in the church for sixpence. It will there be seen that nearly all the possible sites for monuments of a size necessitated by the scale of the building are already occupied. Many persons feared, not without some show of reason, that the filling of one of the arches of the nave by the Wellington monument would seriously injure the architecture. This fear has proved groundless owing to the elegance and refinement of the structure, standing as it does in marked contrast with the great solid piers on either side of it. But a repetition of the experiment under another arch of the nave would be perilous in the extreme, even if we had another Alfred Stevens with us. It seems also right, apart from architectural considerations, that the monument of Arthur Duke of Wellington should stand alone.

The exercise of very great vigilance in using the extremely limited space in St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey may put off for some years the question whether there are to be any more national monuments except in the open air and whether there are to be any more burials of distinguished persons apart from the common burial places in cemeteries. How the question will be ultimately solved it is impossible to foresee.

There is a most serious objection to the burying of dead bodies within buildings heated and in constant use by large numbers of persons, as our principal churches are nowadays. Possibly some 'God's acre' under the free canopy of heaven on one of the hills near London might be reserved as a place for the interment of the remains of those whom the State may desire to honour. The sculptured memorials, especially if they are to be of marble, might find a place in a cloister surrounding the consecrated ground, to which naturally a church or chapel and a residence for custodians would be attached. So wide a departure from national tradition as is here indicated would not be seriously thought of unless it is absolutely clear that it is impossible for us to continue in the ancient ways; but, if a precedent is required for the form of burial ground suggested, there is a noble one, very well known, in the lovely Campo Santo at Pisa erected in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries round the fifty-three shiploads of earth which Archbishop Ubaldo de' Lanfranchi brought home from Mount Calvary.

## *THE DETERIORATION IN THE NATIONAL PHYSIQUE*

'It is no use having an Empire without an Imperial race.' For some time past the physical condition of the nation has been a matter attracting the grave attention of thoughtful men. From various quarters we have heard that there are many signs that a serious deterioration in the national physique has been going on for some years. Among those who have called attention to this state of things are Earl Grey, the Earl of Meath, Mr. C. T. Horsfall,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Cantlie,<sup>2</sup> Mr. George Quick, R.N., Colonel Douglas, V.C., M.D.,<sup>3</sup> Colonel F. Welch, M.S., Major-General Sir F. Maurice, and Hon. Thomas Cochrane. Last year the subject engaged the attention of the Government, and a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the physical condition of the children in State-aided schools in Scotland.

Up to the present, however, no attempt has been made, so far as the writer is aware, to show not only that the physical condition of the people is bad, but that it is and has been for some time past deteriorating. It will be the object of the present paper to put before the public certain facts which leave little doubt as to that deterioration, and to urge a remedy which may be summed up in the words, National Training.

It may be stated at the outset that the economic conditions of industrial life now-a-days are such as naturally to affect injuriously the physical development of those engaged in it. True, sanitary science and hygiene have made prodigious strides, and epidemics which formerly carried off thousands, now only count their victims by the score. The result has been a great reduction in the death-rate, which is often quoted by superficial observers as a sign of improvement in national health and vigour. But, as will appear in the course of this article, the causes which are undermining the

<sup>1</sup> *Physical Training*: C. T. Horsfall.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Health of the People': James Cantlie, M.B., F.R.C.S., D.P.H. Article in *The Practitioner*, March 1902.

<sup>3</sup> *The Recruit from the Depot Medical Officer's Point of View.*

physique of the nation quite outweigh the results achieved by the progress of medical science.

The main cause injuriously affecting the physique of the nation is one which is probably unavoidable. It consists in the growing absorption of the population into big towns. At the present moment more than 77 per cent. of the population in England is urban, while the proportion in Germany is 36 per cent. and in France 25 per cent. This means that hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children now live under very unhealthy conditions. While their forefathers lived, for the most part, in the country, where light, air, exercise, and contact with the woods and fields of English pastoral life had a healthy and invigorating effect on body and mind alike, the vast majority of the people now live in large towns, where light, air, space, and all that goes to make a 'healthy and happy human being' are greatly lacking. On the other hand, the healthy amusements of the village green are largely replaced by the unnatural and, in part, vicious pleasures afforded to the tired worker in our big cities.

There can be no doubt that, unless we adopt some system which shall provide for the physical training of the whole nation, as all Continental nations do, we are destined before long to lose, if not our national, at least our commercial, supremacy among the nations of the world.

Unfortunately there are no general anthropometrical statistics available in England as there are in all other European countries, where the adoption of universal military service has obliged the authorities to draw up very complete tables with regard to the physique of the recruits who are called upon for service. The only approach to such a general survey is given in the Reports of the Inspector-General of Recruiting, in the Army Medical Reports, and in the General Annual Returns for the Army. These Reports, taken as a whole, show that for many years past the physique of the men enlisted is more and more unsatisfactory—that the recruits accepted for service are smaller, lighter, and narrower-chested.<sup>4</sup>

The standard of height was 5 feet 6 inches in 1845. The proportion of men under that minimum was :

In 1845 . . . . .	105 per 1,000
1887 . . . . .	528 „
1900 . . . . .	565 „

In 1872 the standard was lowered to 5 feet 5 inches, in 1883 to 5 feet 3 inches, in 1897 to 5 feet 2 inches, and in 1901 permission was given to enlist men as low as 5 feet in height, the lowest on record in the history of the British army.

<sup>4</sup> Incredible as it may appear, the Annual General Return for the Army has not yet been issued for 1899. My facts are therefore necessarily restricted to 1898 and preceding years, except where they are taken from the Army Medical Report, which has been published for 1900.

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The proportion of men under 5 feet 5 inches serving in the army has risen as follows :

1889	.	.	106 per 1,000		1891	.	.	117 per 1,000
1890	.	.	115		1898	.	.	132

The proportion of men serving in the army with a chest measurement under 33 inches (reduced in 1883 from the former minimum of 34 inches) was :

1889	.	.	17 per 1,000		1891	.	.	22 per 1,000
1890	.	.	19 „		1898	.	.	23 „

The ratio of chest measurements under 37 inches has increased thus :

1880	.	.	562 per 1,000		1891	.	.	668 per 1,000
1889	.	.	641 „		1898	.	.	677 „
1890	.	.	657 „		1899	.	.	678 „

One of the highest authorities on military hygiene has expressed the opinion that 'Good weight for height is of even more importance than an ample chest measure.'<sup>5</sup>

The proportion of recruits finally approved for service weighing under 8 st. 8 lbs. has increased as follows :

1871	.	.	159.4 per 1,000		1898	.	.	269 per 1,000
1872	.	.	174.4 „		1900	.	.	301 „

It may be added that in 1900 44.2 per 1,000 of those finally approved weighed under 7 st. 12 lbs. and 25.5 per 1,000 weighed under 7 st. 2 lbs.

The average height and weight of those finally approved in 1890 and 1900 respectively were :

	Average Height.	Average Weight.
1890	5 feet 5.8 inches.	9 st. 0.2 lbs.
1900	5 feet 5.4 inches.	8 st. 12.4 lbs.

But it is important to observe that, in arriving at these averages, boys under 17 have been excluded; the averages would be very much lower if they had been included, seeing that the proportion of boys thus accepted was 35.6 per 1,000 in 1900.

It is interesting to compare the average height and weight of the recruit of 1900 with those of the average German recruit examined by Dr. Fetzer in 1877. These were 5 feet 5.75 inches and 10 st. 3.3 lbs. Dr. Fetzer gave it as his opinion that no recruit should be accepted weighing less than 9 st. 6.15 lbs. This would have excluded more than half the recruits enlisted in the British army in 1898; for 61.4 per cent. of them weighed under 9 st. 4 lbs. Of course every allowance must be made for the fact that

<sup>5</sup> Munson's *Military Hygiene*.

the German recruit is, on an average, a year and a half older than the British. On the other hand, as I have pointed out above, our average is arrived at without taking into account the measurements of boys under 17, while it includes men over 25; whereas no German recruit over 23 years of age is accepted.

The following figures offer an interesting and instructive survey of the health of our army. *It should be noted that the figures take no account of the South African War.*

In 1900 the admissions to hospitals represent a ratio of 827·7 per 1,000 and there were over 10,000 men constantly non-effective from sickness, giving a return of 46·08 per 1,000 of the total strength. There were also 24·93 per 1,000 discharged as invalids. Taking the aggregate for the ten years from 1890 to 1899, we find that 116,924 men were constantly non-effective from sickness, giving a ratio of 59·15 per 1,000 of the aggregate strength in those years. When we consider that we pay well over 100% a year for each of these men, one cannot but be struck by the loss to the nation in sheer hard cash.

The health and stamina of our army, as compared with the German, are indicated in the following figures:

1900	Admissions to Hospital	Constantly Non-effective through Sickness	Death-rate per 1,000
England.	827·7	46·08	9·05
Germany	689·0	10·6	2·4

Now it may be admitted at once that the above figures do not in themselves constitute a direct proof of a deterioration in the national physique. They only show the deterioration going on among the class which supplies the majority of recruits. But the state of that class serves as a barometric indication of the general trend to deterioration in the national health and strength.

This is shown, too, by the fact that recruits of the same age and class of life are inferior physically to similar recruits of years gone by. In 1878, Major Leith Adams said that the youths of seventeen enlisted in 1845 were superior in physique to the majority of the recruits of eighteen accepted in 1873. In 1899 Lieutenant-Colonel C. M. Douglas, V.C., M.D., said that within his remembrance 'the old recruiting sergeants would have laughed at the recruits now accepted.'

The percentage of deaths due to disease to the total number of deaths among our troops in South Africa was nearly double that of German troops in the Franco-Prussian War, as the following figures show:

Franco-Prussian War	35·5
South African War (up to Sept. 30, 1900)	62·2

Percentage of deaths due to disease on deaths in hospital from wounds and disease:

Franco-Prussian War . . . . .	59.3
South African War (up to Sept. 30, 1900) . . . . .	87.0

In comparing these figures we must bear in mind the enormous advance that has been made in the treatment of the sick and wounded during the last thirty years.

But there are other indications besides those to be found in the Annual Return of the Army and the Army Medical Reports, which point to a steady deterioration of the national physique for some years past. Such indications are (1) The steady and rapid decline in the birth-rate, from 36.3 per 1,000 in 1876 to 29.4 in 1898. (2) The increase in the death-rate of infants under one year old from 149 per 1,000 in the period 1871-80 to 163 per 1,000 in 1898. (3) The increase in deaths among infants owing to 'congenital defects' from 1.85 to 4.08, or 130 per cent. in less than thirty years. (4) The rapid increase in the proportion of female children born. (5) The increase of deaths from premature childbirth by 300 per cent. in the last fifty years.

These figures are the more striking when we consider that sanitary science, hygiene, and therapeutic medicine have made enormous strides, thereby lowering the death-rate, chiefly among old and infirm persons. Earl Grey has drawn attention to the deplorable physical condition of the children in Manchester and the Potteries, and it seems likely that the Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Condition in Scotch Schools will tell the same tale. The Hon. Thomas Cochrane, M.P., Under-Secretary for the Home Department, who sat on this Commission, said that the Report will furnish the public with 'matter for grave and serious reflection.'

These facts are grave enough. But additional weight is lent to them when we find that, while our national physique shows many signs of deterioration, the physique of Continental nations has improved and is improving since the adoption of universal military service gave to the whole manhood of those countries a sound physical training and discipline of body and mind.

And first let it be observed, that precisely the same *tendencies* are to be noted in those countries as prevail with us. There, as here, life in great cities tends to deterioration, as is shown by the fact that, for the last five years, the percentage of recruits fit for service was:

In Berlin . . . . .	38 per cent.
In East Prussia (agricultural) . . . . .	80 „
In Germany (average) . . . . .	62 „

In Manchester, out of a little over 11,000 men presenting themselves for service in 1899, 8,000 had to be rejected; while out of the 3,000 not rejected, only 1,000 could be put into the regular army, 2,000 being placed in the Militia. The percentage fit for service in the same city for the three years 1899, 1900, 1901, among men *voluntarily* presenting themselves for service and, therefore, presumably thinking they had some chance of being accepted, was 28 per cent.: whereas the German figures include all young men of the military age, humpbacks, cripples, and invalids, as well as the strong and healthy. The tendency of town life to injure physical development is the same everywhere; and the natural result of modern industry is the accumulation of the population into cities.

But while the same causes are at work in other countries, the universal physical training of the whole youth of the country has affected them so powerfully and beneficially that, so far from deteriorating, their physique shows every sign of improvement, and it may be safely said that the improvement is in direct proportion to the length of time which has elapsed since the introduction of universal military training.

In all these countries 'the army is the nation,' and therefore military statistics supply a real index to the state of the national health; not, as with us, merely an indication of the health of one section of the population.

Taking Germany as the country where universal service has been in force for the longest time, all authorities are agreed that the health and physical development of the German people have improved enormously, in spite of the fact that the flower of its youth perished in the three great wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870-71. The medical returns for the German army give clear proof of this. Thus the percentage of rejections for physical unfitness decreased as follows from 1878-1887 (the standard remaining the same):—

1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887
24·7	26·0	25·3	20·6	10·8	18·8	18·6	17·9	17·6	16·3

In other words, for three recruits unfit for service in 1878, there were only two in 1887. The *Sanitäts-Bericht über die deutschen Heere* for 1899-1900 shows a steady tendency to improvement in the health and physical efficiency of the troops—that is, of the youth of Germany. Thus the ratio of admissions to hospital has diminished as follows:

1881-82—1885-86 .	899·6 per 1,000	1897-98 .	682·5 per 1,000
1886-87—1890-91 .	908·3    „	1898-99 .	690·8    „
1891-92—1895-96 .	812·2    „	1899-00 .	689·0    „
1896-97 .	726·9    „		

The ratio of mortality has diminished thus :

1881-82—1885-86	. 4.1 per 1,000	1897-98	. 2.2 per 1,000
1885-86—1890-91	. 3.3 „	1898-99	. 2.1 „
1891-92—1895-96	. 2.8 „	1899-00	. 2.4 „
1896-97	. 2.3 „		

We have seen that the ratio per 1,000 of those constantly non-effective through sickness was 10.6 in 1900, against 46.08 per 1,000 for our army, a difference of over 325 per cent.

In 1890 the latest statistics showed that the average height of the Frenchman of twenty was 5 feet 4½ inches, which was ½ inch above the average in 1872; and Mr. W. M. Gattie, writing in 1890, says, 'the French as a nation are gradually improving in stature.'<sup>6</sup> Indeed the improvement in French physique during the last thirty years has been remarked upon by many observers.

The number of recruits rejected as unfit for service in Austria, which adopted universal military service in 1868, has diminished as follows :

1870	. . 141 per 1,000	1887	. . 103 per 1,000
1886	. . 108 „	1888	. . 102 „

A similar improvement has taken place in the Italian recruits called up for service since the adoption of universal military service by that country in 1876.

So that, in Mr. Gattie's words, 'While the physique of the British army is deteriorating under influences already considered, the material from which foreign armies are drawn is on the whole becoming better and more vigorous; and this --be it remembered-- has come about in spite of tremendous wars in which every Continental power of the first rank has sacrificed much of the flower of its youth.'

In respect of the birth-rate and the proportion of male to female infants, all these nations (excepting France as regards birth-rate) show every sign of improvement in national physique.

There is nothing surprising in all this. It is clear that the nation which gives a sound training in discipline, drill, and physical development to its whole youth, must in the long run greatly improve the physique of its people and counteract the unhealthy tendencies of modern industrial life. On the other hand, a country, especially if it be the leader in industry, which relies upon the spasmodic effects of games played by the few and watched by the many, to retain or improve the health of its people is destined to a rude awakening some day when it discovers that

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,  
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

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<sup>6</sup> 'The Physique of European Armies': W. M. Gattie. *Fortnightly Review*, April 1890.



Moreover, it will certainly find itself poor in that best form of 'wealth' which, according to Ruskin, consists in the 'greatest number of healthy and happy men and women.'

The effects of drill and physical training in improving even the most unpromising material are shown by the following figures from the report of the Inspector-General for Recruiting for 1898; they give the results of the training of those recruits 'specially' enlisted below the very low standard of physical measurements which obtains :

		Percentage who had reached the Standard among those remeasured in Jan. 1899
Enlisted in 1898 between Jan. 1 and June 30		73
„ „ July 1 and Sept. 30		63
„ „ Oct. 1 and Dec. 31		43
Enlisted previous to 1895		90
„ during 1895		87
„ „ 1896		86
„ „ 1897		77

The following figures show the average improvement which takes place in the ordinary recruit during the average course of five or six months' gymnastic training, which means one hour daily, mostly spent in free gymnastics :

2 inches round the chest.  
 $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch round the upper arm.  
 1 inch round the fore arm.

Colonel Douglas tells us that 'as a result of three months' training, the recruit gains in weight and height, girth of chest and limbs. The improvement in the physical development is so great that one often regrets that a similar training cannot be more universally applied, and that more of the hooligans and youthful yahoos that infest some of the streets of our cities cannot be trained to habits of order and discipline and their physical powers developed.'

Drs. Chassagne and Dally, in their work *Influence Précise de la Gymnastique*, show that 70 per cent. of the pupils at Joinville gained, on an average, one inch in chest measurement in the course of five months' instruction. Dr. Abel in Germany found that there was an increase of from one to two inches in the chest measurement of three-fourths of the men examined.

With such facts as I have given before us, it is surely high time for us to take steps in the direction of giving a sound physical training to the whole of our youth. And it seems certain that the only way to reach the whole male population is to adopt a moderate system of compulsory military and naval training, to be preceded by careful physical development during school years.

From a national health point of view [says Dr. Cantlie] compulsory military service would be a great hygienic gain to the nation. Our public school boys, that is, the youths of the classes, are given time and opportunity to indulge in out-of-door sports, but the children of the masses have no such privileges. After school life is over, at, say, thirteen, the boy of the poorer classes in town has no playground open to him; he has to look forward to close indoor employment, and his holidays are but an occasional run to the sea-side or the country in Bank Holidays. Were he, however, compelled to undergo a . . . military training, say from seventeen to nineteen, how much would it mean to him and to the nation! The direct physical benefit obtainable is calculated to increase the work-producing power of the nation. The discipline inculcated during these critical periods of life is potential of great good. The habits of cleanliness taught and the meaning of hygiene and sanitation insisted upon, elementary though they would necessarily be, would affect the man's future life, it may be insensibly and to but a slight degree; but a minimum of education in these matters, touching as it would all classes, means a colossal total towards betterment.

Universal naval and military training would, in fact, arrest the physical deterioration of our population and enable us to maintain that vigour and strength without which we cannot hope to maintain our commercial supremacy among the energetic and virile nations which are now competing with us in the markets of the world.

But universal training would do much more. It would give our youth a taste for soldiering, which, coupled with the inevitable improvement in national physique, would fill the ranks of our voluntary long-service army with sturdy and efficient men. It would bring home the duties and responsibilities of citizenship to hundreds of thousands who are without it. It would solve the question of home defence on the only sound basis—namely, that the defence of the country is, in the words of Mr. Beckett and Major Seely, 'the affair of its citizens and of them alone;' not of one or more army corps of regulars. It would enable us to cut down our professional army and its cost to limits more compatible with its relative position of importance in the scheme of national defence. At the same time it would set the Navy and Army free to perform their proper offensive functions in time of war, unhampered by the consideration that, should an enemy break through, he would find a population unorganised, untrained, unarmed. Finally, the acceptance of the principle of manhood service, a principle which may be traced as the basis of our system of national defence from the earliest times, would undoubtedly stimulate organisation for mutual defence between the mother country and the colonies, and so bring about that Imperial Federation which is the dream so many of us wish to see realised. Above all, let us remember the truth emphasised by Lord Rosebery at Liverpool: 'It is no use having an Empire without an Imperial race.'

GEORGE F. SHEK.

## *WHAT IS THE ADVANTAGE OF FOREIGN TRADE?*

I HAVE been set a-thinking on the above question by the perusal of Mr. J. A. Hobson's recently published book on Imperialism. Mr. Hobson's volume is a monument of energetic thought and research, and it is an illustration of its power that it stimulates inquiry and discussion. Its main thesis seems to me abundantly proved. The demonstration is complete that the present popular pursuit of the extension of our empire as a means of securing economic gains to our people is a vain and costly delusion. We do not in truth realise any increase in industry or commerce by such widening of our borders. It is admitted that no immediate gain is attained, but it is urged that we are preparing the field for immense benefits in future. Mr. Hobson exposes the fallacies of these promises. He shows that the development of our trade with independent countries has been much greater and more profitable than anything we have gained by trade with such regions as we have been bringing under our flag, that this advantageous development has gone on most actively when we have been least active in processes of annexation, that our new designs have been of the character of those commercial transactions where we spend a sovereign to get a return of ten shillings, and that the policy of grabbing unoccupied lands so as to make them fields for British commerce, coupled with the allied policy, as yet only projected, of bringing all imperial dominions into one Zollverein, has only served to develop among our neighbours the reciprocal policy of keeping our trade away from their shores and to retard that loosening of the fetters of commerce which actual intercourse constantly suggests in an effective if unconscious fashion. All this Mr. Hobson establishes by an array of argument and an appeal to the facts of experience, but he is not content with the position thus built up. In his zeal for his end, he produces yet other arguments which would indeed be fatal to all suggestions of Imperialism if they could be accepted as sound. He sets out to prove that the advantages of our foreign trade are really extremely insignificant, and that if it disappeared

it would in a large measure be replaced by an increase of domestic trade making up much of the loss.

First, however, let us realise what Mr. Hobson has proved. The figures have been often quoted in parts but they cannot be too often repeated. They are all drawn from the Statistical Returns which are above suspicion. It appears then that the course of trade is almost independent of political manipulation. It flows along currents of cheapness rather than in sequence to a national flag. The relation between the value of trade with foreign countries and of trade with our own colonies has varied within very narrow limits during the last fifty years. Roughly speaking our exports to foreign countries, exclusive of re-exports, have been just double or very nearly double our exports to our colonies, and, what is remarkable, the proportion of our exports going to our colonies has been dropping during the last fifteen years of exaggerated Imperialism. So again with the exception of one quinquennium, that of the American Civil War, our imports from our colonies have never been more than one fourth of our imports from foreign countries, and during the last fifteen years the proportion has been again dropping till it is very little more than one fifth.

If now we include the re-exports of commodities other than British and Irish, the proportion of our trade with our colonies to that of our trade with foreign countries becomes even less, falling in fact from three to six to something like three to seven, and the same decline in relative importance is shown in the recent years of Imperialist extension. It is, perhaps, too much to say that Imperialism has been the cause of the relative decline in trade with our colonies or that the freer international feeling of former decades caused a slight increase in colonial intercourse; it is enough to observe that the actual movement has been in the contrary direction to that which Imperialism is supposed to develop.

If the tabulated returns of our total external trade thus lend no countenance to the policy of Imperialism, an examination of the trade of our colonies and dependencies is equally unfavourable to this policy. The proportion of the trade of our possessions with other countries compared with their trade with the United Kingdom shows a pretty continuous growth. In other words, the identity of national flag does not prevent our dependencies from increasing their trade with other countries more rapidly than with ourselves any more than this identity serves to make our trade with our dependencies grow more rapidly than our trade with foreign countries. The last stroke against the belief that Imperialism is advantageous to trade is found in an examination of our commercial intercourse with those regions which the modern burst of Imperialism has added to the dominions of the Crown. Alike as marts for the interchange of commodities and as colonies for the settlement of white men, these most recently acquired countries are singularly unprofitable and present scarcely

a more favourable show than the acquisitions which the world-policy of Germany has effected beyond seas.

Mr. Hobson is not content with having thus established his position. He goes on to fortify it with two other arguments which seem more than doubtful. They are unnecessary for his purpose, and they might be neglected by a critic, did not the respect inspired by the rest of his work produce a certain feeling that these speculations must be cleared away if proved to be unsound. Mr. Hobson attempts to show that the national gain from foreign trade is relatively so small that it is scarce worth consideration and he then affirms that, whatever the advantage derived from it, an equal advantage could be secured through other channels if it ceased to exist. He makes out his first statement by taking the estimated income of the country, which he puts at 1,700,000,000*l.*, and comparing it with the profit directly realised on foreign trade, say 5 per cent. on a total of 765,000,000*l.* or 38,000,000*l.* per annum, which he triumphantly adds is only  $\frac{1}{45}$  of the estimated total. Neither side of this comparison can be accepted, and indeed Mr. Hobson himself very promptly admits the incompleteness of the estimated gain dependent upon foreign trade. Instead of 5 per cent. on the total value of imports and exports, which, even if the figures are accepted as sound, could represent only the profits of the merchants engaged in this foreign commerce, he entertains the plea that the whole value of what we export, which he puts at 233,000,000*l.* represents payments in the shape of profits, wages, rents, &c., made to persons in Great Britain who have produced the goods that are exported. He proceeds to destroy the force of this admission in a way to be presently examined; but taking for the moment the facts as they are, it seems clear that the 233,000,000*l.* which has been distributed among the producers of goods exported should be compared with the sum distributed in respect of all goods produced both for home consumption and for exportation, and not with an aggregate of incomes where the same substance often appears in different forms. This would be a comparison of like with like, *i.e.* of the valuation of the material commodities produced for foreign customers with a valuation of the commodities produced for consumption at home and abroad, whereas Mr. Hobson compares the first sum with a total which involves, as may be quickly seen, a computation over and over again of the same disposable incomes. All the incomes of all the doctors are practically derived from the incomes of other persons who have to spend this portion of their incomes in payment of services in maintenance of health. All the incomes of educationists apart from what is derived from endowments are drawn in the same way from the incomes of others, including, be it observed, the doctors just mentioned. The incomes of lawyers, save so far as they can be deducted as business expenses

from the gross profits of the merchants and traders who employ them, are drawn from incomes already enumerated for taxing purposes. If we had the means of making the corrections these observations suggest, we should have to reduce the total of 1,700,000,000*l.* considerably before we arrived at the proper sum to be compared with the 233,000,000*l.* exported. The proper comparison would be, as I have said, between the total value of commodities produced and consumed in the United Kingdom with the total value produced and exported, and I know not if the figures could be found for making this comparison. At present all that needs be noted is that Mr. Hobson's method cannot be accepted. Let me add a sentence to prevent the supposition that I am objecting to the total of 1,700,000,000*l.* being presented as the total of national income. For many purposes, especially that of taxation, this is an accurate view and summation; and all that I urge is that it cannot be adduced in comparison with the total value of our exports as giving the true proportion between the value of foreign trade and the value of our trade as a whole, since the two totals are not of the same material.

Mr. Hobson gets rid of any difficulty in his first argument by presenting his second, which indeed, if admissible, would threaten to take away the value of foreign trade altogether. He advances the proposition that, if foreign trade did not exist, the labour and the capital that find occupation in the production of commodities sent abroad would still be operative, though through other channels, in the production of commodities for which there would be an ever corresponding demand at home. This is a very comfortable doctrine, but I must confess to regarding it as an extravagant reaction against the error of idolising foreign trade. Mr. Hobson says that in the absence of foreign demand the commodities produced for exportation (or equivalent commodities) would be consumed at home, since 'whatever is produced can be consumed.' The capacity for consumption is no doubt extensible, but the process of getting rid of commodities produced can only be sustained by the production of commodities exchanged for them in satisfaction of the wants of their producers, and this production of equivalent exchangeable commodities is not so easily capable of augmentation. We could all of us easily extend our consumption of the commodities and services of others, but we cannot so easily satisfy these others by producing and giving them something they are content to take in exchange. Mr. Hobson himself in a subordinate phrase expresses the true limitations imposed on such production. These are found in restricted natural resources and the actual condition of the arts of industry; and, although a capacity of developing the arts of industry would not disappear with the destruction of foreign markets, the range of natural resources could not be extended so as to allow the working of them

to fill up the gap that has been created. If we were to consider any defined area, such as that of Great Britain, surrounded with Berkeley's wall of brass so as to shut out the rest of the world, a certain population could be maintained upon it, such as the development of the arts of industry at any time would enable the working inhabitants to support by applying those arts to the natural resources of the country. With the continued development of the arts and with a possible discovery of new resources the population would be augmented, or the labour of production diminished and the standard of comfort and of life raised. Improvements in the economy of exchange might serve still further to increase the means of support and therefore the numbers of the population. But at any given moment there would be what may be described as an instantaneous total, representing the mass of the population appropriate to that moment. We can imagine another area with different natural resources, walled in by another exclusive wall of brass, having its appropriate population living through the application of their arts to their resources. Break down the two walls of brass so as to allow of free interchange of commodities between the two peoples and there will arise, through the principle of the division of labour, increased facilities in the supplies of the wants of the two peoples, with a corresponding augmentation of their numbers until a point had been reached when, regarding the two areas as joined together, there would be realised an instantaneous mass of population corresponding to their developed arts and their diversified resources. It must be noted in passing that in these illustrations each country is supposed to have been filled up according to the arts of the time, since, if one were only half occupied and in the other the limit of population had been reached, the removal of the barriers separating the two might cause a partial depopulation of the second by transfer to the first. The essential point is that foreign trade is but a mode of the economic distribution of labour in the satisfaction of human wants, and in its normal course augments the population of the countries engaged in it. If we could compare the population which Great Britain would sustain walled around by impassable brass with what it sustains to-day we might get some measure of the estimate to be put upon our foreign trade. It is no answer to say that such isolation is impossible. The barriers of language, of different measures, of habits and customs, and of hostile tariffs, effective and too effective as they are, are indeed but feeble attempts at complete isolation. But the extreme case which fancy suggests is serviceable if it compels us to realise how much the nations of the world are really dependent upon one another; and how of all nations our own, as that which possesses the greatest foreign commerce, is the most dependent.

I have thought it worth while to examine Mr. Hobson's argument not only because I would not have the force of his book weakened

by this unsound addition, but also because it could easily be used by those who hanker after protection in support of their propositions. If an equivalent home trade could with only a transitory dislocation of usage take the place of foreign trade, why should we not make ourselves independent, or indeed why should we not, dispensing with the co-operation of foreigners, call into existence an additional industrial population at home? I suppose Mr. Hobson has some answer to this suggestion, though I do not see what it could be. It is no invention of mine. Mr. Carnegie, in his discourse at St. Andrews in the spring when installed as Lord Rector, expatiated on the double advantages of home trade over foreign trade, as if the one could at any moment take the place of the other, and he seems never to have suspected that the destruction of foreign trade, so far from tending in the end to the augmentation of home trade, would certainly curtail it. It is almost impossible to read his simple pages without a smile. He wrote :

Exchange of products benefit both buyer and seller. With British home commerce, both are Britons; with foreign commerce one only is a Briton, the other a foreigner. Hence, home commerce is doubly profitable, and this is not all, when the article exported, such as machinery or coal for instance, is used for developing the resources or manufactures of the importing country and enable it to compete with those of the exporting country, the disadvantage of this foreign commerce to the seller, except upon the profit of the sale, is obvious.

I know not how this instruction was received by the University audience to which it was addressed, but the underlying assumption that commerce with other countries could without difficulty be displaced at any time by an equal commerce at home would scarcely be accepted by anyone who seriously considered it. If we attempted to supply our food wants at home by forbidding imports of bread-stuffs and meat from abroad, we should doubtless increase the agricultural production here, but the process involves something like starvation and reduction of population to the level that could be sustained under the new conditions. Free trade in corn has in fact increased the quantity of our industry and the numbers of our population to a degree which incalculably outweighs the diminution of agricultural produce and the reduction of agricultural labourers. Even Mr. Carnegie's second and more taking suggestion, that the exportation of machinery is a palpable case of self-injury when the machinery may be employed to produce commodities competing with commodities produced here, will not be found on examination so self-evident as he assumes. If we send steam ploughs and threshing machines to the corn-producing valleys of the Danube, we aid in developing agriculture furnishing supplies for our own wants in partial substitution for supplies at home, yet we effect on the balance a considerable gain. So again we have sent mining machinery all over the world to facilitate the development



of mines whence we have got tin and copper more easily than we could get them in England, and the English nation has gained, though Cornish miners have had to face new conditions of industry in other lands. In these and all similar cases the activity of the United Kingdom as a working factor in the economy of the world has been developed, though the activity of one or another branch of industry within the United Kingdom has been curtailed or has disappeared. The whole process which has gone on has been that of finding for our country its true place in the world's division of labour, and so far the process has been marked by a continuous growth of our national industry as a whole and of the population serving it. We have been able to regard this cosmopolitan movement with satisfaction, and, though we know it has advanced quickly because it has been unfettered, we see from the experience of other countries that the irrepressible energy of trade would have demonstrated itself in spite of the fetters that might have been imposed on its activity. It is, however, true that, though free trade accelerates the industrial growth of a country, it may be powerless to arrest its decline. Just as one branch of the industry within a nation may die away whilst the national industry grows, so in the organisation of world-production the allotted service of a particular nation may decay whilst the industry of the world is growing. The conditions of advantage of which man avails himself in supplying his wants may pass from one country to another, and the pre-eminence which has been the pride of generations may come to be the distinction of other lands. The suggestion has its warnings, but a realisation of the fundamental cause of the threatened change must convince us that it is something for which we may prepare ourselves but which we cannot avert. If a nation has grown in wealth and numbers through its capacity of supplying with relatively least labour the wants of other populations, and a new spring of still easier supply arises either through the exhaustion of resources at home or the discovery of rich resources abroad, the nation threatened with deposition cannot by action within its own borders prevent the change nor could it hope to compel the world whose wants it had supplied to abstain from accepting the more easily acquired supplies which time and the world movement brought to the fore. It is the fondest of delusions to suppose that a nation which has arrived at the situation thus described can hope to escape from it by imposing obstacles to importations from other countries. Its position has been reached through freedom of commerce, and restrictions on this freedom, so far from helping to preserve its superiority, could only accelerate its decline.

LEONARD COURTNEY.

## *SOME MORE LETTERS OF MRS. CARLYLE*

THOMAS CARLYLE was often blamed for his alleged brutality; but what is to be said of the cruelty of the fate which has already entailed upon a proud, contemptuous Scot, genuinely scornful of the crowd and the chatter of the tea-table, more than twenty octavo volumes filled with little else but the most private affairs of the great Prophet of Silence and his sarcastic lady? His house can hardly be whitewashed, or his bedroom turned out, or his temper tried; he cannot go to Germany, or Scotland, or Wales, hardly take a ride, or even a walk, but it is all described by one or other of the spouses with a fire, force, and fury like

when some mighty painter dips  
His pencil in the hues of earthquake and eclipse.

Had any corresponding misfortune, or the beggarliest fraction of such, fallen upon one of Carlyle's contemporaries, it is as terrible to think of the words, biting, insulting, flaming, he would have hurled both at the books and their editors as it is impossible to fathom the depths of the oceanic contempt he must have bestowed upon the esurient herd of idle, blabbing readers. It is a hard fate to befall any man—but that it should be Carlyle's!

How came it about? So long as the Carlyles lived, and to the gloomy end of the survivor, dignity was their portion. They led their lives after their own fashion and in a way which, while it attracted no particular attention, won universal respect and even admiration. Carlyle's fame gradually became world-wide; he had his readers in all classes and in many countries; he was a great man wherever he went, and his mode and habits of life seemed so to befit his moralities and preachments that it did seem as if at last we were to find a modern instance of the hero as man of letters. It was no question of agreement or disagreement—of 'Cromwells,' 'Fredericks,' or 'Nigger Questions'—but here, walking along the King's Road, Chelsea, was a veritable man of genius, of great reading, overwhelming humour and boisterous fancy; who was also a man of the nicest honour, and with a tender human heart; who paid his bills, though he never went to church; who scorned all the vulgarities of

life and disregarded many of its conventions, and through it all lived under the same roof with his own wife, to whom he was known to be strongly and even devotedly attached.

All these things remain severely true unto this day, and yet something has happened to rob the air of its crisp freshness, and to blacken, or at least obscure, the simple retrospect of a life noble and well spent. What is it? *Sartor Resartus* remains a burning bush, still unconsumed, with its passages of immortal fame. *The French Revolution*, the *Cromwell*, *Past and Present*, *Chartism*, the *Miscellanies*, and the six volumes of *Frederick*, are still there—one dare not add untouched by time; but even though it should be their not unusual destiny to crumble away, they at least cannot fail to make splendid ruins, which for long centuries will bear witness that the man who first put them together was a mighty workman in his day. What, then, has happened? Why, these twenty odd octavo volumes have happened; it is they, dotting the landscape like so many factory chimneys, that have darkened the sky. I do not suggest there should have been no life of Carlyle, for despite his wish—‘express biography of me I had really rather that there should be none’—express biography there was certain to be. Publishers see to that. A great man is a family asset, and a hard-up Chancellor of the Exchequer may yet include in his death duties the cash value of a dead man’s ‘life,’ even before it has been written. A ‘life of Carlyle,’ the greatest man of letters since Johnson, could not fail to be written—but twenty volumes seem proof enough that the job has been mismanaged, and got into too many hands. It would be a shocking thing if the ‘Affair Carlyle’ were to become a bore.

Who is to blame for this startling output?

Carlyle, it may be said, began it with his *Reminiscences* in two volumes and his *Letters and Memorials* of his wife in three; but it ought to be easy to remember that Carlyle was before everything else a picturesque historian, and the deftest possible handler and annotator of correspondence. To work furiously at subjects, foaming at the bit, cursing at large, had become a lifelong habit. His amazing vocabulary, almost every word of which gave him as he wrote it the fierce pangs of semi-creation, clamoured for constant employment. He had a memory which found storage for everything; no family saying, no old Annandale jest was too trivial, if once it had struck his abnormally developed sense of the humorous, ever to be forgotten. He was likewise a sentimentalist, of truly prodigious dimensions. When, therefore, his wife was snatched away, and he was left alone with his teeming brain to brood over the past, to him unforgotten and unforgettable, what wonder that the old expert, more than half dead though he was after his terrific grapple with *Frederick* (‘trying to make a silk purse out of a sow’s ear,’ as his wife remarked with her usual fierce discrimination), should fall upon her papers, and have set

himself busily to work preparing them for a possible publication 'ten or twenty years after my death, if indeed printed at all,' as his last labour here below.

A picturesque historian himself, and an immense lover of those small details of life and character upon which his devouring eye and leaping humour were wont to seize and his pen make merry in his histories and biographies, and having no intention of publishing before him—'the brute of a world' being altogether lost sight of as he sat alone at his toil—it is surely not surprising that he overlooked in his pious, yet ever artistic, desire to lift his dead wife on to a literary pedestal of her own, the greater charms of dignity and some of the 'reticences' and 'silences' of home. He was too great an artist to fail; a letter of Jane Welsh Carlyle's, annotated by Thomas her spouse, is always, in their favourite phrase, first uttered by the lips of one of Leigh Hunt's children, 'a good joy'; but, great as are the *Letters and Memorials*, one may feel sure that Mrs. Carlyle, whose cutting insight had long foreseen for herself, did her husband survive her, a 'splendid apotheosis,' would have shuddered at the thought of going down to posterity—she, the wittiest of women—as the much-tried, much-exacting mistress of a tribe of 'Kirkcaldy Helens,' 'Lancaster Janes,' 'Dumfries Nancies,' 'Irish Fannies,' in revolt for having to do 'the washing' at home, and as the heroine of a thirty years' war with those household pests Mazzini was content to call 'small beings,' but she by a blunter name.

Judicious editing would have spared Mrs. Carlyle's feelings. Editing there was, ruthless enough; for Mr. Froude, being himself an artist no less than Carlyle, did not hesitate to take whatever he wanted for his own *Life of Carlyle* out of the draft *Letters and Memorials*, and this without a word of explanation. One artist had no right so to mangle the work of another. In addition to this transmission of material, Froude, in the exercise of a necessary discretion, omitted many letters Carlyle had annotated. So of editing there was no lack, but of judicious, kindly editing there was too little.

Between the Carlyles and Mr. Froude there flowed both Tweed, Trent, and the history of the whole world. He understood nothing about their evolution. They had come out of another land than his. Froude's own education can hardly be accounted a success. When he was quite grown up, it took him by surprise to find out that two such men as Newman and Carlyle could differ radically about religion; he would have us believe that, accomplished Oxford scholar though he was, this astonishing discovery struck him all of a heap. The rags and tatters of his discarded Anglican orders fluttered behind him long enough to make it startling for him to unearth a couple as completely unchurched, so genuinely indifferent to all and everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, as were Mr.

and Mrs. Carlyle. This spectacle, interesting, instructive, but hardly unique, affected Froude's judgment so much that, instead of recognising, as so shrewd and competent a man must have done but for his childish education, that genius and eloquence and humour do not by themselves supply the places of philosophy and religion, he must needs hail the stormiest of rhetoricians, the most exuberant of humourists, and one of the very best of men, as his 'master,' at whose girdle jingled the keys of the universe. This mood lasted for a while, during which the disciple had to furbish up a faith in Cromwell Covenanters and Calvinists which the 'master' himself probably never quite seriously entertained. But the mood finally changed under the influence of the corrosive sarcasms and world-wide scepticism of Mrs. Carlyle, whose sad history, as Froude read it, he thought it his duty to tell at large. Whether Froude ever understood Mrs. Carlyle must always remain doubtful, but by dint of not over-scrupulous editing, and a happy knack of writing, natural to a picturesque historian, he certainly has managed to divide the Carlyle 'reading-public' into two classes—husband's men and wife's men, with, perhaps, a *tertium quid* which damns them both for a quarrelsome couple. How horrible an epilogue! how hateful a catastrophe!

It is never wise, and seldom decent, to interfere between man and wife. You cannot hope to know the real facts, even if you condescend to collect gossip. If Mr. Froude had only been content to leave the matter alone, and do his plain duty as an honest and discreet editor of the *Reminiscences* and *Letters and Memorials*, we should have been spared a 'pluister'<sup>1</sup> and splutter which still endures.

The time for repose had come at last,  
But long, long after the storm is past  
Rolls the turbid, turbulent billow.

Froude's notion, that Carlyle prepared the *Letters and Memorials* in a spirit of deep abiding remorse, as of a man self-convicted of horrid selfishness, is extravagantly far-fetched. What, in Froude's opinion, was the head and front of Carlyle's offending? His devotion for Lady Ashburton. But nowhere else does Carlyle state his admiration for this gracious lady so strongly and so unabashedly as he does in these very *Memorials*. It does not weigh upon his mind or poison his memory one atom. What cut Carlyle to the heart was the sadness of his wife's life, he being of grim necessity absorbed in his *French Revolutions*, *Cromwells*, and *Fredericks*, whilst she, thriftiest of wives, was grappling with narrow means and ungracious circumstance. He longed to let the world know how brilliant was her wit, how lively her pen, how great her courage. As for Mrs. Carlyle, she

<sup>1</sup> 'What a pluister (mess) John has made of the place!' was the comment of old Walter Welsh, the minister of Auchtertool, after reading Dr. Carlyle's prose version of Dante's 'Hell.'

knew well enough, be her grievances what they might, that she had by her marriage secured for herself the very fittest audience for her peculiar humour to be found in all Europe. Carlyle never, from first to last, ceased to admire his wife's somewhat bitter tongue, though the 'cauldness' of its blast sometimes made even him shiver. Was it nothing to have such constant appreciation from such a man! Suppose she had married a fool—no difficult thing to do according to the Carlylian statistics! Poor fool. Her health was bad and her mode of drugging herself portentous (and she a doctor's daughter), but until her last years her vitality remained amazing. Take a day at random, the 13th of August, 1855; she is in her fifty-fourth year, and what does she do? She is up betimes, and catches the eight o'clock Chelsea boat 'with a good tide' for London Bridge Station, where she buys herself a third-class return ticket to Brighton, which place she reaches in an open railway carriage 'without the least fatigue.' On alighting at Brighton she plunges into the sea, and after her bathe walks along the shore to an inn, which, as usual, she finds noisy and dirty. She continues her stroll along the cliffs till she reaches Rottingdean, four miles off. She falls in love with Rottingdean, and fixes upon a cottage as the very place she has long been searching for as a summer retreat. She dines at the little inn, devouring two fresh eggs, a plateful of home-baked bread-and-butter and a pint bottle of Guinness. She lies on the cliff for an hour and a half, and then walks back to Brighton, and searches up and down its streets for the agent, whose name and address she had got wrong. At last she finds him, and almost commits herself to take the cottage. She travels back to London Bridge, walks to St. Paul's, where she gets the Chelsea omnibus, alighting at a shop near home to write the agent a letter, and then on foot to 5 Cheyne Row.<sup>2</sup> The next day she complains of a little stiffness. This is suspiciously like 'rude health.' Had anyone ever ventured to be 'wae' for Mrs. Carlyle to her face, I wish I could believe she would not have replied with one of her favourite Annandale stories: 'Damn ye!—be wae for yersel.'

It must, I think, be admitted that it was Froude who, in cricketing phrase, has 'queered the pitch.'

The mischief once done it was certain and right that an attempt to undo it should be made. If we were to have so much, a little more material of an explanatory and mitigating nature may perhaps be welcomed.

Two more volumes—'*New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, annotated by Thomas Carlyle and edited by Alexander Carlyle, with an Introduction by Sir James Crichton-Browne, M.D.'—have just made their appearance, published by Mr. John Lane.

The introduction is a fine, spirited piece of writing, albeit somewhat disfigured to my lay mind by too many medical words; but

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Memorials*, ii. 250.

I suppose in a scientific age we must begin to learn to put up with scientific terminology. Sir James is, as we all know, a first-rate fighting-man, and he states his case for his illustrious client—I had almost written patient—Thomas Carlyle, with immense *verve* and that complete knowledge of the ‘cradle-land’ of both the spouses so unfortunately lacking in Mr. Froude. Sir James covers the whole ground of this unhappy controversy, and it is at least a pious wish that this may be the last time we shall hear of it; for could the dead be consulted, could another Dante visit the sad realms of Dis, and, standing on the shore, hear those mournful Scottish voices, who can doubt that they would be heard to cry as they were swept along, ‘For pity’s sake, leave us alone’?

As for the Letters themselves, they are those of which Mr. Froude made no use, or only partial use, either in his *Life* or in his edition of the *Letters and Memorials*. Froude was a famous artist, however unscrupulous as an editor, and it speaks volumes for Mrs. Carlyle’s superlative excellence as a letter-writer that what Froude rejected, for whatever reasons, should now be found so delightful. It is a detestable literary maxim—‘The king’s chaff is better than other men’s grain’—which too often has been made the excuse for obscuring great reputations by the publication of poor stuff. But Mrs. Carlyle’s particular gift seems never to have failed her. These new letters are every whit as good as their predecessors, and are full of the merry phrases, the bits of stories, the ‘coterie speech,’ floating on the surface of the ‘rapid bright flowing style,’ which always made them so unmixed a delight to the man to whom most of them were addressed, and for whose delectation or reproof they principally were intended. ‘Beautiful, cheery, graceful, true,’ are Carlyle’s own words in relation to them—words which he used like the critic he was, each one being charged with its own particular burden of meaning. We have, indeed, even in these new volumes, too much of that eternal housemaid and the terrifying bug, but an unhappy fate seems to have made the conjunction unavoidable.

I saw the ‘noble lady’ (Mrs. Montague) that night, and a strange, tragic sight she was! sitting all alone in a low-ceilinged confined room at the top of Proctor’s house; a French bed in a corner, some relics of the grand Bedford Square drawing-room (small pictures and the like) scattered about. Herself stately, artistic as ever; not a line of her figure, not a fold of her dress, changed since we knew her first, twenty years and more. She made me sit on a low chair opposite to her (she had sent for me to come up), and began to speak of Edward Irving and long ago as if it were last year—last month! There was something quite overpowering in the whole thing: the Pagan grandeur of the old woman, retired from the world, awaiting death, as erect and unyielding as ever, contrasted so strangely with the mean bedroom at the top of the house and the uproar of company going on below. And the Past which she seemed to live and move in felt to gather round me too, till I fairly laid my head on her lap and burst into tears. She stroked my hair very gently, and said, ‘I think, Jane, your manner never

changes any more than your hair, which is still black, I see.' 'But you too are not changed,' I said. When I had staid with her an hour or so, she insisted on my going back to the company, and embraced me as she never did before. Not a hard word did she say about anyone, and her voice, tho' clear and strong as of old, had a human modulation in it. You may fancy the humour in which I went back to the party, which was then at a white heat of excitement—about nothing.

Mrs. Montague is the lady who once said to Mrs. Carlyle, 'Jane, everybody is born with a vocation, and yours is to write little notes.'

One faculty Mrs. Carlyle certainly lacked—the best gift of the gods, far surpassing that of writing little notes—the 'faculty of being happy.'

Writing from Humble Farm, above Aberdour, in Fife, she says to perhaps her greatest friend, Mrs. Russell of Thornhill :

Our lodging here is all, and more than all, that could be expected of seaside quarters, the beautifullest view in the created world ! Rooms enough, well-sized, well-furnished and quite clean ; command of what Mr. C. calls 'soft food' for both himself and horse. As for me, soft food is the last sort I find useful. And as for air, there can be none purer than this. Decidedly there is everything here needed for happiness, but just *one* thing—the faculty of being happy. And *that*, unfortunately, I never had much of in my best days ; and in the days that are it is lost to me altogether.

Her threnody over her dead 'Nero' must touch many hearts ; she is again writing to Mrs. Russell :

If I am less ill than usual this winter, I am more than usually sorrowful. For I have lost my dear little companion of eleven years standing ; my little Nero is dead ! And the grief his death has caused me has been wonderful, even to myself. His patience and gentleness and loving struggle to do all his little bits of duties under his painful illness up to the last hour of his life was very strange and touching, and had so endeared him to everybody in the house that I am happily spared all reproaches for wasting so much feeling on a dog. Mr. C. couldn't have reproached me, for he himself was in tears at the poor little thing's end ! and his own heart was (as he phrased it) 'unexpectedly and distractedly torn to pieces with it.' As for Charlotte, she went about for three days after with her face all swollen and red with weeping. But on the fourth day she got back her good looks and gay spirits, and much sooner Mr. C. had got to speak of 'poor Nero' composedly enough. Only to *me* does my dear wee dog remain a constantly recurring blank and a thought of strange sadness ! What is become of that little, beautiful, graceful *life*, so full of love and loyalty and sense of duty up to the last moment that it animated the body of that little dog ? Is it to be extinguished, abolished, annihilated in an instant, while the brutalised two-legged so-called human creature who dies in a ditch, after having outraged all duties and caused nothing but pain and disgust to all concerned with him—is he to live for ever ? It is impossible for me to believe *that*. I couldn't help saying so in writing to my Aunt Grace, and expected a terrible lecture for it. But not so ! Grace, who had been fond of my little dog, couldn't find in her heart to speak unkindly on this subject—nay, actually gave me a reference to a verse in *Romans* which seemed to warrant my belief in the immortality of animal life as well as human. One thing is sure anyhow—my little dog is buried at the top of our garden, and I grieve for him as if he had been my little human child.



Mr. Arnold has expressed some of the same feelings, though with greater restraint, in imperishable verse, over the grave of his dachshund 'Geist':

That loving heart, that patient soul,  
Had they indeed no longer span,  
To run their course, and reach their goal,  
And read their homily to man?

That steadfast, mournful strain, consoled  
By spirits gloriously gay,  
And temper of heroic mould—  
What, was four years their whole short day?

Stern law of every mortal lot!  
Which man, proud man, finds hard to bear,  
And builds himself I know not what  
Of second life, I know not where.

When it comes to the point even of a little dog's death neither eloquent philosophers, nor their wives, nor poets can carry us farther into the mystery of things than the most commonplace of our neighbours. Someone dies, says Browning, man, woman, or dog,

And that's enough for fifty hopes and fears  
As old and new at once as nature's self  
To rap, and knock, and enter in our soul,  
Take hands, and dance there, a fantastic ring,  
Round the ancient idol, on his base again,  
The grand Perhaps!

Judicious editing is never an easy matter—let us concede so much to Mr. Froude. Even this 'aftermath' contains a blade or two that had better have been burnt. Particularly, what a pity it is that we should find once more in print Carlyle's brutal and barbarous judgment upon Charles Lamb. The phrase 'diluted insanity' as applied to Elia is not only 'ugly and venomous,' but downright stupid and hard to forgive. Could the matter be looked into it would, I expect, be found that the unpopularity Sir James Crichton-Browne deprecates, which undoubtedly followed upon the too hasty publication and careless editing of the *Reminiscences* and the *Memorials*, is attributable not to flirtations, real or supposed, with any 'great lady,' or to alleged 'wife-neglect,' but to Carlyle's unhappy habit of indulging himself (chiefly in private talk and correspondence) in random vituperation. Heavy and public has been his penance for what should have remained a secret sin.

AUGUSTINE BIRRELL.

## *LONDON CONGESTION AND CROSS-TRAFFIC*

IN the excellent article on 'the tangle of London locomotion' which Mr. Sidney Low contributed to the December number of this Review he showed very clearly how necessary it was that any Royal Commission appointed for the purpose of endeavouring to straighten out this tangle should have a very wide reference; and from the favourable answer given by the Prime Minister to Mr. Bryce, who asked for an inquiry 'into the means of locomotion and transportation in London on and beneath the surface'—the words 'and transportation' were of crucial importance—we gathered that the Government share this view. Since then the Commission has been appointed and has got to work, and the variety of the points on which it is asked to report is the best reading which we poor Londoners have had for many a long day. For it foreshadows a really comprehensive inquiry into free and fast locomotion. The Commissioners are empowered to look into all methods, not only trains and tubes which run on a special track to the exclusion of everything else, tramways which run on the ordinary roads to the inconvenience of everything else, but omnibuses, cabs, carriages and carts, the conveyances of the individual, which can carry everything and everybody, which can start anywhere, stop anywhere, and end up anywhere. Let them, then, remember that though urgent, bitterly urgent, and clamant, and fashionable, is the housing question, there are other ways of dealing with it than by entraining the workers night and morning to and from the outskirts, and that they might work as well as sleep in the fresh air of the suburbs if only the product of their labours could be brought cheaply and speedily to the centralised marts where it is to be sold or to the actual consumer. Let them also note that the converse of this holds good, and that the rich must be considered as well as the poor; if only because, once the power of travelling fast all over the town and suburbs is assured, there will no longer be that anxiety to live in or near the centre which has the result of driving out the man who can only afford a few shillings for his house room. At a meeting in Holborn one of my constituents said that what he wanted to see was the well-to-do

tempted to the fringe, to make room nearer in for the poor man whose work could not be moved from there. Above all let them not forget that the congestion of London has grown through the trade of London, and that it is on that trade, retail as well as wholesale, that London lives. It is the life-blood of the town, which should course through every vein right out to each extremity; If the great old city is to be allowed to suffer permanently from blood to the head, with clots in every artery, she will die of the obstruction.

Now it is unnecessary to discourse upon the influences born in the past which have resulted in the great position which London now holds; sufficient be it for us that to-day she stands the biggest city that the world has known, and in imminent danger of being strangled by her own bulk. Strangled because, while from the four quarters of the globe, from all parts of the British Isles, from the open country round about, men and goods are hurried with all the speed that modern Science has made possible in towards the centre, once she has delivered them there, up to now Science has seemed to sit down with folded hands, helpless and hopeless. Outside she has annihilated space, inside she seems to do nothing but pull up the roads. What is the reason of this? Is it powerlessness to cope with vested interests and ancient rights? is it a paralysis caused by the action of municipalities—for modern municipalities are not as a rule the friends of scientific venture, in which they are apt to scent the triumph and material advantage of the individual, patents and monopolies?—or is it simply evidence that our system of local government is old-fashioned and unimaginative? One thing is certain, that if London is to live and thrive she must undergo a surgical operation on a large scale.

We are indeed fortunate that, at the moment when we are called upon to face this painful necessity, Science has at last awakened and come to our aid, and is in a fair way to provide us with a new remedy. Tubes are all very well, but apart from their probable danger to health—for Londoners were not born rabbits—we must always remember that they cater only for passenger traffic, and that they no way assist or can be made to assist the trade of the town. Lifts and stairs are troublesome enough for human beings, they are impossible for goods, and in most cases 'handling' and 'break of bulk' will turn a certain profit into a certain loss. But now we are in process of being reinforced by horseless vehicles, which, capable as they will be of travelling all day and every day at twice the pace of any draught animal, and over any distance, should do much to help us out of our difficulties. Only we must be careful that we give them a fair chance and do not cripple their usefulness. We must remember that the most notable of their many advantages lies in their speed, and that anything which reduces them to the low level of the slow-moving traffic of our blocked central thoroughfares

will seriously detract from their value. It is of no very great account to-day to a horsed omnibus whose outside limit of speed along an empty road is some seven miles an hour, if, as it gets towards the centre, it is blocked for a few minutes, but the same number of wasted minutes will be doubly objectionable to the motor-bus of to-morrow, which will easily cover twice the distance in the same time. And this is not only the question of omnibuses. I sometimes wonder if many people realise that, though on the railway and on the sea we have got away from the old tradition, in our streets to-day for all vehicles we limit our speed of progression to two rates, the same that have held good since the dawn of civilisation—the trotting and walking pace of a horse! In the future this limitation will go by the board, the new generation will demand to go faster, and we shall have light carts covering the ground at twelve miles an hour instead of six, and coal carts, brewer's drays and heavy vans doing six miles where they did three before. Time means money for everybody, and cart and man will be able to do twice the work; only we must free the streets for them.

And so we naturally come to the question, what causes the congestion in our thoroughfares, and what can we do to relieve it? There are many causes avoidable and unavoidable. I am not going to discuss the breaking up of the surface of the roads, whether for repair or to get at pipes; these are unnatural causes of an intermittent nature, outside the sphere of this article. Let us take the others, the natural causes which obtain always. Our streets are too narrow for what has to get along them. They can be widened. The County Council will see to it; it is simply a matter of expense. We mix our traffic, making the fast wait upon the slow; why not reserve certain streets for certain classes of locomotion? The police can arrange it. If their powers are not sufficient Parliament can give them more. That is simply a matter of the greatest convenience of the greatest number. And it is the same with crawling cabs, bad and thoughtless drivers, heavy carts which take twice the width which is their due, and vans which stand for an interminable period opposite houses and shops. The individual who blocks the King's highway to the disadvantage of the community should be punished by law. But there is one reason which overtops all the others, and which street-widening and police regulations may mitigate, but which they cannot do away with. A reason which is the fault of nobody. A reason which has driven the tubes and is driving the tramways underground, and which is the one certain bar to fast locomotion on the surface, and that is 'cross-traffic.' This can be easily shown. If two bodies travelling in different directions arrive at a fixed point simultaneously, one of them must give way. If on the boundless Sahara desert one caravan crosses at right angles the track of another caravan, and they meet, one must wait. And this is what happens all day and every day whenever two people

desire to cross one another's paths. In individual cases it matters nothing, in the mass everything.

Now perhaps my readers would realise this better if they would accompany me in fancy along one of the main roads from west to east, on an ordinary summer afternoon. It is of no consequence how we travel—in carriage, or cab, or motor car, on the top of an omnibus or in a butcher's cart, on a bicycle or in a coal waggon—we should encounter the same obstacles. The faster we are capable of moving, the more in a hurry we are, the more annoying it will be. Supposing that we wanted to get to the Bank and started at the top of Sloane Street. I am prepared to stake my reputation that we are in difficulties as follows. At Albert Gate we are stopped dead by the carriages going in and out of Hyde Park, a right angle crossing which the widening of Knightsbridge now being carried out by the County Council will do little to improve. Once clear of the congestion which this crossing causes—for in all cases we must remember that the crowding extends for some distance in every direction from the actual point of contact—nothing will stop us till we reach Hyde Park Corner. Again carriages coming out of the Park. At Hamilton Place, which we will consider more particularly later on, we are in danger of our lives, but once past its perils we are free. A hansom called across the road, or coming out of Down Street or Half Moon Street, may make it necessary to apply the brake, but we need never stand still till we get under the influence of the north and south traffic trying to get back and forward from Berkeley Street, Dover Street, Albemarle Street, and Bond Street to Arlington Street, and St. James's Street. There is not a day in the year when we shall not be stopped at one or other of these openings, sometimes that whole quarter of a mile may be jammed up in a solid mass for a quarter of an hour. And still, once past the Burlington Arcade, we go gaily on again. At Piccadilly Circus, at the bottom of the Haymarket, by Morley's Hotel and Charing Cross Station we shall waste more time, however fast we may travel between these points, and it may easily take us longer to negotiate the Wellington Street crossing than to cover the whole remaining length of the Strand. And we can say the same of Ludgate Circus, and the crossing at the Mansion House Station and the Mansion House itself. Over the whole distance, which is rather more than three miles, even with the very best of driving, anything from a quarter to three quarters of our time we shall be standing still or reduced to our slowest pace. With a free run the most indifferent of motor conveyances would cover the distance in twenty minutes; we shall be lucky if we accomplish it in forty. There are few things, we are always told, which impress the foreigner more than the way the free-born Briton will restrain himself behind the broad blue back and uplifted arm of the policeman on point duty, but even the

most intelligent of foreigners does not always grasp the language of a man who is in a hurry. I hope I have convinced my readers that the real bar to fast locomotion is cross-traffic and cross-traffic alone.

What then can be done? The ordinary widening is of no use unless it can be carried out in every direction, a very difficult thing to arrange. Even then it cannot pretend to do more than to lessen the evil, by making it possible for the vehicles to cross on a broader front, thus shortening the string. And we must always remember that the wider we make a thoroughfare the more traffic we tempt into it, while the expense of setting back the enormously valuable frontages of the recognised main roads through London is incalculable. To add twenty feet to the width of a street at 10*l.* a square foot—no preposterous price—works out at the rate of over a million a mile. And we must not judge by special cases. At Hamilton Place the widening of Piccadilly has had a good effect, but there the conditions were quite exceptional. We were allowed to take half an acre of land off a royal park free of cost, while the facts that the elbow room is unlimited—there are three and a half acres more round the Wellington statue—and the crossing not at right angles, enable the traffic to intermingle and struggle through somehow, by the help of many policemen and to the very considerable danger of the lieges. So far I have seen only one dead horse there, but it is the most alarming place in London. Anyway we can deduce nothing from the somewhat qualified success of this venture because there is no other place where we can imitate it. Nor can we afford to make clearances which will enable the streams to be sorted out as they are at Piccadilly Circus or Trafalgar Square, nor even as at Ludgate Circus, where we have a notable object lesson of the inadequacy of half-hearted measures, with the t's crossed and the i's dotted, by the splendid success of those who had the imagination to build alongside of it the Holborn Viaduct. The fact remains that there is only one way of dealing with the trouble in a thoroughly satisfactory and scientific manner, and that is by bridges and tunnels, as has been more than once pointed out by Sir John Wolfe Barry. The 'over and under' method is not a palliative but a complete cure. Is it possible to work it?

In order that the London County Council should consider the matter in all its bearings, I last year put down on the Agenda paper the following motion :

That, having regard to the fact that the traffic in main thoroughfares becomes daily more congested, and that such congestion, though assisted by the mixture of slow and fast draught and the narrowness of the streets, is even more certainly caused by cross-traffic, it be an instruction to the Improvements Committee to consider the possibilities of some 'over and under' arrangement, by means of bridges or subways, in or about every spot where two large streams of vehicles have now perforce to wait to cross each other.

In course of time the motion came up and was discussed at some length. The Council agreed to refer the matter to the Improvements Committee, and that Committee in its turn called in those responsible for the Bridges and Highways. A small special committee was appointed, and Captain Hemphill was elected chairman. At our first meeting extracts were quoted from the paper read by Sir John Wolfe Barry before the Society of Arts two or three years ago, in which he endeavoured to express in monetary value the loss caused by cross-traffic on the level at places in the heart of London, and it was decided that the best course to pursue was to take two points which were good examples, and ask for a report from the officers of the Council upon them. The first thing to do was to assure ourselves that there was considerable trouble and monetary loss certainly caused by cross-traffic at these two places, and this was entrusted to the statistical officer. Then we had to find out from the engineer whether it was possible to arrange a cure, and at what cost. Naturally we turned our attention to two points which were at the moment very much before the Council, the two ends of what is to be the new Holborn to Strand street, where the north and south traffic has perforce to cross these two great arteries from east to west. In course of time it was reported to us as follows. Roughly 20,000 vehicles of different kinds pass the Wellington Street crossing every day between 8 A.M. and 8 P.M., and one third of them are stopped for at least half a minute. Stoppages for shorter periods were not taken into consideration. At the Holborn Restaurant 15,000 pass and 3,000 are stopped. In making their report to the Council the Improvements Committee stated :

The statistical officer has advised us that, making the best estimate possible in the circumstances, and taking the lower figure in every case in doubt, he estimates a total lost of time to the value of 7,180*l.* per annum in respect of the stoppages at the junction of the Strand with Wellington Street, and of 3,430*l.* per annum at the junction of Holborn with Southampton Row. These estimates are in respect of loss of time incurred by individuals only, and the following items are excluded altogether from the calculation: (*a*) delays by temporary checks; (*b*) delays occurring outside the limits of the twelve hours during which observations were made; (*c*) persons not travelling on business; (*d*) losses by detention of goods; (*e*) losses on vehicles; and (*f*) losses due to the delay of pedestrians.

We felt that further facts could be obtained if we pursued the examination of the case further, but before doing that we proceeded to consider the practicability of constructing bridges or subways to relieve the cross-traffic.

We instructed the chief engineer to report (1) what gradient would be necessary to carry a thoroughfare over or under another thoroughfare; (2) what are the gradients of Wellington Street north of the Strand, Trafalgar Square, Haymarket, and Piccadilly near Half Moon Street; (3) the minimum headway necessary to enable vehicles now in ordinary use to pass under a bridge in safety; (4) the least thickness needed for the road across a bridge; and (5) whether it would be possible in order to reduce the gradient to arrange for the carriageway of a bridge to be only a few inches in depth, but supported by the sides of a bridge, the footway being perhaps of greater depth.

Dealing with these points in order, the engineer has advised us (1) that a gradient of 1 in 30 is the steepest which is admissible in providing facilities for cross-traffic; (2) that the gradient of Wellington Street is 1 in 23, the east side of Trafalgar Square 1 in 23, the Haymarket 1 in 34, and Piccadilly near Half Moon Street 1 in 27; (3) the minimum safe headway for a bridge is 16 feet to 17 feet, and that for a bridge over such a thoroughfare as the Strand a headway of not less than 18 feet should be adopted; (4) if the width between the parapet girders of a bridge were 30 feet, a depth of 2 feet 6 inches would be the minimum in which a satisfactory structure could be obtained; (5) that it is not practicable to make the depth of construction for the carriageway only a few inches.

The chief engineer, in dealing with the suggestion for the construction of a subway to meet the cross-traffic at the junction of the Strand with Wellington Street and of Holborn with Southampton Row, has pointed out that the scheme already sanctioned by Parliament for the construction of a shallow underground tramway from Theobald's Road along the new street to the Strand, would make the construction of a subway for ordinary vehicular traffic impracticable, and that it would also be impracticable to find space for the approaches to a bridge over Holborn in consequence of the tramway subway scheme, where it will come to the surface in Southampton Row. If a bridge with inclined approaches were constructed from Wellington Street to Waterloo Bridge, it would be necessary to remove the western steps of Waterloo Bridge and to carry the approach to the first abutment of the bridge, with the result that even then the gradient would be as steep as 1 in 20. This could be improved to 1 in 30 if the inclined road were extended a considerable distance on to Waterloo Bridge, involving a widening of the northernmost span of the bridge. This widening could not be carried out by merely widening the arch, but would necessitate a girder span over the Victoria Embankment, unless the bridge were widened for its entire length across the river. It would be necessary to widen Wellington Street and to place the inclined approach in the middle of the widened thoroughfare, because if the inclined approach were placed on one side of the street one line of the traffic using the approach would, upon reaching Waterloo Bridge, have to cross one line of the traffic passing on a level to the Strand, with the result that the construction of the bridge would do little more than tend to remove from the Strand the congestion caused by cross-traffic to the point where the inclined approach delivered on to Waterloo Bridge.

To construct a subway for general traffic from Southampton Row under Holborn would not only involve considerable interference with the projected tramway subway scheme, but would also make it necessary either to syphon the Fleet sewer in Holborn or to divert the sewer at considerable expense. The gradients of such a subway would be about 1 in 17 on the north side of Holborn, and about 1 in 25 on the south side, whilst if a bridge were constructed the gradients would be 1 in 29 on the north of Holborn and about 1 in 17 on the south.

With these particulars before us, supplied by the Joint Sub-Committee, we feel that we have no alternative at the present moment but to advise that the question of the construction of a subway or bridge at the junction of the Strand with Wellington Street and at the junction of Holborn with Southampton Row should be postponed until after the formation of the new street from Holborn to the Strand, when we shall be in a position to decide as to the necessity or otherwise of the construction of a bridge or subway, having regard to the effect of the formation of the new street upon the general traffic, and also the effect of the working of the tramway subway from Southampton Row to the Strand.

We are of opinion, however, that the general question raised in the Council's resolution of the 21st of January, 1902, should be borne in mind, so that whenever we are contemplating the widening of main thoroughfares or the construction of new streets consideration may be given to the question whether, in connection



with any such improvements, some arrangement may be made for the relief of the cross-traffic. Our recommendations, suggested by the Joint Sub-Committee, are accordingly as follows:

(a) That the consideration of the question of the construction of a subway or bridge at the junction of the Strand with Wellington Street, and at the junction of Holborn with Southampton Row, be allowed to remain in abeyance until after the formation of the new street from Holborn to the Strand, when it will be possible to ascertain the effect of the construction of that street upon the general traffic, and also the effect of the working of the tramway subway from Southampton Row to the Strand.

(b) That it be an instruction to the Improvements Committee to bear in mind the general question raised in the Council's resolution of the 21st of January, 1902, whenever the widening of main thoroughfares or the construction of new streets is in contemplation, so that consideration may be given to the question whether, in connection with any such improvements, some arrangement may be made for the relief of the cross-traffic.

Now I should like to comment upon this report, pointing out what it teaches us. As regards the general question, it is enough for the moment that it is serious reading and fully justifies the inquiry. Turning to the special statements we will take the engineer's portion first. It will be noted that, though the gradient of Wellington Street itself is one in twenty-three, he would not recommend that the gradient of the approach to a bridge to carry the same traffic across to Wellington Street should be steeper than one in thirty. He asks for an 18-foot headway and a 2-foot 6-inch depth of structure, and points out that this rising approach must be in the centre of the road. All through he has wisely laid down what would be necessary to make a perfect improvement. In so doing he shows us how difficult it would be to achieve perfection in constructing such a bridge or subway—for a subway would come to the same thing—in any case where the lie of the ground is not exceptionally favourable. The difficulty will always be in the approaches. If the ground is dead level and it were possible to have 16-foot headway, a road specially constructed on a steel foundation to be only 1 foot thick, and a gradient of one in twenty-three, the approaches need only be 130 yards in length at either end; but with 20 feet 6 inches to rise and a gradient of one in thirty these approaches must be 200 yards. And consider what this means. If you are going to make a detached ridge down the centre of the street it means that over all that distance this backbone would be rising at a slant. If you are going to give over a whole street to it the houses on the side of that street must conform to that slant. In either case any existing side streets would be a source of trouble. What jumps to the eye is that in no ordinary case can anything of the kind be made perfect except as a portion of a big improvement scheme dealing with a large area.

And so we naturally turn to the report of the statistical officer. Here we see how very real the trouble is, and that though he has

religiously set himself the task of 'making the best possible estimate in the circumstances,' that though he has refused to reckon in any stoppage of less than half a minute, and has taken 'the lower figure in every case of doubt,' that though he has noted many exceptions and has omitted many others—what may be the cost of a block to a short-necked choleric man who wishes to catch a train—he still states that to-day there is a perfectly preventable waste of 7,000*l.* a year at one end and 3,000*l.* at the other of what is the one great metropolitan improvement which the London County Council has undertaken. Verily the genesis of this street is an object lesson for all time. It cannot have been other than the intention of those who planned it to make it a great avenue, a real King's way, from north to south, an artery for through traffic which would enable Islington and St. Pancras to communicate comfortably with Lambeth and Camberwell, even on the days of Lord Mayors' shows, returns of C.I.V., and such like wild revelry. And what did they do? They apparently looked out the two spots on the great east and west thoroughfares of Oxford Street and the Strand where there was most traffic, and now we are proceeding to join them and invite into them the accumulations of the north and the south, with the certain result of adding enormously to their congestion. In the face of this report I fear that we are too late, and that the opportunity of dealing with this particular 'improvement' is gone. As regards the Holborn end we lost it when it was settled that 70 feet was wide enough for Southampton Row, when we allowed expensive buildings to be commenced, and when we permitted the tramways to take up the whole of the subsoil. Had the cross-traffic question been raised earlier it would have been easy to arrange that not only the tramways but all traffic desirous of doing so could pass under Oxford Street. At the Wellington Street end it is still possible to hope that the energy of Sir John Wolfe Barry will carry the Westminster Council with him to victory, but failing that we shall probably have another and better chance when the question of a necessary widening of Waterloo Bridge comes up. By then the Wellington Street block will have become quite unsupportable. But we have gained something, for we have raised the whole question, and the London County Council has passed without a word a resolution to the effect that they will endeavour to show more foresight in the future.

And here, as an interlude, and as an illustration of how though this is a difficult question it is not an impossible question, I should like to point out two places to which attention might be turned at once. The first because it is crying out and can be done to-day by the kind connivance of the Crown and by the energy of the London County Council. The second because it will be crying out to-morrow, and can easily and cheaply be arranged to-day by the foresight of the London County Council. Let us take the last first.

Why is it that hansoms coming from the City, motor cars out for exercise, and the processions marching to Hyde Park all choose the Victoria Embankment? Because nothing crosses them. From Westminster Bridge to Blackfriars Bridge their left flank is protected by the river, and the great traffic bound for the south side passes uninterruptedly over their head. If the Embankment Road could have been carried under those two bridges as it was under Waterloo and Charing Cross we should all have been so much the gainers. It is too late to think of them now, but Lambeth Bridge has still to be dealt with from its foundations. Within the next two or three years it is to come down and be replaced by a new structure, and not only that, but the London County Council are at this moment in process of remodelling Horseferry Road and the whole quarter on the west bank. What is called the Westminster Improvement Scheme is going to sweep away the wharves on the river side and bring the Grosvenor Road Embankment in state to the Houses of Parliament. It will be a fine open space for London, surely it might also be made a fine, free, fast traffic road for London. Nothing can be easier than to arrange that the new bridge shall be made to 'carry' not only the river but the embankment road; but to do so we must look ahead now, and as we pull down the Horseferry Road houses must see that the new ones are built to conform with the rising road. There is ample space for any engineering works. If this is not done, if we allow the Embankment stream to come at right angles against the Bridge stream on the level, we shall only create another Wellington Street block. It may sound absurd to speak of a block at Lambeth Bridge, but fifty years ago people would have said the same of Hyde Park Corner, and one hundred years ago would have scoffed at the idea of congestion at Piccadilly Circus. If it is worth while to make this new embankment and to build a new bridge—and anyone has only to look at the map and consider the lines along which London moves to realise how valuable both will be—it will be criminal folly on the part of those in authority if they do not make the necessary arrangements at once. A year hence it will be again too late.

Then, to turn to what troubles many of us most to-day—the Walsingham House block. At this point four streets on the north, two on the south, pour their contents into Piccadilly. Some vehicles from both sides turn west, a few turn east, the majority want to get across, and are through traffic. There are the Mayfair carriages trying to reach Pall Mall and Westminster, there are the Victoria Station cabs fighting to get up north. Here Piccadilly stands on a ridge, the ground falling gradually to Berkeley Square on the one side and rapidly down the Green Park on the other. There would be no difficulty whatever from an engineering point of view in making a tunnel under Piccadilly. The ground being favourable,

the approaches need not be long, and their flanks are protected. There are no cross streets to consider. The northern approach could be constructed in one of two ways, either Berkeley Street might be made a sunken road altogether and wiped out as a carriage-way into Piccadilly, or the Duke of Devonshire might be induced to part with a small strip off his garden and the extreme left of his forecourt. The last would be the most expensive, but London spends hundreds of thousands a year in street widenings. For the southern approach there is already in existence the footpath straight down from Piccadilly to the Mall. It is bounded on the east by the gardens of Arlington Street and other houses, on the west by a fine line of trees. It would be unnecessary to touch either. It would only be a question of turning what is now a very broad footpath into a roadway like Constitution Hill or the Mall. The width is the same, and the class of traffic would necessarily be the same. At the Piccadilly end the road would be sunken and out of sight, halfway down it would gradually come up to the surface. And then as we get past Bridgewater House there open out fresh possibilities. The proposed forecourt of Queen Victoria's memorial comes almost to that point. The roadway of Constitution Hill is to be diverted along its northern face, sweeping round to the Mall by Stafford House. Let that be done, but also let it be continued due east past Bridgewater House to Cleveland Row. If it were possible to carry all this out the results would be as follows. Cabs and carriages from Hyde Park Corner for Pall Mall and the Strand would come down Constitution Hill and run straight through. There would be no necessity to go round St. James's Palace. If they were bound for Whitehall, the Embankment, or the City, they would swing round into the Mall and pass along it, and out by the new entrance which we are promised near the Admiralty. If their destination was Westminster their quickest route would probably be by Birdcage Walk. From Mayfair they would use the reconstructed Berkeley Street, dip under Piccadilly, and coming down the new road would turn east to Pall Mall and the Mall. From Bond Street and the north they would follow the same route. It would be to the advantage of the whole West End, and would save a quarter of a mile to an infinite number of people. It would take two minutes less time to drive from the Wellington Club to the Carlton Club, Lord Rosebery would get from Berkeley Square to the House of Lords five minutes earlier, and the happy couple departing straight from St. George's, Hanover Square, to Paris and the Riviera would be able to leave for Victoria five minutes later. And when some people may ask why the money of the ratepayers should be spent in making a new road for the sole advantage of those who use cabs and carriages, the answer is that it would at one and the same moment certainly cure, in the interests of the whole community, the worst block in Piccadilly. It would

only be carrying out Mr. Bryce's proposal of 'appropriating certain thoroughfares to certain kinds of traffic.'

So much for the advantages of such a scheme. Would anybody lose by it? It is only with extreme diffidence that any proposal that appears to entrench upon the amenities of the royal parks should ever be advanced. They are the inheritance of the King, they are the joy of the people. Of his Gracious Majesty's sympathy with everything that is for the good of London we are assured. He would naturally ask to be convinced that the public would benefit. And what would the public say? Remember that it would not be necessary to cut one good tree or in any way destroy the park. It is a question of turning a little-used footway into a carriage-way, that is all. From Piccadilly, the fact that there was such a sunken way would never be noticed; from the houses in Arlington Street and St. James's Place which look out over the grass, the road would be practically invisible. It would be Carlton House Terrace and the Mall over again, and so much would be gained that whatever authority carried it out could afford to be liberal to those whose interests were affected. If Lord Windsor and Sir Schomberg M'Donnell wish to signalise their first year of office by striking a swingeing blow in the cause of fast traffic here is their chance. If Mr. Davies, the far-seeing Chairman of the Improvements Committee of the London County Council, is anxious to give an object lesson in the most satisfactory way of treating congestion, he will not hesitate on the score of expense.

Here then are two places around which those who desire to see the cross-traffic question seriously tackled may allow their imagination to play. Both are possible, neither would be prohibitively costly. But when all is said and done these are but examples for the sake of illustration, two out of ten thousand, of the only possible way of dealing with the one everlasting bugbear. It must be brought home to everybody that if they want to move fast themselves, and to be supplied with necessities or luxuries whose price depends upon speed, they must agitate, agitate, agitate, until they find a man, a council or a government—better still if they can arrive simultaneously at all three—who will look a generation ahead and take this great overgrown octopus and Haussmannise it throughout. And what does a modern Haussmannisation mean? It goes much further than wide boulevards with avenues of trees. We live in scientific times, and ask, not only for the width and the trees, but for streets of concrete and steel. They talk of fifty millions to arrange a system of tubes deep down in the London clay. Would it need any more capital if a few strong men, backed by Parliament, backed by the credit of London, backed, as they well might be if envy and spoliation were ruled out, by those great ground landlords—in most cases not individuals but corporate bodies, hospitals and charities—whose

property would be improved, were empowered to drive through the meaner streets four, five or six arterial ways, scientific and up-to-date as they could be made. In the bowels of the earth there would be laid drain pipes and water pipes and tunnels, capable perhaps of carrying railway carriages and trucks running in from all over the country. Just under the surface, shallow tramways and galleries for the thousand and one wire connections which will soon be the necessity of all our lives. On the surface, people, carriages and horses, all that moves slowly and wishes to stop by the way. Above, raised so as to be independent of cross-traffic, moving platforms and a bicycle and motor road. Everywhere new values would be created; and, given large powers, given financial capacity and probity, no money would be lost, and London would be encouraged to live and thrive and be healthy and happy.

I admit that there is another view to take of the whole question: that it may be argued that the so-called home counties of England are over-populated already, that water will run short, that sewage will taint the ground and poison the air, and that the great city should be forbidden rather than encouraged to expand over the surrounding country. If any government of this earth had the power to lead the migrations of the people, it might be well if they could induce them to gather elsewhere, over the watersheds. But that is beyond the wit of mortals, and I do not envy the man who, having the chance of helping London to stretch herself outwards, for one reason or another turns a deaf ear, and takes the risk of living to see her pine and droop and die. It would be a painful death to watch.

GEORGE S. C. SWINTON.

## *A FORGOTTEN ADVENTURER*

THE stage has many claims to represent real life, and perhaps it is in no respect more true to Nature than when it relieves the tragic sufferings of princes and heroes with the adventures of the comic retainer—the faithful henchman who believes in his chosen master through thick and thin, undergoes peril and discomfort on his behalf, and ultimately disappears unnoticed into private life while the central figure ascends the throne, or descends into the grave, amidst the plaudits or sympathy of the audience.

The histories of the Stuarts and Bourbons afford many such examples, and it may be worth while momentarily to rescue from obscurity one of these half-comic, half-pathetic figures, the Baron de Kolli.

Eighty years ago this individual gave to the world his own version of his adventures; and reference to French and English papers of 1810 sufficiently confirms the main outlines of his story to make it worthy of acceptance as a characteristic episode of the period.

The manner in which Napoleon played off King Charles the Fourth of Spain against his son Ferdinand the Seventh is well known. The father, in successive attacks of senile terror, had at one moment charged his son with high treason, at another abdicated in his favour, and in yet a third appealed to the Emperor against his disobedient offspring. The qualities of the son were not greatly superior to those of the father, but, in the words of the historian Rose, 'it was enough for his countrymen that he opposed the Court'; and he was received with acclamation when he entered Madrid as King, while hoping all the time to secure his throne by marriage with a Bonaparte Princess.

Napoleon was exactly in the position of the boy who, called upon to decide between the claims of two comrades quarrelling for a nut, awarded half the shell to either and the kernel to himself. He decoyed both sections of the Spanish Royal Family to Bayonne, and induced both Charles and Ferdinand severally to sign away their royal rights in exchange for castles and pensions.

Ferdinand and the Infantes Don Carlos and Don Antonio were

handed over to Talleyrand, with injunctions to 'amuse them' at his Castle of Valençay. Talleyrand, says Lady Blennerhassett, did what he could.

His head groom put them on horseback for the first time; his keepers taught them to shoot; his cooks forgot their art in endeavouring to please them; and his own attempts at educating them, which began in the library, gradually sank to the level of a picture-book.

Sympathetic spirits at a distance evolved a very different ideal of the interesting exiles: the heart of De Kolli, who had then never seen them, was stirred by their grievances, and he draws this fancy portrait of Ferdinand:

The continual study to contain himself enabled him to acquire that strength of mind against which the arrows of adversity are now falling powerless. His occupations were all of the fittest kind to lighten the weight of a great misfortune or to charm the long and tedious hours of captivity. History, which he consulted for lessons of conduct, served to feed him with hopes.

These hopes, De Kolli determined, should not be frustrated if he could fulfil them.

De Kolli (otherwise Kelly) seems to have been an Irishman by birth, to have at some time acquired the title, or at all events the uniform, of a Colonel in the Gendarmerie, and to have been employed in secret missions on behalf of the Bourbons in different parts of the Continent. His exact nationality is hard to ascertain, but as his memoirs were translated into English (from what language is not specified) it is fair to assume that this was not his native tongue. He is called at different times and by different persons Chevalier, Count, and Baron de Kolli. Since his memoirs appear under the last title we need not grudge him the distinction, though it may be remarked that the decree, which in after years conferred upon him a Spanish Order, specially dispensed with the proof of nobility required by the statutes.

Fired by the desire to rescue the young King of Spain (or Prince of Asturias as he was called by his captors), De Kolli in 1809 communicated with the British Government, and met with distinct encouragement, even if the first advances did not come from London. The initial difficulty was to reach England for the purpose of receiving his credentials and instructions. Being apparently in Belgium, he resolved to go 'by way of Antwerp,' and thence to find means of joining the English ships, then waiting to remove the remnant of Chatham's ill-fated expedition from the fever-stricken swamps of Walcheren. De Kolli learnt that the fleet was not starting on its return journey so soon as he expected, and, while trying to collect useful information at Antwerp, he took up his abode at the Trappist convent of Westmall, a short distance from that city. His residence there must have introduced a little pleasing



variety into the lives of the brethren. He tells us that he 'received the most delicate attentions' from the Superior, who 'neglected no means to preserve him from the fangs of the police, which had more than once carried its researches into the interior of these peaceful abodes.'

In the course of De Kolli's daily expeditions into Antwerp he made the acquaintance of a young gentleman called Albert de St. Bonnel, who 'was still at the age when a noble and generous action makes the heart beat.' For the purpose of avoiding conscription he had taken refuge in the administration of the *matériel de la guerre*, in which he had acquired a variety of information likely to be valuable to Kolli, who nevertheless asserts that he was inspired with the desire to be useful to Albert when he offered him the position of secretary in his enterprise. Albert accepted, and, to test his courage, De Kolli suggested to him the possibility of seizing a somewhat isolated gun-brig in the middle of the night and utilising it for the voyage to Walcheren. Albert, probably well aware that there was no serious chance of making the attempt, readily assented, and this convinced his employer of his resolution and audacity, in which happy belief he regretfully avows himself to have been subsequently undeceived.

In the beginning of December a case of books reached the expectant adventurer, and he found his final instructions in the middle of a volume of Marmontel, the leaves of which had been carefully pasted together. Thereupon the allies started for Holland, but while seating themselves at table at an inn on the boundary of the two States they overheard a stranger telling his travelling companion that the gendarmes were in the daily habit of visiting this inn to examine the passports. One would have thought that in the period of waiting such necessary documents might have been procured: not at all—this would have spoilt the occasion for a display of ingenuity. Albert had no passport, and De Kolli's, besides being only for travelling in the interior, described a bearer of different height and colouring from himself.

Accordingly the conspirators passed out through the inn yard while the gendarmes were entering by the principal gate, told their postilion to overtake them on the high road, and walked to a rivulet which formed part of the frontier. While they were preparing to cross, a Custom-house officer appeared on a neighbouring bridge and summoned them. Without hesitation De Kolli sprang lightly over the stream; the less agile Albert landed in the middle, but, scrambling out, rejoined his companion, and both walked over the fields till they met their carriage. This had been but slightly searched, and the guard on the bridge seems to have satisfied his sense of duty by a shout without taking further trouble in the matter.

Arrived at the island of Overflakkee, in Holland, De Kolli agreed

with the master of a felucca to transport him to Walcheren, but communications with that island and with the English fleet were seriously interrupted by a French privateer and a Dutch frigate. For two days the captain of the felucca declined to move; towards the close of the second a singular noise in the hold disclosed to the acute De Kolli that the transport was carrying some twenty pigs and a cargo of vegetables and poultry to sell to the English. He thereupon determined that, if the prospect of so good a market were insufficient to instigate the phlegmatic sailor to run any risk, he must take the matter into his own hands. He looked into the captain's cabin and saw him lying asleep in the midst of his sailors, and in an open press he espied a dozen muskets, as many swords, and some bottles of liquor. This repository he approached on tiptoe, locked the door, put the key in his pocket, and went off to impart to Albert a plan to be executed at midnight. Albert was provided with a musket and stood sentry over the arsenal. Captain and crew, still slumbering, were locked into their quarters, and De Kolli, returning on deck, kicked up the sailor on watch who was sleeping under the helm, and ordered him to rise, hoist the sail, cut the cable, and put out to sea.

The astonished wretch attempted to refuse, on the score of bad weather and the enemy. The cocking of De Kolli's musket conquered his irresolution, and they ran past the privateer, regardless of her challenge, 'Who goes there?' The raging storm soon obliged De Kolli to release the captive crew; but, far from being angry, the sailors 'shouted with joy' when they heard what had happened. Presumably they felt that others had run the risk and that they should share the profits.

The English fleet was sighted at noon next day; De Kolli's statement that he had despatches for the Government was believed, and the frigate *Sabrina* took him to the Thames. Arriving in London on the last day of December, he promptly addressed the Duke of Kent, enclosing a credential which he does not describe, but which elicited a courteous answer from Colonel Vesey, Private Secretary to H.R.H., and an intimation that the Duke would receive him without delay at his residence near Ealing. The interview with the Duke was followed by one with the Foreign Secretary, Lord Wellesley, who discussed the whole scheme with De Kolli at Apsley House on the evening of the 11th of January 1810.

De Kolli declares that the Duke of Kent himself desired to become the principal in the enterprise, and was only prevented by the injunctions of the King his father. This seems almost incredible, but that the King and Ministers really furnished the means and documents necessary for the undertaking could not be subsequently disavowed. De Kolli was put into communication with Admiral Sir George Cockburn, at whose house further meetings

were held, Lord Wellesley going there by night without attendants and in a borrowed carriage.

A small squadron was formed, consisting of two men-of-war, the *Implacable* and the *Disdainful*, attended by a brig and a schooner. Plate, clothes, books, and astronomical instruments were put on board for the use of the monarch, who, it was expected, would be shortly conveyed to his kingdom; nor was a priest with holy ornaments for divine service forgotten.

De Kolli accompanied Admiral Cockburn to Plymouth, leaving M. de St. Bonnel to follow with the necessary credentials and funds. He arrived with these in charge of a King's messenger on the 26th of February, and they were certainly sufficient for the purpose. A letter was addressed by Lord Wellesley to De Kolli personally assuring him of his confidence and esteem, and begging his acceptance of a sword of honour, which later on, we are told, was that which Tippoo Sultan had in his hand when killed. Two other letters were from George the Third to Ferdinand—one in French, dated the 31st of January, expressing to him the profound sympathy which the British monarch felt for him as prisoner at Valençay, and begging him to 'reflect on the wisest and most effectual means of tearing himself from the indignities to which he was subjected' and showing himself to his faithful people. 'Les moyens les plus efficaces' then offered were not specified, but Ferdinand could read between the lines. The other was a duplicate of the Latin credential letter which Sir Henry Wellesley, as ambassador, was to present to the Spanish Junta governing in Ferdinand's name. The fourth document was a Latin letter addressed by Charles the Fourth to George in 1802, announcing Ferdinand's marriage to his cousin Princess Maria Antonia of the Two Sicilies, since deceased. This was endorsed by Lord Wellesley as 'entrusted to the Baron de Kolli, who will have the honour to submit it to His Catholic Majesty's inspection as a proof of his mission to that monarch.'

In addition to these credentials, Albert was the bearer of a packet of diamonds valued at 208,000 francs for De Kolli's private emoluments and the first expenses of his mission; and an unlimited credit with a Paris banker had been opened for King Ferdinand. The English Ministry had further procured for the mission French passports and blank orders, and papers from various departments of Napoleon's Government. Nothing seemed to have been forgotten, and the expedition sailed with high hopes on the 28th of February.

Despite squalls of such violence that a sailor and an officer met their death by drowning, the squadron anchored ten days later in the Bay of Quiberon, where the appearance of British ships was too frequent to excite any suspicion. Here Sir George Cockburn decided that De Kolli should go on shore to reconnoitre and fix on the spots where correspondence should be deposited, and where the rescued

Sovereign should be received by his deliverers. These observations were effectually carried out under the conduct of Mr. Westfall, the Admiral's first lieutenant, but Sir George felt rather uneasy at their prolonged absence. Such was his interest in De Kolli that he one day volunteered the promise, 'If fortune does not favour you, I will myself present your children to the Parliament and obtain its support for them.' In various anxious moments our hero refers pathetically to his somewhat shadowy children, but never to their mother.

Meantime a certain Baron de Ferriet, who was in the pay of the British Government and happened at that time to be in the neighbouring Island of Houat, became aware of the proximity of English ships, and asked to be taken on board the *Implacable*, a request which, after some hesitation, was granted. M. de Ferriet brought information that the French coastguards had received orders to watch for two strangers who were expected to land almost immediately. Despite this apparently friendly caution, De Kolli suspected the spy's good faith, and by way of testing his intentions offered him fifty gold ducats for vague services to be thereafter rendered, an offer at first refused but afterwards accepted. A long conversation between these Barons seems to have had no particular purpose save to enable De Kolli to repudiate with exalted sentiments De Ferriet's suggestion that Bonaparte's life should be attempted.

Ultimately it was decided to mislead De Ferriet as to the spot selected for landing, and to transfer him to the *Disdainful*, with instructions to the captain of that frigate to keep him on board for a certain time, and then to put him ashore near the Sables d'Olonne. Unfortunately these orders were not carried out, and information fatal to the enterprise reached the French police.

Sir George, believing that the coastguards were really on the alert, tried to induce De Kolli to select a different spot for landing, but in vain; so on the 9th of March two boats, manned with thirty armed sailors, conveyed him to within some thirty fathoms of the coast. Here Lieutenant Westfall threw himself into the sea, followed by the crew. A stout seaman took Kolli on his shoulders, and he and Albert were left on shore to carry out the daring project, which was to restore a Bourbon to the throne of his ancestors.

The design, throttled before it came to birth, was to procure an interview with Ferdinand, and to abscond with him on horseback, by the Vannes road, to Sarzeau, near the landing-place. In this neighbourhood are certain salt-pits, by which a trusty agent was to be stationed ready to signal to the ships; on receiving the signal the Admiral would have immediately landed and taken the fugitives on board.

Meantime a berline, driven with great affectation of mystery and

provided with an elaborate system of relays, was to have proceeded by the Tours road, and this it was presumed would have been quite sufficient to have thrown Fouché's police off the scent.

As a first move, our conspirators, just landed on a desolate shore, had to reach Sarzeau, where they could hire horses, and now Albert began to show the white feather. They had to plod through clayey fields interspersed with pools and ditches. De Kolli pressed vigorously on; Albert lagged behind, and at length neither his steps nor his voice could be heard. To the shouts of his leader only the barking of dogs responded.

De Kolli retraced his path with melancholy forebodings, when his 'feet became entangled between the legs of Albert,' who was lying at full length in a ditch, apparently fainting, overcome with bodily and mental exhaustion. A glass of Madeira partially restored his physical powers, but all the exhortations of his companion were unavailing to induce him to continue his journey without some hours' rest. 'At least,' said De Kolli, 'if you allow yourself to be taken, secure by an act of courage the secret of the State and the King's fate.' 'I swear to do so,' answered the young man. Whereupon De Kolli handed him, according to his own story, a thousand pounds' worth of diamonds, to be accounted for when they met at Paris or Vincennes, saying that while prudence forbade him to give him any other instructions, he was to 'Die rather than betray the Government!' Nevertheless, Albert reappeared rather shamefacedly at Vannes, and the colleagues, thus reunited, proceeded on horseback to Paris, Albert still occasionally lingering in the rear for repose.

It was necessary to visit Paris before the plans conceived could be carried into execution—in order that ready money might be obtained, and both the real and fictitious relays of horses provided.

For better security from police observation De Kolli, having previously investigated the topography of Valençay, hired a house in the forest of Vincennes, of which he took possession on the 17th of March. Albert generally slept in Paris, where he remained to supervise the preparations; and the gardener's son, a boy of eleven, was the only factotum at Vincennes. Unfortunately, De Kolli could not resist the desire to enlist another follower, and engaged a certain *Sieur Richard* to stay with him. This man was an ex-Vendéan soldier, and De Kolli made him magnificent speeches concerning the virtues of the Bourbons and the honour of serving them to the death. 'To die for one's captive Sovereign is not paying too dear for immortal glory!' said he. 'You turn pale, Richard! Are you afraid of sharing the fate of the faithful, whose ghosts are still trembling on the shores of Quiberon, in the desert of Grenoble, or under the vaults of Vincennes?'

'This apostrophe,' he naïvely adds, 'astonished Richard without at all touching his soul.' The unreasonable recruit asked to know

the object for which he risked becoming a trembling ghost, and did not appear altogether satisfied when asked what that mattered so long as he was only called upon 'to combat the same adversaries?' He not unnaturally supposed that De Kolli had designs upon the life of Bonaparte, and, while grateful for well-paid employment, evidently realised the instability of his position, and determined to provide for his own safe retreat.

On the 24th, the day previous to that on which De Kolli intended to leave for Valençay, he directed Richard to go and make some purchases in Paris. While the horse was being put into the cabriolet Kolli talked to his messenger in the garden and gave him notes to the value of 2,700 francs. He was about to remark on his gloomy aspect when a knocking was heard at the front door, and the gardener's boy approaching said that his father wanted to enter in search of some tools. De Kolli bade Richard unlock it, and followed him to the house, when the pair were suddenly seized upon by eleven men, headed by the Inspector-General of Police, *Sieur Paques*, whom their victim instantly recognised 'by his savage look and forbidding air.' The rest of the scene is in the best style of *tragi-comedy*. An order signed by *Fouché* 'to arrest three individuals charged with corresponding with the enemies of the State' was produced, and challenged in vain.

The 'myrmidons' were ordered to 'carry them into their apartments': cupboards were ransacked, while the Inspector demanded, 'Who are you?' De Kolli, brought to bay, made a magniloquent declaration of his real objects, and Richard, enlightened for the first time, exclaimed in a tone of despair, 'What—was it for that?'

The desk or portfolio containing money and documents was opened, and, says the prisoner, 'while they were feasting their eyes with the sight of the gold, I took secretly out of my pocket a note which I had received the evening before from one of my best friends. I tore it up very quickly and swallowed the pieces.'

De Kolli was carried first before *M. Demarest*, *Fouché's* second in command, by whom he was subjected to a long examination. He takes great credit to himself for having misled his interrogator as to the vessel in which he sailed, and thereby caused an error in the official report; but *Demarest* certainly scored, as he elicited the name of the person with whom the diamonds had been deposited.

The net result of the interview as regards De Kolli was that he was convinced of the treachery of *De Ferriet* and *Richard*, and of the innocence of *St. Bonnel*. *Albert*, though unconcerned in his arrest, had, however, committed some other fault, which his employer magnanimously declines to reveal, only saying that his name 'will not appear again in these Memoirs.' Poor *Albert*! His full name was never recorded by De Kolli, but is supplied in the police report.

The subsequent interview with *Fouché* is related at length,

and bears every trace of veracity, as De Kolli is delightfully unconscious of the good-humoured contempt with which he is treated by the Duke of Otranto. The latter begins by commenting on the utter impossibility of the enterprise, and when his prisoner retorts that Sir Sidney Smith escaped from the Temple, the Duke quietly remarks, 'He wished to escape.'

'Ferdinand,' asserts De Kolli, 'is not disinclined to do so.'

Fouché asks where proofs of such inclination exist. 'In Spain, at Bayonne—in every part of Europe; in the heart of every man who respects himself,' exclaims the champion.

After a little lecture on De Kolli's folly in interfering 'in the quarrels of nations,' the Duke sarcastically adds: 'I can praise you for a zeal which, to be admired, only wanted the consent of the person who inspired it. Do you know him?'

'He is,' responds De Kolli, 'a monarch, the heir to the goodness and virtues of St. Louis.'

One can imagine the shrug of the shoulders with which the Duke remarks that, had the letters been presented to Ferdinand, the offers contained in them would have been rejected, to which De Kolli replies, with the unshaken conviction of happy ignorance, 'he would have received them with the deepest emotion.'

The Duke tries to point out that the British Government had sent De Kolli on a fool's errand which ought to have cost him his life: De Kolli makes a beautiful speech in defence of his employers, and declares his confidence in their protection of his orphan children.

Fouché, possibly touched by the enthusiasm of an evidently not very dangerous conspirator, assures him for his comfort that all his correspondents have been set at liberty, except Albert and Richard; and, after politely declaring that it would have been a pleasure to have liberated him also, he concludes the interview by relegating him to the Donjon de Vincennes for the time being.

Now Fouché was just then endeavouring to come to an understanding with England, and was conducting negotiations on his own account through the financier Ouvrard. It is therefore quite probable, as De Kolli insinuates, that he did not care to make this abortive conspiracy a fresh cause of quarrel with the British Government, and that had their emissary been willing to give him useful information he would have set him free, and said no more about the affair. It would, however, have been difficult then, and is certainly impossible now, to penetrate the designs of the crafty Minister of Police. De Kolli claims to have rejected his advances, and perhaps what happened at this crisis is best summed up in the words which O'Meara reports as having been used by Napoleon at St. Helena:

Kolli [said the exiled Emperor] was discovered by the police by his always drinking a bottle of the best wine, which so ill corresponded with his dress and apparent poverty that it excited a suspicion among some of the spies, and he was

arrested, searched, and his papers taken from him. A police agent was then dressed up, instructed to represent Kolli, and sent with the papers taken from him to Ferdinand; who, however, would not attempt to effect his escape, although he had no suspicion of the deceit practised upon him.

This indeed was the astute Fouché's next move. He would not publish abroad the plot of the British Government without demonstrating to the world at the same time that it was frustrated, not only by the vigilance of the French police, but by the devotion of the Spanish princes to their Imperial Protector. The farce was carefully played out. A police agent impersonating Kolli went to Valençay, under pretence of being an expert in turnery having curious articles for sale. In later years De Kolli extorted from the Duke of Otranto and from the agent himself letters confessing that this emissary was none other than our old friend Richard, and there is no reason to doubt the fact. Richard, then, found his way into the castle, and, apparently by the connivance of M. d'Amézaga, Intendant of the Household, was placed in a gallery leading to the royal apartments. Here he saw the Infante Don Antonio, whom he mistook for the Prince of Asturias, and to whom he made somewhat confused suggestions of flight. Had De Kolli himself urged the escapade with his undoubted eloquence, it is doubtful whether he could have roused the Princes to take the risk, but, introduced with intentional half-heartedness, the proposition was naturally rejected with scorn, and drew from Ferdinand, when communicated to him, the desired protestations and disclaimers. He wrote to M. Berthémy, Governor of the castle, that he took this occasion of reiterating his sentiments of inviolable fidelity towards the Emperor, and expressed 'the horror with which he was inspired by this infernal project, of which he hoped that the authors and abettors would be punished as they deserved.'

Richard, having been duly arrested at Valençay on the 6th of April, was brought up for examination on the 8th. He gave his name and status as Charles Leopold Baron de Kolli, born in Ireland, Minister from His Majesty George the Third to the Prince of Asturias, Ferdinand the Seventh. His account of his instructions from the British Government and of his subsequent proceedings and intentions does not differ materially from that given by the real De Kolli. He calls the Admiral's ship the *Incomparable* (evidently the name so cunningly substituted by De Kolli for the *Implacable*), and tells us that the King of England's letters were concealed in the lining of De Kolli's coat, some of the diamonds being sewn into his collar and waistband, and the remainder into those of Albert.

Fouché, being thus provided with a complete *dossier* of genuine and forged information, cast a bomb in the shape of a State Paper and exploded it in the *Moniteur* on the 26th of April. . This number



contains Fouché's official statement to the Emperor enclosing M. Berthémy's report of the pseudo-Kolli's arrest, and particulars of his examination. The letter of Ferdinand to Berthémy is given, and also those from and to George the Third seized by the police. To emphasise the futility of the attempt, in the same issue of the paper are published accounts of the festivities with which the Spanish Princes had celebrated the recent marriage of Napoleon and Maria Louisa, and a letter dated the 4th of April addressed by the Prince of Asturias to Berthémy, in which he repeats his desire to become the adopted son of the Emperor.

News travelled slowly across the Channel in those days, but on the 7th of May the English papers republished the compromising documents, with comments of a more or less incredulous nature:

It is impossible [says the *Times*] to attach any degree of credit whatever to that part of this statement which affects our Government without ascribing to the Nobleman at the head of the Foreign Department the utmost indiscretion. No proposition of the kind could have been entertained and encouraged without greatly adding to that peril in which the Royal Prisoner it was intended to release hourly stands. It is not impossible, however, that a proposal of this nature might have been made to our Government by some French or other foreign emissary, but we can hardly believe that the bait was so easily taken.

*The Morning Chronicle* remarks:

This story deserves very little credit. If such a plan had existed, it is very unlikely that a squadron should have been sent when a fishing-boat would so much better have answered the purpose. . . . Other considerations show its extreme improbability.

Next day the Press had perforce to change its point of view. When the House of Commons met on the afternoon of the 7th of May, Mr. Whitbread questioned the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the letter purporting to have been signed by the King, and countersigned by the Marquis of Wellesley. As it was hardly possible, he said, that such a letter could have been written by the King, he wished to give the right hon. gentleman an opportunity of removing all doubts, and therefore asked whether it was to be looked upon as a document which had any pretensions to the character of authenticity? Mr. Perceval, who spoke in a low tone, was understood to decline any answer, 'on the ground that it might be prejudicial to the public service'—that convenient formula not unknown at the present day.

*The Times* covers the retreat with what dignity could be mustered at short notice:

It seems to be admitted on the part of Ministry that the Count de Kolli, whose real name now appears to be Kelly, was accredited by the British Government for the purpose of assisting Ferdinand the Seventh to withdraw from his place of confinement. The merit of the attempt, of course, depends upon the previous probability of success. We cannot easily say what the French papers mean by designating it as a horrid and atrocious plot. The restoration of this Prince to

his subjects, even by stealth, if possible, is unquestionably the duty of us, the allies of the Spanish nation.

*The Morning Chronicle* weeps tears of national shame :

With extreme mortification we are obliged to confess our error respecting the plot announced in the *Moniteur* for carrying off Ferdinand from his captivity. Imbecile as we thought the Administration of this country to be, we did not believe that the new Secretary of State for the Foreign Department could have so absurdly exposed his royal master's councils to scorn, and wasted the treasure of the country in a contrivance so puerile, and with agents so unfit as it now appears he did. . . . We have laid the particulars before our readers, and we have only to add that *they are all true*. Mr. Whitbread last night put the question to Ministers—but they were mute. Poor Lord Wellesley had not a friend to defend him from the reproach of the only expedition he has contrived !

Lord Wellesley, accustomed to Indian methods, always managed his own department with little reference to the Cabinet, so it is probable that, though his colleagues were bound to give him tacit support, they felt indisposed to say much on his behalf.

While the British Ministers regretted this rashness as silently as they could on the Treasury Bench, their unlucky representative expiated his in a solitary dungeon at Vincennes. So active a spirit could not remain impassive, and in his account of his four years' captivity in this fortress we hear of communications with his fellow-prisoners obtained by bribery and other expedients, and of daring but unsuccessful attempts at escape.

Among those with whom he contrived not only correspondence but interviews were Count Julius de Polignac, afterwards Ambassador in England, and his brother. These gentlemen gave De Kolli a copy of the official account of his enterprise, which naturally filled him with indignation. To have failed to reach Valençay was bad enough, to be credited with the bungled attempt of an impostor was to suffer insult heaped upon injury. De Kolli was quite as furious with the police for the letters attributed to Ferdinand as with the answers which they put into his own mouth. He fills pages with arguments that the monarch for whom he had risked his neck neither would, could, nor did use the language of disavowal and subservience addressed through Berthémy to Napoleon. We can sympathise with his feelings, and rejoice that he still enjoyed such comfort as self-deception alone could have afforded him. The Counts de Polignac, who were less strictly guarded than De Kolli, secretly supplied him with the writing materials necessary to draw up a protest against the garbled version of the French authorities, and, further, undertook to transmit this memorial with a covering letter to Lord Wellesley. After the removal of the De Polignacs to a still easier place of confinement, our hero relates, among other incidents, how he frustrated an attempt to search him for valuable papers, which he still possessed, by stabbing himself with a pair of scissors. Finally, he made a resolute bid for freedom in the way

which all annals of prison romance lead the reader to expect. He excavated a hole in the outer wall, let himself down with a rope made of sheets, and nearly succeeded in passing out through a draw-bridge gate as one of the masons then employed about the prison. Unfortunately, some real masons came up at the moment when the warder was about to unlock this gate, and their failure to recognise the fugitive as a comrade led to his re-arrest and confinement in a secret cell, too high up in the eastern tower of the donjon to admit of similar attempts in future.

Here, despite the watchfulness of his gaolers, he scraped acquaintance with several Spanish prisoners of distinction, and here he remained until February 1814, when he was transferred to Saumur by order of Fouché's successor, Savary, Duke of Rovigo.

Rumours of Napoleon's difficulties now began freely to penetrate even prison walls, and 'on the 16th of April at noon the doors of the prison were opened, the clanking of chains ceased to be heard, and the cry of "Long live the Bourbons!" was the only one that rang through the sepulchral vaults.'

Of the reunion with the children, often mourned and so long deprived of their father's care, we are told nothing; but without loss of time De Kolli rushed off to the bureau of police, and, while panic and disorganisation still prevailed, managed to repossess himself of his original credentials, and even to carry off other papers likely to be serviceable. Armed with these, he hunted down Richard, and, as previously stated, forced from him a confession of guilt; he then embarked on an epistolary campaign, through which we need not follow him in detail.

He claimed from the restored Government the diamonds, bank-notes, carriage, horse, sword of honour, and other articles of which he had been deprived, and a royal ordinance restored to him 15,000 francs and his movable property, but declared the diamonds given him by a Government then at war with France to be permanently confiscated. De Kolli did not cease to protest, and never brought himself to believe that so unjust a decree could have been promulgated by a Bourbon properly acquainted with the facts.

He further accuses the Duke of Rovigo of detaining from him Tippoo Sultan's sword.

A letter to Lord Wellesley elicited from that nobleman a cautious answer to the effect that he was no longer in office, and that all the papers relating to the Valençay affair had been handed to Lord Liverpool, but that he would be most happy to be of service to De Kolli if the British Government wished to move further in the transaction. Postponement to the Greek Kalends indeed! Ministers were, however, not ungenerous to the envoy of the late Government, and, realising what would most gratify his loyal heart, and possibly what would best serve to quiet his active pen, they furnished him

with ample means to journey to Madrid, and even allowed him to carry thither his former credentials.

Bearing these in a portfolio of brocade studded with golden fleurs-de-lis and embroidered with an appropriate inscription, he was fully compensated for all his labours and sufferings by an audience with the monarch on whose behalf they were undergone. The presentation having been made by Sir Henry Wellesley, 'Well, Kolli,' said the King, 'do you find the air of Madrid pleasanter than that of Vincennes?'

'Sire, the air of Valençay would not have been less pleasant to me.' 'How are your children?' 'Your Majesty's goodness makes life too agreeable for us not to enjoy it heartily.' A few more civil sentences, and the Cross of the Order of Charles the Third bestowed upon himself and his son almost overwhelmed De Kolli with a sense of gratitude. A few years later, in return for a MS. copy of his memoirs, the King made him a grant of money from the revenues of Havannah, but from this source the Spanish officials took care that he should derive little profit.

We last hear of De Kolli's activity during the Hundred Days, when he was appointed second in command of the Regiment of Maria Theresa, first raised by Madame (the Duchesse d'Angoulême) from amongst the Royalist volunteers at Bordeaux, a town which she had vainly attempted to hold for Louis the Eighteenth. On her flight to England she recommended her officers and men to the King of Spain, and, reinforced by other emigrants from France and the Basque Provinces, this regiment was to be attached to the Spanish Army of the Western Pyrenees. Its career was short. The colonel, De Barbarin, proposed to lead a small corps of French emigrants across the Pyrenees and to effect a junction with the Basque chiefs, with whom he had concerted a plan of campaign; they were to bring 1,500 followers, who were to be drilled and officered by the emigrants. After crossing the river Nieve, the Basque guide, with whom the Frenchmen could only communicate by signs, mistook their destination and led them into the middle of the hostile lines, surrounded by enemies four times their number; the French succeeded in forming an open front, with some enclosures in their rear. The colonel, wounded, fell from his horse, 'raised himself in the attitude of the Dying Gladiator,' and ordered his men to suspend firing and charge with the bayonet. De Kolli darted forward, followed by his friends, and 'overthrew everything that came in their way,' but in vain. When the last cartridge was expended the intrepid De Barbarin handed his portfolio to De Kolli, enjoined a retreat, and shot himself through the head. The remnant were overpowered by numbers and made prisoners, still shouting 'Vive le Roi!'

They were conducted to Bayonne, where they awaited their fate with some anxiety, as it was by no means certain that they would

not be executed as rebels rather than respected as prisoners of war. At the beginning of June 1815 they were transferred from the military to the civil authorities, which increased their suspense, a suspense happily terminated by the news of Waterloo and the second restoration of the Bourbons. De Kolli was promptly liberated and placed at the head of his regiment, which was selected to occupy the citadel of Bayonne, so that he had the supreme gratification of commanding where he had been a prisoner.

He had, however, never forgotten 'the delights of home, the effusions of friendship, nor the endearments of his children'; and towards the end of July he writes to the General commanding the Army of the Western Pyrenees: 'The Almighty, who presides over the destinies of France, has replaced on his throne the monarch for whom every loyal subject is bound to sacrifice himself'; and under these happy circumstances Kolli begs leave to resign his commission and retire into private life.

Count de Damas-Cruz responds in language equally flowery :

Nothing can be more loyal or more delicate than the sentiments expressed, or better deserve the general esteem or my personal regrets; nothing remains for me but to render that justice to you which the purity of your zeal, your disinterestedness, and the most sincere fidelity so fully merit.

With this testimony we may leave our adventurer, confident that if his impetuous nature and tendency to hero-worship led him into further difficulties, his boyish self-confidence and sanguine temperament must have won fresh friends to restore him to freedom and prosperity.

M. E. JERSEY.

## THE NEW ZEALAND ELECTIONS

THE General Election held in New Zealand on the 25th of November last presents several features that possess more than merely local interest. The reputation, moreover, acquired by this colony as a laboratory for political experiments, the attention attracted by its attitude in the late war, and the impression recently produced in England by the picturesque personality of its Premier, have combined to give, even to its domestic concerns, a wider interest than would otherwise be due to its position as a small and distant portion of the Empire.

The elections were held within a few weeks of the return of Mr. Seddon to the colony from the Coronation festivities and the conference of Colonial Premiers. The results constitute, therefore, the verdict of the people upon several matters of Imperial concernment. It might perhaps have been expected that the perfervid patriotism of the war-time would be succeeded by reaction. In the Commonwealth of Australia signs of this are not wanting. Sir Edmund Barton, on his return, was subjected to some amount of criticism; leading papers like the *Melbourne Age* complain that he has come back 'more British than Australian'; and the Federated Labour Congress of Australia has made withdrawal from contributing to the Empire's navy a 'plank' in its political platform. Of such an attitude there is not in New Zealand the faintest hint. The Premier has everywhere been received with enthusiasm; and the party he leads has again been returned to power by substantial majorities. The proposals to which he committed the colony at the Premiers' conference have received emphatic endorsement at the polls; practically none of them were even called in question. Scarcely a voice was raised at the hustings against the Premier's strongly Imperialist views; and if some of the candidates returned are personally opposed to him on the point, they gauged public opinion too shrewdly to attempt to make political capital of their criticism. So far as Mr. Seddon's Imperialism was brought into the court of public opinion, judgment went 'by default.'

But the main question at issue in the election was the liquor problem; and the verdict of the people upon this was so unexpected as to approach the sensational. Under the licensing law of New

Zealand, a local option poll is taken every three years. The franchise is the same as the parliamentary, and the poll is taken on the same day and in the same place as that for the selection of members of the House of Representatives.

Each voter is furnished with two ballot-papers: on the one he records his vote for a member to represent his constituency; on the other he exercises his choice on these three questions: (1) That licences continue as at present; (2) That the number be reduced; (3) That no licences be granted in the district. In order to carry (1) or (2) the number of votes given for it must amount to a bare majority of the number of persons who voted in the constituency; in order to carry (3) the number of votes given for it must amount to more than three-fifths of the total number of voters. If (2) is carried, the public-houses in the district must be reduced by not less than 5 or more than 25 per cent.; if (3) is carried, the sale, though not the manufacture, of alcoholic liquors is entirely prohibited within the limits of the electorate. The decision remains in force for three years; and the same three-fifths majority that is necessary for the abolition of licences is requisite also for their restoration.

Under this law, the prohibition party succeeded in 1894 in carrying abolition in one and reduction in fifteen electorates. Moderate people seem to have been satisfied with this measure of success; for although its numerical strength steadily increased in the intervening years the party did not succeed in inflicting any further signal defeat upon the liquor trade. In this contest, however, six districts declared for prohibition, and ten more for reduction; while in many others the voting was so close as to be gravely ominous for the future of the publican interest.

This is in itself sufficiently significant; but an examination of the votes cast throughout the colony reveals results still more startling.

The Women's Franchise came into force in 1894; from that year, therefore, dates the effective influence of the Prohibition party. Taking the figures for the last four elections—the reduction vote being omitted as unimportant—we shall be able to see clearly the growth of opinion on the question.

	Votes Cast	Continuance	No Licence
1894 . .	105,877	41,165	48,856
1896 . .	261,461	141,331	99,930
1899 . .	279,782	143,962	120,542
1902 . .	310,000 <sup>1</sup>	146,290	140,585

The large increase between 1894 and 1896 is due to an amendment in the law between those dates. In the former year it was necessary to a valid poll that half the electors on the roll should

<sup>1</sup> Approximate number; the returns at the time of writing had not been fully made up.

record their votes; the Liquor party therefore urged its supporters to abstain from voting, and the advice was largely followed. Under the law as it then stood, moreover, the Local Option poll was not, as now, taken on the same day as the General Election. Excluding the 1894 returns from the comparison, therefore, it will be seen that in the six years 1896-1902 'Continuance' shows a numerical increase of 5,060, equivalent to 4 per cent.; while 'Prohibition' shows a numerical increase of 50,460, equivalent to 50 per cent. Or to illustrate the growth of opinion in a different way: the no licence vote fell short of the continuance vote in 1896 by 30 per cent., and in 1899 by 17 per cent.; it exceeded it in 1902 by 2 per cent. It is probable, on the analogy of preceding elections, that 1905 will witness some reaction in favour of continuance; the large body of moderate people who, without being interested in the trade, are concerned for liberty of conduct, will probably then bestir themselves more than they did on the present occasion. But it cannot be pretended that the success of prohibition in this election has been due, to any appreciable extent, to the apathy of its opponents; for of the 412,000 adults eligible to vote according to the last census, the very large proportion of 310,000, or 77 per cent., went to the polls.

It is evident that, if the total number of voters and the no licence votes both increase at the same rate during the next six years as they have during the last six years, then at the licensing poll of 1908 there will be enough no licence voters not only to furnish a bare majority but even a three-fifths majority in favour of colonial option.

If we examine the returns in detail it will be found that the growth of the prohibition vote has been general and uniform in the colony. In the four cities, Wellington, Auckland, Christchurch, and Dunedin, the continuance vote has been practically stationary, while the no licence vote has increased by 54 per cent. In the southern city, Dunedin, it has almost doubled itself in the six years. Of the sixty-eight electorates, more than half give majorities for no licence. The movement shows, on the whole, more vitality in the south island than in the north. Four of the six prohibition districts are in the province of Otago, one being Chalmers, the seaport of Dunedin; of the other two, one is Ashburton, the centre of the great wheat-growing Canterbury Plain; and the other, Newtown, the 'working-man's suburb' of Wellington.

The Prohibition party attaches special importance to its victory in the three inland electorates of Otago. Clutha first declared for prohibition in 1894; so far, however, is this district from being tired of the experiment, that the trade vote has steadily declined from 1,618 in 1896 to 1,368 in 1902, while the prohibition vote has



increased in the same period from 1,989 to 2,248. Moreover, the two electorates Bruce and Mataura, which are the immediate neighbours of Clutha, have, with the evidence of its consequences at their very doors, thrown in their lot, on this occasion, with prohibition.

The No Licence party will probably now turn its efforts in the direction of procuring an amendment of the licensing law. Although but twenty of the seventy-six white members returned are pledged to its platform, its growing strength at the polls will give it considerable influence in politics. The party will endeavour to secure legislation providing for 'colonial option,' a plebiscite on the liquor question taken over the whole colony. Having attained so much success, it will not be content to continue to apply to the liquor trade the present method of 'closure by compartments.'

As to the effect of the poll upon property it is impossible at present to speak with certainty; the official returns are not yet all complete; in many electorates the voting was so close that re-counts are now proceeding; and the number of houses to be closed in the ten 'reduction' districts has to be determined by the licensing committees to be elected in March. But in the five new districts that have declared for abolition the effect will be to close, in June next, fifty-six public-houses; to take away a considerable number of wholesale and bottle licences; and to limit the sale of breweries situated in those districts.<sup>2</sup> But the value of the property involved in the trade presents no obstacle to the zeal of the advocates for its abolition.

'Vested interests' have no sacred immunities in the eyes of the New Zealand democracy, and the phrase is not one to conjure with at the hustings. There is no considerable section of the Prohibition party that will seriously entertain the question of compensation; by the great majority the bare suggestion of such a course would be scornfully rejected. The poll in Christchurch furnishes significant evidence of this. In that town the licensing committee, last June, ordered a number of hotels to be rebuilt as a condition of receiving renewals of licence. As a consequence there were, on the day of election, seven large buildings in course of erection in the town, the scaffolding still round them and the bricklayers still at work. The contract price for the seven amounts to over 60,000*l*. It might have been expected that with these buildings, erected by order of the law, staring him in the face, the average citizen would hesitate to record a vote the effect of which would be to destroy their licences before they were ready to open. Yet in spite of these seven argu-

<sup>2</sup> At the present time there are 1,552 licensed public-houses in the colony—an average of one house to 504 inhabitants. The revenue derived directly from them is 53,617*l*. per annum; the property engaged represents a capital value of a little over 3,030,000*l*. and the number of persons directly employed is 6,766.

ments in brick and mortar, the no licence vote in the town increased by over a thousand !

It would be wrong to suppose that the whole of the 159,000 persons who voted 'no licence' on this occasion are definitely and permanently attached to the cause of prohibition. Many adverse votes were cast as a protest against the insolent defiance of law of which some of the publicans have been guilty and in order to 'give the trade a lesson'; others proceeded from that passion for economic experiments which pervades this community; others, again, from a sheer love of destructiveness inherent in human nature. But though temporary considerations or local circumstances may have influenced the result in this or that electorate, the enormous increase in the no licence vote over the whole colony can only be due to the growth of deliberate opinion and deep-rooted sentiment on the question. The Prohibition party in its organisation is the complete expression of 'thorough.' Among its leaders are some of the ablest, most earnest, and most eloquent men to be found in public life in the colony; while many women contribute no less to its success by distinguished ability and untiring zeal. The majority of the newspapers of the colony are opposed to them, but give impartial publicity to reports of their meetings and exposition of their views. The pulpits and platforms of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches are their chief means of propagating their opinions; but their leading orators do not despise the lamp-post and the cart-tail as rostra for their eloquence. As a political machine, the prohibition organisation is all but perfect.

It is to the women's franchise, of course, that the question owes its present position. Women have now voted at four General Elections; it is only in this one, however, that their influence has been really effectively exerted. However true it may be that in the choice of Parliamentary candidates they vote in most cases as their husbands and brothers vote, there can be little doubt that on the liquor question they have exercised a separate judgment.

Although it was freely said at the time of the conferring of the franchise that women did not want it and, if they got it, would not use it, statistics go to show that women are at least as much in earnest as men in exercising their electoral prerogatives. In the three elections 1894, 1896, and 1899, the proportion of women who registered their claims to vote were respectively 78, 89, and 95 per cent. of the estimated adult female population. The proportion of women on the rolls who actually voted was on the same three occasions 85, 76, and 75 per cent. The figures for the present election are of course not yet available; but it is certain that women exercised their privileges at least as fully as on the earlier occasions.

Although the question of prohibition threw into the background all other issues at this election, there was one other matter that

obtained some prominence, and this also is interesting as an illustration of the influence of the women's vote. The national system of education established in the colony in 1876 is 'free, secular, and compulsory.' There has always existed a strong party favourable to the introduction of Bible-reading in the schools. But so devoted are the people to the national system and so jealous of anything that looks like 'the thin end of the wedge' of a return to denominationalism, that the question of the Bible in schools had for ten years disappeared from national politics. At the 1896 and 1899 elections scarcely a single candidate ventured to pledge himself definitely to advocate the introduction of the Bible.

This year, however, the question has presented itself in a new shape and bids fair to assume considerable importance. The Protestant denominations in the colony have agreed to sink their differences on the question and to unite in advocating the introduction of a non-sectarian Biblical text-book. There is at present a vague but widespread sentiment in the colony in favour of the referendum. Of this the Bible in Schools party has taken advantage to seek from candidates a pledge that they will vote for submitting to a referendum the question of introducing the text-book. 'Trust the people' is a popular political catchword; and candidates have found themselves able to give the pledges for a referendum without expressing any opinion on the merits of the question itself. Of thirteen members elected in Canterbury ten are pledged to the referendum, and the proportion is probably about the same in the rest of the colony. It would seem, then, that the advocates of Bible-reading have advanced a step. If a referendum is taken it will be difficult to forecast the issue. On the one hand the advantage in a plebiscite is always with the enthusiasts who affirm a change; and the influence of the women's vote will probably be found on the side of the Bible just as it is on the side of prohibition. On the other hand, the people of the colony will not readily consent to any step that threatens a return to denominational education, and will fear, perhaps with reason, that the agreement of the Churches is merely a patched-up peace in the face of political exigencies.

From the point of view of a party contest, the result, of course, was another victory for the Seddon Administration. On a fair estimate the 80 members elected comprise: Supporters of the Government, 50; Opposition, 25; Independent, 5. The Progressive party has now weathered the storm of five General Elections. Its strength in a House of 74 members was: in 1890, 38; 1894, 50; 1896, 38; 1899, 52; in a House of 80 Members, in 1902, 50.

The Seddon majority, though decreased, is still ample; but the party includes a considerable number of 'candid friends' who will be severely critical of the expenditure. The opponents of the

Government have gained in strength by some eight seats; the party made no attempt at organisation throughout the colony, and its increase in numbers represents a growth of opinion favourable to restoring the freehold tenure in the Government Land Settlement system, and adverse to continued borrowing and financial extravagance. It cannot in any sense, however, be said to represent the old so-called 'Conservative party'—the opinions and traditions associated with the Hall-Whitaker-Atkinson Administrations have practically disappeared from politics. The number claimed for the Opposition is reached by including advocates of the Freehold and disciples of Henry George; champions of prohibition and defenders of the liquor interest; men with sound views on finance and theorists who believe in a State Bank and paper money. A party so heterogeneous as this can only by a violent fiction be considered a remnant of the old 'Conservative' party. The most vigorous opposition to Mr. Seddon will in the future come from men who are not less, but more, radical than he. Paradoxical though it sounds, it is probably no exaggeration to say that if Mr. Seddon continues in politics, his influence will be found, in the course of every few years, to be the strongest conservative force in public opinion.

One final comment is suggested by the conduct of the people at the election: in spite of the keen excitement roused by the liquor question, the elections were marked throughout the colony by the utmost good order and decorum. There was a time when eggs and flour were, in New Zealand as elsewhere, no contemptible weapon of political controversy. A candidate now has nothing worse to face than good-tempered 'chaff' and 'heckling' at the hands of questioners. The new spirit of orderliness on election-day is to some extent attributable to a wise provision of the law by which all bars are closed from noon till 7 P.M. on the day of the polling; but it is mainly the result of the entry of women into politics. In the magistrates' courts of the two largest towns in New Zealand, the police presented clean charge-sheets on the day following the elections. Not a single arrest had been made for drunkenness or disorderly conduct.

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*RADIUM AND ITS POSITION IN NATURE*

THE position of the new element radium in the universe is unique. At present prices its purified compounds are sold at such a figure that two tons, or sufficient to fill a cart and be drawn by a strong horse on a level road, would liquidate the English National Debt. But that two tons do not exist in the whole earth is probable from the fact that in three years of isolation and preparation M. and Madame Curie have obtained not more than an avoirdupois pound weight of its compounds. These facts, which bring into such strong relief the scarcity of the element, have to be taken along with another which at first sight appears to present no point of connection. Runge and Precht have just found that the probable atomic weight of radium is 258; in other words, that its atoms are the heaviest known, being 258 times heavier than those of hydrogen. An atomic weight has a cosmic significance; there is undoubted connection between it and the quantity of the element which exists in nature. The heavier atoms are the rarest, and radium, with the heaviest of all atoms, ought to be the rarest element in existence.

It is necessary in science, as in everyday life, to look at things in proportion, and in doing this in the case of radium it would appear to have a very insignificant place indeed in nature. By utilising price statistics we obtain some idea of this. In the following table two chemical family groups of elements are compared, and by the side of the atomic weight of each substance is placed the troy weight in ounces which is purchasable for the approximate sum of four guineas:

Element	Ounces	Element	Ounces
Copper 63	2,286	Calcium 40	7,349
Silver 108	42	Strontium 87	2,450
Gold 197	1	Barium 137	3,675
		Radium 258	·0003

Gold, with an atomic weight of 197, is the rarest of the members of its family, and how rare it really is one can form some idea from the statement that all of this precious metal which has been won up to the present time by an expenditure of fabulous amounts of capital and an unexampled waste of life would probably, in the condition of

bar gold, not fill more than a couple of good-sized rooms in an ordinary house, and is an infinitesimal quantity when compared with the five thousand and odd trillions of tons of the earth's mass of other elements. Radium, at the end of its series, is rarer still.

The following appear to be the circumstances of its discovery. In 1898 it was announced in *Comptes Rendus* by Professor P. Curie, Madame Curie, and G. Bemont that they had found a new element in pitch-blende residues, in company with barium, and analytically behaving like it, but extremely radio-active. By fractional precipitation of the barium chloride from solution by means of alcohol, chlorides were obtained containing the new element which had 900 times the radiant activity of uranium, the principal element in the mineral pitch-blende. The amount of radium present was minute in the extreme, for it only affected the atomic weight of barium to a very small extent, although always in the same direction, that of increase as compared with inactive barium.

Radiations from this trace made a photographic negative in half a minute where uranium or thorium compounds would have taken hours, and its radiations, after passing through aluminium, rendered a film of barium platinocyanide luminous enough to make it visible in the dark without any apparent supply of energy. After some four years of labour, sufficiently pure samples of its compounds have been obtained for its atomic weight to be ascertained, with the result already mentioned. Chemists are thus enabled now to assign it a place among its fellows in the periodic classification of the elements.

When the position is clearly understood, it is at once seen that it must be an element differing from all others in its properties, and differing indeed so widely that, if judged from the standpoint of any one of them, even the laws of nature might appear at first sight to be defied. It is as far outside the ordinary system of atoms as Neptune is outside the planets of the solar system. Its place may be popularly appreciated from the following observations on the Periodic Law.

A draught-board is made up of sixty-four black and white squares. If there were only sixty-four elements, A, B, C, &c., in nature, with atomic weights graded from one to sixty-four, they would just fill all its squares. Let such a set of hypothetical elements be orderly disposed in the squares, commencing with A, atomic weight 1, at the top left-hand corner and proceeding along the top line up to eight, then coming back and filling the square under 1 with an atomic weight of 9, and so on in orderly succession; we then get, when the board is filled up, all the atomic weights of elements A, B, C, &c., disposed in periodic fashion. In this ideal arrangement we should have eight vertical groups; all the elements on the black squares of one of them would form a natural chemical family, and

the same would be the case with all the elements on the white squares of a vertical column. The family likeness would show itself in a gradation of properties of each of the elements, some given quality gradually increasing or decreasing as the atomic weights increased. As an illustration, which has also a bearing on subsequent observations, one might take the property of transparency to X-rays. These figures require no further comment.

Metals in Group II.	Atomic Weights	Relative Transparency. Water = 1
Magnesium . . . .	24	0.5
Zinc . . . .	65	0.1
Cadmium . . . .	112	0.09
Mercury . . . .	200	0.044
Metals in Group V.		
Antimony . . . .	120	0.18
Bismuth . . . .	208	0.07

Such is the principle of the periodic classification known as the Periodic Law. There are many other arrangements devised of disposing the elements; the squared parallelogram is here chosen as being the simplest. It must be understood, however, that this draught-board illustration cannot cover all the facts, as the atoms of elements do not rise in unit steps and there are more than sixty-four of them, but it enables a clear idea to be conveyed to the mind when the statement is made that the elements calcium, strontium, and barium occur in the second group, and that radium, with an atomic weight of 258, occupies the lowest place in this family group, and further that its position is so low down in the vertical column that it is in the thirteenth square from the top. It stands alone; isolated. Its position confers on it properties which make it peerless among the elements, and only to be described by a succession of superlatives. These properties may be predicted with more or less success from the known properties of other members of its group. Its soluble compounds will be extremely poisonous. Their gamut of colour will be limited, being for the most part only white or yellow. They will be highly susceptible to radiant influence or to sensible heat; the anhydrous bromide, for example, will have a specific heat about one-twentieth of that of water, so that to produce a given effect much less heat or radiant energy will be required than in the case of compounds of elements with lower atomic weights in the same family group. They will absorb X-rays with great avidity, and will in all probability possess this property to a phenomenal degree. Good absorbers of radiant energy are regarded as good radiators, and radium compounds will form no exception to this rule. We may well leave prediction here and return to a consideration of ascertained fact. Radium compounds pour out torrents of obscure radiations termed Becquerel rays, rays which have been regarded as being intermediate between the X-rays of the focus tube and ordinary

light. They have the peculiar penetrative power of X-rays and will pass through aluminium. Like X-rays they blister the skin and leave it in a condition which eventually requires dressing, the sores sometimes taking weeks to heal. X-rays have a pulsating character, and it is not improbable that this is a feature of Becquerel rays. X-rays produce phosphorescence in bodies like zinc sulphide (hexagonal zinc-blende); sunlight produces the same phenomenon in calcium sulphide (Balmain's paint), and Becquerel rays give the effect notably with the zinc-blende. Air is made an electric conductor or suffers ionisation under the influence of X-rays; Becquerel rays produce the same effect. In fact, the Becquerel rays coming from radium compounds have so many characters in common with Röntgen rays that they have latterly been spoken of as X-rays. The mechanism of their origin cannot be said, as yet, to be thoroughly understood, but it is probably like the succession of events concerned in the phosphorescence of Balmain's paint after exposure to solar light. Here we have absorption of the sun's light; conversion of the ether undulations of the solar rays to the molecular vibrations of the compound, and communication of the latter motions to the ether again, with the visible effect of phosphorescence. This explanation would have done six months ago, but Sir Oliver Lodge, who has recently given us the latest ideas on electrons, will probably regard it as old-fashioned. I, however, prefer it, electrons notwithstanding, and the radiations of radium compounds may be similarly explained, with the qualification that the radiations in this case either have some quality pertaining to ether undulations, in extreme degree, or a superadded quality which makes them of a pronounced radioactive nature. What this latter is I shall presently attempt to show.

It will be of interest here, as bearing on our subject, to inquire for a few minutes into the present state of knowledge respecting the ultimate constitution of matter, and the attitude of chemist and physicist with respect to it. It is in this that the main interest of radium lies. From its extreme rarity it can never be of corporal use to man, but its importance to science cannot be measured from this standpoint any more than the historian would estimate the importance of a Napoleon from his weight in the scales. Its properties have produced profound disturbances in the philosophies, for it has been largely instrumental in bringing about a partition of the atom.

Unfortunately the physicist's ideas regarding the atom have been somewhat loose in the past; time was, and not long ago, when he indifferently used the term for the aggregation of atoms which is known to the chemist as a molecule; then came the period of the vortex atom; now he passes the chemist and fills his atoms with electrons. The chemist, on the other hand, has been precise in his conceptions of the ultimate constitution of matter; his atoms are indivisible, and to each is assigned a more or less exact number, the



atomic mass. From this idea he has allowed himself no excursion, save latterly, in speculations as to the genesis of the atoms themselves, he has supposed the existence of a primordial matter to which the name of protyle has been given. The grounds for this speculation are clear, being the striking homology existing among the elements when viewed from the standpoint of the Periodic Law; the remarkable relation subsisting between atomic weight and telluric distribution of atoms; and finally the apparent resolution of certain rare earths by repeated fractionation. But he clearly draws the line between speculation and what he has come to regard as fact, and does not call this hypothesis of protyle to his aid in explaining the vast variety of reactions with which he has to deal. The physicist is now practically discarding the atom save as a form which he fills and invests with electrons. It seems his electrons are not protyle, but independent corpuscles which he has endowed with unique kinds of motion to explain various physical phenomena. As electrons are said to emanate from radium, we have to inquire more particularly what they are and how they behave, and this we can only do by an appeal to the opinion of eminent physicists.

Two or three years ago the electron was the charge of electricity carried by the ion, an atom or group of atoms, migrating between the poles in a cell where electric decomposition was taking place. It was recognised that some atoms could carry more than *one* electron. The electron of then is now divided into thousands; thus in a mercury atom there are said to be 100,000 electrons. Lord Kelvin, at a meeting of the Physical Society of London on the 31st of October, 1902, thus spoke of the electron :

In dealing with the subject of atoms it was necessary to consider the atoms of electricity. The atomic theory of electricity, now almost universally accepted, had been thought of by Faraday and Clerk-Maxwell, and definitely proposed by Helmholtz. The atoms of electricity were very much smaller than the atoms of matter, and permeated freely through the spaces occupied by these greater atoms and also freely through space not occupied by them. An atom of electricity in the interior of an atom of matter experienced electric force towards the centre of the atom. We were forced to conclude that every kind of matter had electricity in it, and Lorenz had named electricity as the moving thing in atomic vibrations. If the electrons, or atoms of electricity, succeeded in getting out of the atoms of matter, they proceeded with the velocity of light, and the body was radio-active. It was therefore not surprising that some bodies showed radio-active properties, but rather surprising that such properties were not shown by all forms of matter. Our knowledge of this subject, which originated with the discovery of the Becquerel rays, had been greatly advanced by the experiments carried out at the Cavendish Laboratory, and he had no doubt that in the next two or three years much light would be thrown upon this important matter.

These are weighty words from Lord Kelvin and worthy of much consideration. Listeners to Professor J. J. Thomson at his Belfast lecture 'On Becquerel Rays' in the month of September of the same year will remember the following experiment. A charged

electroscope was shown with self-repelled leaves, apart like the legs of a pair of tongs; over the top a piece of pitch-blende or other radio-active body was brought, when the leaves steadily fell together under the influence emanating from the blende. This is one of the indications of radio-activity which has been largely depended upon in the accumulation of facts respecting this peculiar property, and was explained as being due to the influence of moving electrons. Where motion is quickly transmitted through partitions which are impervious to gaseous matter, it has been usual, as in the case of the Becquerel rays, to attribute its transmission to the transfer of motion from particle to particle of a permeating fluid—the ether. Action at a distance without the intervening partition has been similarly explained. One would have preferred some such explanation in the present instance, as it is ever present to the mind that a corpuscular theory of light has failed.

But a still more striking exhibition of the supposed emanation of electrons from radium atoms has recently been demonstrated by Sir William Crookes, and in taking exception to the explanation advanced in this particular instance I would say that in common with a later generation of scientific men I feel the greatest admiration for this veteran worker, whose labours in the border-land of chemistry and physics have been so conspicuously productive in important results for more than forty years past—from the days when he made the brilliant discovery of thallium onward through the period of his researches on radiant matter up to now, when he is seeking to elucidate the mysteries of this new element. The facts, as described in his paper *On the Emanations of Radium* read before the Royal Society on the 19th of March, are briefly that radium nitrate, when brought near barium platinocyanide or zinc sulphide screens, produces phosphorescence, which in the latter case may be accompanied by a microscopic pyrotechnic display—a display which is practically unaffected by rarefying the air or trying the experiment *in vacuo*. When a solid piece of radium nitrate is brought slowly near the zinc sulphide screen, and the surface is examined with a pocket lens, the scintillating spots of light are sparsely scattered over the surface; but on bringing the radium nitrate nearer the scintillations on the screen become more numerous and brighter, until when close together the flashes follow each other so quickly that the surface looks like a turbulent luminous sea. If a card be interposed between the screen and the radium nitrate there is still phosphorescence, but no scintillations; and without the card a distance of more than two inches appears to be equally effective in preventing their production. The phosphorescence is due to X-rays, and the scintillations to electrons—for Sir William observes:

It seems probable that in these phenomena we are actually witnessing the bombardment of the screen by the electrons hurled off by radium with a velocity of the

order of that of light; each scintillation rendering visible the impact of an electron on the screen. . . . Each electron is rendered apparent only by the enormous extent of lateral disturbance produced by its impact on the sensitive surface, just as individual drops of rain falling on a still pool are not seen as such, but by reason of the splash they make on impact, and the ripples and waves they produce in ever-widening circles.

One of the phenomena familiar to the chemist is that of decrepitation, seen more markedly in some bodies than others when they are heated, a crackling and a flying asunder of their particles; or a breaking off and shooting away of minute pieces at the surface due to alteration of temperature. The assumption that radium nitrate undergoes surface decrepitation will probably cover all the above facts. The slight variations of temperature to which it is subject would probably result in only sub-microscopic 'material masses' being hurled off, but wherever one alighted on zinc-blende there would be the flash or scintillation. The interposition of a card would prevent the particles reaching the screen, and *in vacuo* the decrepitation would probably suffer little alteration because active absorption of radiant energy would still be proceeding; and finally a rapid limit would be reached as to the distance such particles could be hurled, and a two-inch limit in this case would, it appears to me, be more compatible with the idea of 'material masses' than a speed of something over 100,000 miles per second. Such particles need not be visible to the microscope save in the phosphorescent effect. The smallest object visible with a theoretically perfect microscope could not be less than an eighty-thousandth of an inch. Let us suppose, for argument's sake, that a particle half this size were sent off from the radium nitrate; no microscope could detect it, but it would be competent to produce phosphorescent effects on a zinc-blende screen, and so far from its being of the order of smallness of an electron, it would be made up at the very lowest estimate of thousands of millions of molecules of the radium salt.

The revelation of the extraordinary properties of radium compounds appears to have reached a climax in March, when MM. Curie and Laborde announced that they had found that a sample of radiferous barium chloride maintained a temperature of a degree and a half centigrade above that of the surrounding atmosphere. That they observed this difference there can be no doubt, but that the facts justify the conclusion that a radium compound containing 225 grams of the element will emit in a given time, and will continue to do so, as much heat as would be obtained by the burning of one gram of hydrogen is open to doubt. The grounds for this doubt are, first, that all their experiments appear to have been conducted in a bulb of glass, which is remarkably radio-active, and therefore that the factor of regenerative effect comes into play: in other words, that the rays emitted by the radiferous body, instead of getting away, have

been largely absorbed by the glass envelope, being then given back and re-absorbed by the radiferous body along with external radiations, with the cumulative results that the enclosed substance has been raised and kept to a temperature above that of the surrounding air. Dorn showed in 1897 that X-rays absorbed by metals give rise to sensible heat, and in one of these experiments under consideration a thermo-electric couple was employed, which presumably would be constructed of bismuth and antimony. Bismuth exhibits a maximum of absorption of X-rays, and would thus register not only the sensible heat, but would also register as sensible heat all X-ray radiations reaching it from a radiferous body and its glass envelope. The same objection would apply to the use of a mercury thermometer. Until these elements of doubt have been removed in the method of experiment, it is premature to put radium compounds on the same plane as heat-producers as burning hydrogen.

It has been, however, a cause of surprise that compounds of radium, thorium, and uranium should exhibit such continuous powers of emission of radio-active influence over long periods, and before these latest observations of MM. Curie and Laborde attempts have been made to account for the phenomena. In this connection it may be observed that the researches of G. le Bon and others make it abundantly clear that we are not yet fully acquainted with all the phenomena of radiations. We are bound to trace back the energy of these radio-active functions to the rays of known types received from the sun by the earth, because everything appears to be more or less radio-active, and, given a highly sensitive absorbent of these hidden sources of energy which also combines within itself a maximum capacity for absorbing radiant energy of the known types, we have a never-ending source of force which radium compounds from their characteristics could be supposed to utilise. There is also another source of energy which may be tapped, and that is the energy of molecular motion of the atmosphere. The existence of this natural illimitable reservoir of force was first pointed out by Dr. Johnstone Stoney, and has since been consistently advocated by Sir William Crookes as the source of the energy which gives rise to the continuous emanations of radio-active substances like radium compounds. Support seems to me to be given to this hypothesis from the consideration of the remarkable experiments of Professor Graham Bell and Mr. Sumner Tainter, made some score years ago, on radiophony. I am quite aware that at that time another construction was put upon them, but then the scientific world had not become familiarised with the ether pulses produced by spark-gap, and kathode discharges. Bell and Tainter showed that a ray of light interrupted by rapidly-revolving cogs or a disc-interrupter would, when converged on to non-metallic bodies, like chips of wood, cause them to emit a musical sound. In other words, pulsating undulations

of the ether were made to produce molecular vibrations which were transferred to air and gave rise to sound. Mercadier split the pulsating beam up with a prism and examined the audible effects in different parts of the spectrum. Bell and Tainter repeated this experiment. A beam of sunlight was reflected from a heliostat through an achromatic lens so as to form an image of the sun on a slit. The beam was then passed through another achromatic lens and through a bisulphide-of-carbon prism, which formed a spectrum of great purity, showing on a screen the principal solar lines. The disc-interrupter was turned at a rate to give from 500 to 600 interruptions of the light per second. Upon bringing various kinds of matter through the spectrum, solids, liquids, and gases were found to emit sound. The behaviour of the gaseous bodies, iodine and nitrogen peroxide, was unusually interesting and instructive. As they were moved through the spectrum they emitted sound from those parts where they absorbed light. Now the reversal of this phenomenon would be that atmospheric molecular motion should generate vibrations in non-metallic bodies, which would be competent to produce or confer the pulsating effect on ethereal radiations, and thus give the character of X-rays or Becquerel rays to them. The Bell-Tainter effect reversed, I take it, substantially supports what Sir William Crookes is seeking to convey to scientific minds, and it appears very highly probable indeed that it is accomplished in certain heavily-weighted molecules, of which radium compounds present the most striking instance. Such a view gives force to the contention that the radiations from extremely radio-active bodies have pulsating character more or less like the X-rays of the focus tube, and it serves to explain many of the peculiarities of Becquerel rays as they are poured forth by radium compounds. All the anomalies they present will probably have vanished in a few months' time, and this will be in keeping with the net result of our survey, which is that the great use of radium compounds will be in the help they will yield in the solution of the highly interesting problems presented by the heaviest-weighted of the atoms, and not in any very material benefit to mankind, as this is precluded by their abnormal scarcity in the earth.

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## THE LOST ART OF SINGING.

LESS than two hundred years ago Porpora did for the human voice what Guido of Arezzo did for music when he invented the modern scale. Music had always existed, rude instruments had always been employed: the voice was one of these rude instruments. But Porpora perfected the instrument; nay, he *formed* it of the raw material which nature yielded. Having once formed the instrument, a new art came into existence, a fine art, *bel canto*—an art with at least all the difficulties, demanding at least the courage, the patience and the long application which we expect in the study of painting, the piano, or the violin.

At this time music was changing its character, its realisations, by leaps and bounds. Mediæval music was giving place everywhere to modern music, which was becoming not only a fine art but the modern art *par excellence*. The arts of the ancient world had been architecture and sculpture; painting had been given us by Italy at the renascence of Europe; but music alone has accomplished since then what it had never accomplished before. The new requirements were evoking everywhere a corresponding progress in power over the material as a means of expression, the new perfection of instruments and the rapid developments in music acting and reacting on each other. It was not possible that singing alone should remain alien to this breath of new art; and indeed what a Mozart could perform on a clavichord and what a Liszt could perform on a Steinway piano differ less than the new singing differed from all that had gone before it. The most individual of all instruments, that which was at once instrument and executant, took part in the general awakening, and sprang into perfect life under the wand of Porpora.

And the sensation created was proportionate to the greatness of the event. People listened to the human voice, but it appeared to them that they were listening to a new instrument. The uneducated ear could not fully seize its beauty; even so cultivated a scholar as Abraham Tucker tells us in his work on *Vocal Sounds* that he could not appreciate one of the most exquisite of human voices, Farinello's singing appearing to him 'unnatural, and resembling

rather the pipes of an organ'; and another perfect singer, Pacchierotti, was not admired in France. The voices of the choir of contraltos trained by Porpora, in especial, seemed 'strange and non-natural': but these unknown maidens in the free schools of Venice, from the mere loveliness of the method they had mastered, struck the musicians who heard them as greater artists than the great singers of the time, the greatest the world had seen till then. Dr. Burney, in his *Present State of Music in France and Italy*, published in 1773, says 'their performance was ravishing' and the singing of 'infinite merit,' perhaps superior to everything which could be heard at the chief operas; and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, that they had lovelier voices and were better singers than Faustina and Cuzzoni. William Beckford 'still seemed to hear' this wonderful singing when he wrote his *Italy* in 1834, and these 'glorious voices' made more impression on Goethe than any music he had heard. 'I had no conception,' he says, 'of the existence of such voices.' And what was the secret of this? The harsh, unblended, unequal sounds of the natural organ were gathered up by Porpora, and formed into an instrument having one diatonic voice, or *colore*, as the Italians call it. Respiration was made the basis of singing—*chi sa respirare sa cantare*—the breath which as a pedal sustained the notes, united the sounds. The school of Porpora did not die out; by it were formed all the great singers whose mere names carry a fascination with them—Farinello, Caffariello, Ferri, Gabrielli; and, later, Malibran, Catalani, Pasta, Grisi, Alboni, Bocca-badati, Nilsson, Trebelli, Jenny Lind, Titiens, Patti; Garcia, Lablache, Tamberlick, Donzelli, Mario, Santley, Maurel. But from the first three things militated against this latest of the arts—its difficulty, its popularity together with the absence of trained criticism, and the rise of modern instrumentation.

Music is the most popular of the arts and the one which is nearest to us. First of the æsthetic pleasures in the order of time, it is yet the latest of the fine arts, and has developed with human development. Other arts have had their perfect epoch—have sprung in the compass of two or three hundred years like Pallas equipped from the brain of Zeus—but music has had no perfect epoch, it has kept pace with the human spirit, reaching in modern times the complex harmony of a Wagner, which speaks to the modern soul 'of all things which ever it did,' the music whose emotionalism, complexity and world-pain recall Jean Paul Richter's apostrophe: 'Away! away! for thou speakest to me of things which I have never known and shall never know.' We are all musicians, or we think ourselves so. The modesty which would make us hesitate to criticise the technique of a sample of architecture, sculpture, or painting, has no place here, for the public judges of all music *da maestro* with no misgiving. It follows that it is not the best

which always pleases most. The taste for the oleograph, the inability to distinguish it from the old master (on the plane of artistic beauty, of mere beauty of technique) tells with still more insistence in an art which makes a stronger appeal to the general than painting. The musician, indeed, would not forego elements in his art which are his passport with humanity; but if music has nearly always something of the subject-picture in it, there is no reason why it should be the work of a bad artist working with bad materials. In the case of singing we have probably the most immediately moving of all the forms of artistic expression, and perfect examples can move the entirely ignorant in a way that great specimens of other arts may fail to do; it is therefore imperative if it is to survive among the *belle arti* that the public taste should be led by those who really understand the art they undertake to interpret. If only a painter can judge a picture, it is at least as true that only a singer can judge singing. But this is not the popular belief. Popular taste and popular sentiment have made of our modern singers not vocal artists but vocal artisans, vocal 'Jacks of all trades.' The public does not expect art, the trained organ, the voice which resembled the pipes of an organ; but in its place it asks for sentiment, and an amateur and untrained use of the voice which is thought to be vocal expression, so that a voice which does not provide us with adventitious effects is supposed to be inexpressive. We forget, or we have never known, that it is because the instrument is imperfect that it yields us this class of effects, while it is at the same time incapable of producing the only effects which would be legitimate. This absence of legitimate technique causes the young singer to mistake the real resources of his art, and he is supported in his ignorance by British sentimentalism. Popular taste in Italy may be saved by the necessity for passion in art, but there is no such safety-valve in the unbroken sentimentality of the English ballad. The ethical rather than artistic instinct which asks clap-trap sentiment of the arts, which makes the 'gods' applaud a sound common-place sentiment in a theatre, and miss the only art in the piece, tolerates and encourages vapid sentiment in singers. I have heard a well-known singer's voice break in a song calling for passion. This is as though a painter were to make a smudge when he felt he could express no more by means of his art, and it ought to be resented in the same way. When the British public sees a favourite 'star' getting a spasmodic grip of a handy piece of furniture in order to produce her high note *di bravura*, its honest soul is moved at the supreme effort being made for its delectation. For the effort counts as part of the effect. It is listening to a star, so of course this is real singing; but the criterion is as primitive as that of the rustic admirers who shouted to their *primo uomo*, 'Hold it on, Steen,' lest the note being bawled from his throat at the risk of an apoplexy



should not last long enough to shame his rival in the village choir. When we sing with effort we may be quite sure we are singing badly. The divine in all art is like the 'still small voice'; the rushing and the tearing and the noise are not yet art. Not until the complex elements given us by the material have been reduced to a simple formula—a simple formula used by a master—is real art achieved; and when we look or when we hear we say, 'how simple,' and if we know we say, 'and how difficult.'

We seem a kindly and indulgent audience, but we do not know what to require of the artist. An artistic people often make a cruel audience, and if their æsthetic sense is not satisfied they hiss the bad art, because the due resolution of the phrase is to them an æsthetic necessity. In the eighteenth century, when music was most degraded in France, a poetaster spoke of sounds

Qui sont faux pour l'oreille, mais vrais pour le cœur.

The indulgent English audience has no artistic necessities to be outraged by the incompetent singer, who is generally sure of applause if his performance while false for the artist has been true for the sentimentalist. Meretricious ways of moving us must then be sternly discountenanced if we are to have art and not music-hall performances. What should we say of the violinist who snapped a string to express pathos or despair, and why do we tolerate the same class of expedients in the singer? So popularity wedded to spurious sentiment have combined to rob us of good singing. To-day we have either the declaimer or the *diseur*; we have no longer the *cantante*. We roar, scream, or warble, we talk or we declaim, we pour out sentiment and 'classical taste'—but we do not sing. We are all accustomed to voices completely strangled in the throat, with no resonance, no limpidity. Our baritones, it would seem, must burst a blood vessel when taking a *sol*, our contraltos have two voices—one below and one above 'the break of the voice.' What should we say to a 'new' *Stradivarius* which had the *timbre* of a 'cello for half its extension and blossomed out into violin *timbre* for the remainder? Has the cornet, which takes the solo part in an orchestra, one uniform voice, or three or four different voices, according as it sounds a low, a middle, or a high note? Are not the effects of all instruments obtained by greater and less intensity of sound, not by difference of structure and register? The vulgar idea is that vocal effects are obtained by inequality of production; but they are effects like those of our new *Stradivarius*, the effects of an imperfect string or an imperfect wind instrument. An art may die of too much popularity, and this moment has come when the *cantante* instead of interpreting great traditions to an audience waits upon their ignorance like some Latter-Day minister on his congregation.

Bettini (Trebelli's husband) used to say that no modern singer would encounter the good fortune which befell the singers of his day. 'We were all celebrities, and we trained the public ear.' People expected good singing as the Athens of Praxiteles expected good sculpture and the Italy of the *cinque cento* expected good painting. Not so nowadays. An 'artist' has as much chance of making his career with poor powers and poorer training as one of the great singers of the past. This fact alone is the death-blow to great art. The singer's audience, as it settles itself down to listen, hugs itself with the flattering assurance: 'I know what I like.' Curiously enough, this is held to imply some definite æsthetic criterion. Yet in what other art would such a criterion pass muster? Would it guarantee the farmer's preference for the oleograph on his walls? For the chance good singer, therefore, a hard fate is reserved: he sings before judges who 'know what pleases them' and are devoid of all criterion of the art they are to judge. It is amply realised that if we are not brought up to appreciate good taste in literature, in painting, in colours, in furniture, in architecture, in music, we shall have bad taste in all these things. Neither is it supposed that because I have been educated to judge a good picture I should therefore be competent to criticise the performances of a violinist. All these elementary principles, however, fade when we come to criticise the art of *bel canto*; there 'my love of music' is an infallible guide, and my instinct as to 'what pleases me' a more powerful solvent of merit than the traditions of a great art. Now these things are *not* a sufficient *vade mecum* for judging a singer. No public has sufficient art to judge for itself, and there are now not enough great singers to teach them. That which pleases them and that which accords with the traditions of the art have in this year of grace 1903 no chance of being identical.

*Intelligent criticism* is therefore at this moment one of the chief *desiderata*. If the singers do not know how to sing, the critics do not know either how they ought to sing, and the Press take no pains to select a critic; indeed they would have to search far and long to find one. I have before me a critic's opinion of a soprano who possessed 'clear and powerful upper notes' and 'forced her high notes.' One but not both of these statements can possibly be true; a clear and potent high note cannot be produced by forcing. Another critic says that an imperfect control of the respiration spoilt her singing, at the same time applauding the production of the *mezza voce*. A true *mezza voce* requires more perfect control of the breathing functions than any other call made on the singer. But when we read that on the same occasion she 'phrased with no ordinary skill,' our confusion is complete. With a sense of 'surfeited amazements' (as the Indian said of our English climate) we turn to an axiom of the great teacher Lamperti: 'It is impossible

to phrase well until we have acquired, as it were by nature, the control of the breathing.' Again, in an Italian review I read that a singer made a great effect with a *fine chest upper C*. It is a wonder if he lived to tell the tale. Such instances can be found in the papers every day, and those who have retained any of the old traditions must know well enough that if our singers are poorly trained our critics are perhaps even more poorly equipped. Nevertheless, can the *Star* be among the prophets? In this English evening paper I read a criticism of a young singer who appeared in London in December 1901, in which the critic, under the excellent *nom de plume* of *Legato*, invites her not to spoil a lovely voice by complete ignorance of her art—not to think of singing but of studying—and tells her straitly that if she can find a Porpora she may become a great singer. Here, then, is one person in London who remembers there is such a thing as *bel canto*, and what it means, and what it costs.

The critics, indeed, employ a phrase which seems to introduce us to the *adyta* of *bel canto*, a phrase which is all that can be desired as suggesting the expert, the green room of the arts, the atmosphere of 'shop.' The happy word adopted among the *élite* is *tone-colour*, and even the ear feels the subtilty hid beneath the idiom. A Devonshire farmer passing one dark evening along the road saw a man standing up to his middle in a pond. 'What are you doing there?' quoth he. 'Well, you see, I'm going to sing bass in the village concert to-morrow, and I'm getting a *hose*.' This was *tone-colour*. The pure sounds of a voice placed uniformly along its whole extension are never heard nowadays, and by *tone-colour* the critic means something which is no longer the pure sound proper to the note, but is a variety produced by throat, chest, or jaw. On the other hand dozens of voices present nothing better than the tones of a *voce parlata*; the sound instead of being concentrated is spread about in the mouth, and flat toneless notes are the result, which the Italians qualify as '*voce bianca*.' If the critics ask for a little '*tone-colour*' here they should be applauded; and it is therefore doubly regrettable that they sometimes fail to recognise legitimate *tone-colour*—that which results from an equal production of voice—when they hear it.

But the perfect school of singing had certain requirements: one of these is orchestration which takes due account of the voice, and confides the principal part to it. Simple accompaniments like those of Pergolese where every note counted, where every note must tell or fail, discovered all the beauties, all the defects, of the voice. The rise of modern complex orchestration not only introduced a new taste, the taste for orchestral music, but helped to make singing under the old conditions impossible. And in fact a new opera succeeded to the old—the musical drama of which Wagner gave us

perfect examples, but in which declamation largely takes the place of *bel canto*. German opera and German orchestration, indeed, not only made this latter a thing of the past, but implied a new theory of the place of the human voice as a musical instrument. In the eighteenth century homage was paid to the voice as possessing, in comparison with all other instruments, the inalienable charm of individuality—to the singer because she or he, unlike every other instrument, was both instrument and executant. Every other instrument was a means in the hands of a human performer; the *cantante* alone was his own instrument, his own performer, performing on an instrument to which he could give endless shades of psychological expression. Music was conceived as the interaction of the idea of the composer with the voice and the personality of the singer. Wagner, on the contrary, employed the voice like any other instrument: it is made to jump without any preparation from low notes to high, to shriek along with the full orchestra; its physiology being totally neglected, it is treated partly as so much catgut, partly as a broken-winded instrument. This difference between the treatment of the voice as the *sine qua non* of complete musical expression and its treatment as an inferior piece in an orchestra, is the measure of the difference in the ideal—the respect for the delicacy, the subtlety, the individuality of the human voice in the one case, and in the other that orchestral ideal of music in which there is really no longer a place for it. We know that none of the great singers would have consented to ‘sing everything.’ *Bel canto* was an art to itself, and required its composers, men who knew how to sing, who knew how to write for the voice, who knew what a voice could and should do and what it could not and should not do. Yet amongst us moderns who has retained this tradition with the exception of Patti? The modern idea is that a ‘fine voice’ should do any and everything; be *tenore robusto* and *tenore leggero*, *soprano drammatico* and *soprano leggero*, in the same evening, nay in the same piece; be *contrabasso* and flute, *violoncello* and violin. Now this is precisely what the fine voice, the trained tempered organ, can never do, what only the inferior or ignorant singer will do. It is the absolute imperfection of voices torn to shreds by improper use, or which have never reached the condition of being instruments at all, which makes such a pretence on the part of the public or such a condescension on the part of the artist possible.

Hence the best musical audiences now are those whose appreciation is all given to orchestral music. This change is partly due to the modern development of orchestration, but must also be partly attributed to the parallel debasement of singing. In orchestral music the musician can at least hear instruments which are formed to produce the effects required, while vocalists are no longer able to furnish him with adequate interpretations. The consequence is that

no one now is as well equipped for judging of singing as for judging of instrumental and orchestral music.

It may be asked whether under present conditions it is at all probable that the art of singing should be revived. It is certainly unlikely that singing should flourish if the conditions remain unchanged, but it is less unlikely that we shall see a change in them. A return to the Italian school of which Titiens wrote, 'Believe me there is but one method of singing—the good old Italian,' is in the air, and we hear much talk, not seasoned with the same amount of knowledge, about 'methods of singing.' It is improbable that we should always be content with opera which affords no scope at all for *bel canto*. We must get some distance from a movement if we would place it in its due perspective, if we would see it in relation to what went before and what will come after it. Those who came to mock at Wagner remained to pray; but the cheap silly contempt for the precedent Italian school to which we owe every step in the art of music till we come to the German giants of the late eighteenth century was clearly evanescent. That a change is coming has been prophesied on both sides of the Atlantic. Italian opera with Italian voices have just been tried with signal success in Vienna, and Covent Garden followed suit last season. A few modern writers have helped to keep the subject of *bel canto* before the public, attention being called to the problem in an excellent resumé of music in the eighteenth century by Vernon Lee (*Il Settecento in Italia*) which should be better known in England. In 1893 Signor Mastrigli published his *Manuale del Cantante* (Hoepli, Milan). Some valuable articles appeared in the *Cronache Musicali* on 'Economy and resistance' of the voice, by Signor A. Lauria; and in this Review for June 1899 so good an authority as Mr. Richard Davey published an article entitled 'The Decline in the Art of Singing.' 'If there is at present,' writes Mr. Davey, 'a dearth of first-class oratorio and opera singers, there is an equally marked diminution in the ranks of the concert platform.' 'My principal difficulty,' he was told by a leading impresario, 'is not the selection of operas, but that of finding singers to interpret them. You ask me why I do not produce *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Norma*, *Medea*, *Vestale*, *Flauto Magico*? My answer is that there is scarcely anyone now before the footlights who can sing these operas: It is the same with *La Sonnambula* and a host of others. . . . We have declaimers in abundance who can shout Wagner, but with few exceptions artists who can *sing* Wagner as well as Rossini belong to a bygone age. I think they died with Titiens.' . . . Yet as late as 1848–70 London maintained two opera houses, and listened to a galaxy of singers incomparably more important than any we can show to-day. In the ten years from 1848 to 1858 we could boast of such *prime donne* and *primi uomini* as Grisi, Colbran, Sontag, Jenny Lind, Frezzolini, Alboni, Mario,

Tamberlick, Lablache, Tamburini. Forty years ago the singing which was the gift of Italy was nowhere received with more enthusiasm and genuine appreciation than in England. It was then understood among us, and we asked for the best. Not only is this true of opera, but a special rôle was marked out for the singer in the oratorio, which is still the musical feature of this country—a homage to Handel's sojourn among us. With so much use for competent performers, with so much zest and zeal displayed in innumerable grand concerts and 'vocal recitals,' is it not to be deplored that our musical forces and conventions actually throw obstacles in the path of a return to fine singing, of the formation of fine singers; that we are no nearer an appreciation of what is required for the artistic interpretation of even the best known and most hackneyed vocal music; that we have not moved a step towards encouraging the trained vocalist to come before us? There is a great deal of singing but no *bel canto*, many scores of singers and no *cantanti*, an immense amount of vocal music and an almost complete dearth of real vocal interpretation.

The year before last I heard a performance of Verdi's *Requiem* in a large London hall. Of the four soloists three were entirely unequal to their work. In the duets and quartets the fact that the voices completely failed to blend was more noticeable than the air they were rendering. Even the critics have told us that the vocal part in recent performances has been the poorest, and declare that our English voices are inadequate to the solo parts in a work like Verdi's *Requiem*. When one remembers what the share of the chief *cantanti* in any adequate performance should be, how they should sustain, create, add style and breadth, spirit and verve and living force, majesty and serenity, power and charm, one indeed feels that the performances to which we are usually accustomed cannot and should not satisfy. Our inability 'to let ourselves go,' is not true artistic self-restraint, which we often conspicuously lack; and no amount of sentiment, apart from technique, will dignify our expansive moments.

When we speak of the decadence of singing we mean that the art of expression by means of the resources of a trained vocal organ is no longer understood or appreciated. Something would be gained if it were once fully recognised that the sentiment which does duty among us for style and expression no more makes the singer an artist and singing a fine art than the sentiment in sculpture or painting before there was power over the material made fine painting or sculpture. Even when natural taste and refinement, a cultivated sense of musical structure, soul, and dramatic instinct are not wanting, the present-day singer would not be a fine artist, because the singer is not only executant but instrument, and the instrument yet awaits the *fiat* of another Porpora. In the meantime

the *cantante* abdicates because he or she is unable to hold the audience as it should be held.

Let us acquire ourselves and require in the performer some notion of vocal style. Style is expected of the performer on every instrument; why is it that none is asked of the singer? There are only a handful of men and women before the public who have any notion of style in singing. What goes down with an audience in its place is pose, small affectations, sentimentalism. Let us remind the singer that his effects should be obtained by greater and less intensity of sound, not by shrieks, breaks in the voice, whispered confidences. Let us cease to regard anyone as a 'vocal artist' who is unable to employ a true *mezza voce*, unable (in the case of the robust voices) to sustain a note, who is ignorant of that true art of phrasing which depends entirely on mastery of the breathing functions. In what can the *art* of singing or its technical beauties be said to consist if not in these things? The highly paid singer is very easily quit when he ends each verse with a spoken word or two in which there is as much art as in ordinary speaking. He has not the art to *smorzare i suoni*, at the same time leaving them distinct: and in the train of this lack of art come all the other musical defects—lack of grasp of musical structure, of style, of rhythm, of breadth, of the *canto largo*, of the power of increasing and diminishing notes.

When it is said that nowadays 'the mere possession of a voice is deemed sufficient,' this is only half the truth. An English or German audience likes *what* is sung rather than *how* it is sung. With all the development of classical taste in England *classical style in singing* is not demanded; and while on the one hand we have musical audiences for whom everything must be classical except the singing, we have on the other the singers whom this system produces, who cannot summon to their aid one single resource of the true vocal artist. Those modern lovers of classical music who condemn Wagner believe that their standard of singing is much higher than his. This is not so. Their favourite composers are all men who only wrote well for the voice by accident. Wagner himself in choosing for the German people 'the chanted drama' in place of 'opera' says expressly: 'However charming and truly delightful that art' (Italian *bel canto*) 'may have become in the hands of eminent masters, it is altogether foreign to the German's nature.' He renounced fine singing for his countrymen; and as he thought the German could not be made a good singer he determined to make him a good declaimer. Every frequenter of English concerts must perceive that the German language is as much a *sine qua non* of modern vocalism as the Italian used to be. It has accustomed the English ear to guttural sounds, and the voice which has not got them appears to have something wrong with it. There is a Venetian

district where the entire population are born with huge goitres, and the inhabitants compassionate the few *sports* whom unkind Nature has failed to decorate. Yet Wagner himself held that no other language but the Italian could have produced 'the sensuous pleasure of pure vocalism.' This he has certainly eliminated with success in the recitatives, say, of Siegfried; but he has not explained why the sensuous pleasure of tone which is expected from other instruments should be illegitimate in the case of the voice.

What we have forgotten is that all vocal music is transfigured when it is sung by a beautiful instead of an inferior and uneducated voice. If the ear were again accustomed to the *timbre* of the highly trained voice, competent to provide us with all the resources of the art, we should be unable to find pleasure any longer in the unskilled singer's performance. We want voices trained as the great *maestri* trained those who after all is said and done have rendered the art famous and classical; and then we shall no doubt agree with Titians that they will enrich German music 'with a greater variety of intonations than the majority of rising singers imagine possible.'

M. A. R. TUKER.



## A FUTURE FOR IRISH BOGS

THE fact that the population of Ireland, which was eight millions in 1841, was found by the last census to have been reduced to about four and a half millions, apart from other proofs, conclusively demonstrates the presence of the extreme poverty in the sister isle, which has thus driven beyond the seas a people who, notoriously, are more passionately attached to their homes than is the case with any other race. Such an exodus, unparalleled in historic times by any other similar movement in Europe, has, as all are aware, been brought about by the impossibility of finding means of livelihood in Ireland, partly from the general want of industries other than agriculture, and partly from the extreme subdivision of property among the smaller holders of the land. The land question stands by itself; on the industrial problem, we may accept or reject the remote cause assigned by geologists for the dearth of those industries in Ireland, which have flourished and given wealth to England and Scotland, namely:—that, owing to action of the glaciers of the last ‘ice age’ the whole of the carboniferous rocks were ground off the face of the country, and swept into the Atlantic. But, at all events, Ireland possesses little or no coal worth speaking of, and is thus unprovided with cheap fuel for generating power. Nor is the amount of water power in the country available for industrial purposes of any considerable value, relatively speaking.

Now, without cheap power, derived either from coal, mineral oils, or other fuel for raising steam, or from abundant water supplies, no modern nation can possibly maintain the struggle for existence, which is becoming more acute every day. The question therefore is, how, under existing disabilities as regards the various sources of power, the exodus from the country can be stayed, and the Irish nation placed in a position which will enable it to compete industrially with others.

Previous attempts to solve this problem have overlooked one great resource which Ireland undoubtedly possesses. The true solution of the difficulty to my mind can alone be found by utilising the vast amount of carbon which nature has stored up in the bogs of Ireland for the generation *in situ* of electrical energy

which through the application of modern scientific principles can be transmitted and made available at an extremely low price in all parts of the country. That peat has not hitherto been used in Ireland for manufactures is due to the difficulty of drying the stuff (which, as existing in the bogs, contains from 80 to 90 per cent. of water) in a humid and uncertain climate; of compressing and then transporting it to considerable distances for driving steam-engines, at a cost which would admit of any real competition with coal.

Of late years the question of discovering and preparing a cheap fuel has received much greater attention in all countries where coal is dear, viz. in Hungary, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Spain, the United States, Canada, &c., than in the British Isles, with the result that quite unlooked for success has been attained. Briquettes of compressed peat have been produced for which, weight for weight, a higher calorific value is claimed than for even the best anthracite coal, and so appreciated is this material for domestic purposes that, as I am informed, it commands in Holland a higher market price than the best coal. It may be assumed, in fact, that all the processes for the manufacture of peat as a fuel, while at the same time securing all the valuable bye-products (peat-tar, illuminating oil, paraffin in all forms, peat-pitch, antiseptic materials, &c.), have been devised and applied. Yet, having regard to the cost of transport and other incidental expenses, this by itself would probably not, except occasionally, enable industries to be started in Ireland with reasonable prospects of financial success.

In the plan of operation which I shall presently describe, all the drawbacks which hitherto have hampered industries in Ireland should vanish; but before proceeding further, it is desirable to lay before the reader some definite information as to the nature, extent, and calorific value of the bogs of Ireland as they exist.

In the first place, much more is known about the bogs of Ireland than probably about those of any other country; since early in the last century (1810-14), Sir Richard Griffith, afterwards Chairman of the Board of Works and Valuation Commissioner, surveyed when a young man all the chief bogs, in view to preparing schemes and estimates for their reclamation and adaptation for tillage, as also for the construction, in those pre-railway days, of a network of canals for passengers and transport.

After giving maps and sections of four bogs in the county of Kildare (a portion of the great Bog of Allen) aggregating in extent 36,430 acres, the Commissioners, whose first report is dated the 20th of June, 1810, observe as follows:

From inspection of the great Ordnance Survey maps of Ireland by their chairman, General Vallemey, of the Royal Engineers, they were enabled to consider the greater part of these bogs as forming one connected whole, and to come to the conclusion that a portion of Ireland of a little more than one-fourth of its entire

superficial extent, and included between a line drawn from Wicklow Head to Galway, and another drawn from Howth Head to Sligo, comprises within it about five-sevenths of the bogs in the island, exclusive of the mountain bogs and bogs of less extent than 500 acres, in its form resembling a broad belt drawn across the centre of Ireland. . . .

The Shannon divides the area into two parts, of which the division to the west of the river contains more than double the extent of the bogs which are to be found to the eastward. . . .

Most of the bogs east of the Shannon, occupying a considerable portion of the county of Kildare, are generally known by the name of the 'Bog of Allen.' This is broken up in patches, each perfectly distinct, often separated by high ridges of dry country, and inclining towards different rivers. . . . There is no spot of these bogs (east of the Shannon) so much as two Irish miles distant from the upland and cultivated districts.

The bogs specially reported on were stated to be 'a mass of peat, of the average thickness of 25 feet, nowhere less than 12, nor found to exceed 42 feet.' As to the total quantity of peat available from the 2·8 million of acres which on the best authority exists in the country, Dr. Johnson, Professor of Botany in the Royal College of Science in Dublin, who has devoted much attention to the subject, observes, in a paper published in 1899, that 'while the average thickness of turf in Europe varies from 9 to 20 feet, Ireland has beds as much as 40 feet.' As a very conservative estimate, it may, I think, be taken that an average depth of at least 15 feet could be counted on throughout.

Nearly all authorities, home and Continental, are agreed that the calorific value of ten tons of ordinary bog-stuff, as dug out, would, when treated and turned into fuel, equal one ton of ordinary coal. We thus by an easy calculation arrive at the result that for 15 feet in depth, each acre of bog would have the heating power of 1,828 tons of ordinary coal. This multiplied by 2·8 millions of acres for the whole of Ireland, gives the total equivalent of 5,104 million tons of coal. It would apparently therefore not be too sanguine to assume that one half of this quantity, or say the equivalent of 2,500 million tons of coal, would be ultimately available for steam-raising purposes from the bogs of Ireland.

Turning now to the power which may be made available from this vast store of carbon, hitherto unworked, but ready at hand, it has to be noted that one of the great factors of modern scientific advance in economical production, is the steady improvement which has taken place in the thermal efficiency of steam-engines of the present, as compared with earlier designs. Whereas, for instance, 18 or 20 lbs. of coal were required with the older class of engines to produce a horse-power per hour, those of the latest type, *e.g.* Willans & Robinson's central valve, Parson's Turbine, only require  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of coal and even less to do the same work. Moreover with the rapid advance lately made in the construction of gas-engines, of which several are now in hand of 4,000 and 5,000 horse-power, the above

efficiency will in all probability be sensibly improved upon at an early date. However, to be entirely on the safe side, it may be assumed that 2 lbs. of coal would be needed to produce a horse-power per hour, and again that the engine, of whatever description it may be, which may be employed for the generation of electrical energy, has to work 3,000 hours per annum. We could thus count on having enough heating power in the bogs for steam raising, or gas production, to give us a constant output of 300,000 horse-power for 412 consecutive years!

From the above calculations, based as they are on assumptions which are much below the data furnished by existing developments, it may, I submit, be reasonably contended that, quite apart from what the future may have in store, through the adaptation of power as yet unharnessed to the electrical car, there is present at this day in Ireland material which, if scientifically applied by known processes, would give ample employment in manufactures and industries of all kinds, not only for the existing population, but for one much more numerous.

This contention will be better grasped when it is fully realised that the production of electrical power, which is capable of energising industries all over the country, calls for no transport, except in a very minor degree locally, of the material (bog-stuff) from the spot on which it is dug out. Generating stations, permanent or semi-permanent, may be set up at any place where the conditions prove to be most convenient.

To take, for instance, an extreme case; if it should be thought desirable to establish a great permanent plant for the generation of electricity with, say, 100,000 horse-power engines, in Mayo with its vast expanse of unutilised bog, there is no apparent reason why this should not be quite feasible. Nor, again, is it improbable to assume that from such centre cables might be laid to convey high potential currents from 10,000 to 50,000 volts, with very slight loss, to any part of Ireland, to be there converted into direct current (say from 200 to 400 volts) as might be considered desirable for application to any and all industries.

Lest any doubt should be entertained on this point, it may be mentioned that, on the authority of a well-known writer in a late number of the *Electrical Magazine*, the opinion is expressed that high potentialities, up to 100,000 volts, may be safely conveyed almost any distance with very trifling loss; and Lord Kelvin, the greatest living authority on electrics, when at Niagara last year, expressed the hope that, before very long, it might be feasible to transmit the energy there generated, for working all the machinery in New York, 400 miles distant. As a fact, current has already been transmitted from Colgate to San Francisco, a distance of 220 miles, with a loss of 25 per cent., and only the other day an

installation was inaugurated in Mysore (utilising the great falls of the Cauvery river at Sivasamoodrum, for working the Colar Gold Fields), in which electrical current is transmitted 100 miles, with only 20 per cent. of loss. As the greatest distance of any point in Ireland from Mayo would not exceed 150 miles, there is therefore nothing extravagant in the above idea. But of course it would be only commonly prudent to make a much less ambitious commencement, *e.g.* for the working of railways, tramways, canals, breweries, and all classes of existing industries and manufactures, within easy reach of the Bog of Allen above adverted to.

The solvent for the industrial difficulty in Ireland is thus nothing more than the supply of cheap power in bulk and 'on tap,' wherever required. Whereas, in fact, up to the present the bog-stuff has remained unutilised for steam-engines, locomotives, &c. owing chiefly to its bulk and cost of transport, the proposal is that, instead of the bogs going to the engines, the engines should go to the bogs. It is the old story of Mahomet and the Mountain—that is all!

Everything turns on the question of the price at which this power, generated from the bogs, can be supplied. Householders in towns have got so accustomed to pay 6*d.* per Board of Trade Unit (the kilowatt hour equals one fourth more than the ordinary horse-power) that it may surprise many people unacquainted with the subject, to learn that this price, which has been necessitated by various adventitious circumstances, is quite five times the price at which the majority of the great electrical power companies (no fewer than thirteen of which have already received Parliamentary authorisation in the British Isles, with more to come in the next session) are prepared to sell current in bulk to customers. One of these companies for universal supply, limited only by their respective county boundaries to which their Acts apply, has allowed it to be known that it is generating energy at very little more than one third of a penny per unit; and there can be little doubt as to the feasibility before many years of generating a horse-power per hour for one farthing, which would allow of the unit being sold to customers with fair profit, at the surprisingly low price of one halfpenny or a little over. If, as many think, we are on the eve of a great industrial revolution in England, owing to this advent of an age of electricity, in supersession of that of steam, there is to my mind a far greater revolution in store for Ireland from the same cause, should my proposals be carried into effect.

It may, and probably will, be urged that the Irish are not likely, in any circumstances, to become skilled mechanics, and that the country having no such raw material as coal or cotton to work on, manufactures could not thrive, but these objections I am convinced have no solid foundation. In the first place, no one can read the admirable reports of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction

in Ireland for the past and preceding years, without being struck by the singular adaptability shown by the people, for the various industries that have been introduced under the able guidance of the Right Hon. Horace Plunkett, since the formation of the department, and of previously existing bodies, *e.g.* the Royal Dublin Society. Irish operatives in the United States, England and Scotland, and wherever else employed, have proved themselves to be as good as the best when favoured by opportunity. And again, as regards the absence of raw material, it has to be remembered that even in the matter of iron ores the workshops of England and Scotland are dependent mainly on supplies from Sweden, Spain and other countries. Lancashire has to look entirely for its cotton to America and Egypt, Dundee for its jute to India, and so on through numerous important industries. Ireland in this respect is by no means placed at a greater disadvantage than England. There is therefore nothing whatever to militate against the Irish becoming in time, with proper application of capital under scientific direction, a manufacturing nation through the utilisation of electrical energy, as generated from their hitherto neglected bogs, or holding their own in this respect against any other country.

In conclusion, I would advert briefly to the generation of electrical energy, by means of water power, which is popularly supposed to be everywhere running to waste in Ireland. In regard to this, it must be observed that, while having a humid climate, chiefly from the action of the Gulf Stream, which impinges along the whole of the south and west coasts, the actual amount of rainfall in Ireland is very moderate. Mr. J. R. Kilroe, in dealing with this subject (in *Ireland Industrial and Agricultural Report* for 1902), observes that 'only in the east of England, with a rainfall of less than 25 inches, is there a region distinctly dryer than any part of Ireland. The general rainfall of the centre of England (25 to 30 inches) equals that of the centre of Ireland. It is, in fact, mere popular delusion to imagine that Ireland is a country

Where mill-sites fill the country up as thick as you can cram 'em,  
And desput rivers run about a-begging folk to dam 'em.

To this might be added that fishing and other rights exist on nearly every river, which must at considerable expense be acquired if the water is to be used for electricity; to say nothing of the cost of head works and auxiliary stream plant, which is absolutely necessary with power schemes, where there are no storage reservoirs, thus rendering it extremely doubtful whether more than a very few of these could be made to pay. Under such conditions as exist in Switzerland or Northern Italy, where streams have an assured supply from the melting snows of the Alps, or again in the United States and Canada, where a chain of vast storage reservoirs, extending from Lake Erie to Lake Superior, is present to maintain a constant

perennial supply, there can be no hesitation as to employing water-power. But no such conditions exist in Ireland. If further proof were wanted as to the undesirability of relying on this source of energy in Ireland, one has only to cite the case of the Shannon Water and Electrical Power Company, which has obtained its Act. Although the works here are so designed as to utilise the water of the whole drainage area of the river, 4,000 square miles in extent (the largest in the United Kingdom), the total power which it claims to develop is only 10,000 horse-power. The Bann Erne, and many other rivers and streams in Ireland, may no doubt be similarly harnessed for small local schemes, but in the aggregate I feel assured that the power capable of being thereby generated must be quite a *bagatelle* as compared with that derivable from the bogs. Much the same remark applies to the utilisation of the small coal-fields, Arigna, Coal Island, and Kilkenny, which together do not produce more than 125,000 tons of rather poor stuff per annum.

R. H. SANKEY.

## *LAST MONTH*

THE King's holiday tour has taken its place among the leading political events of the month. The fact furnishes fresh proof of the changed *régime* under which we live. In the days when Queen Victoria was wont to enjoy her well-earned spring excursion to the Riviera, the last thing that any of us thought of was of attaching political importance to the journey. But the King's voyage, though announced originally as a holiday trip, has assumed a political importance that cannot be denied. His visit to Lisbon was, of course, understood from the first to be part of the state ceremonial which, after their coronation, monarchs are bound to observe. But even then nobody thought that it would take the character which it eventually assumed, or that it would furnish us with another instance of the extent to which the personal factor, as represented by the Sovereign, is entering into the domain of high politics. His Majesty set forth attended by the smallest possible suite, one hardly larger than that which would have accompanied him on such a journey before his accession to the throne. Yet at Lisbon he met with a reception such as few monarchs, when travelling with all the panoply of state, could hope to receive. King Edward was accompanied by no member of the Government, yet this fact did not prevent the reaffirmation by the Portuguese of their alliance with England, and the terms used in stating the fact were such as to indicate that real political importance attached to the demonstration. When we look back a few years, and recall the undisguised hostility of the Portuguese officials at Delagoa Bay to this country and the countless obstacles which were raised in the path of our policy at the beginning of the South African war, we cannot fail to realise the greatness of the change that has taken place. During the war King Carlos was our friend, and he stood loyally by us during the darkest season of the struggle. But apparently he was almost the only friend we had in Portugal. Now we see Ministers, peers, representatives, and even the people in the streets hailing with enthusiasm the presence of our Sovereign on Portuguese soil, and loudly acclaiming the alliance between the two countries. There can be no doubt that we owe this to the happy



inspiration which led King Edward to make Lisbon his first port of call on his Easter holiday cruise.

His Majesty's reception in Lisbon excited an unwonted degree of interest all over the Continent. Nowhere was it watched more eagerly, or criticised more sympathetically, than in Paris. For some time past it has been evident that the statesmen of France have been sincerely desirous of bringing about a better understanding between their country and our own. Credit must be given to the Governments of the two countries for the foresight and wisdom they have shown in striving to lead both nations into the paths of peace and good will. As a matter of fact, there has never been any difficulty in persuading Englishmen to welcome the idea of friendship with France, nor does the present French Government seem to have had any difficulty in creating a similar state of feeling among Frenchmen. But it is the King's Easter journey that has enabled the two countries to put a final stamp upon this propitious state of affairs. His Majesty's reception at Lisbon created, as I have said, a profound impression in Paris. It was hailed almost as the re-entry of Great Britain into the field of European politics, whilst no one on the Continent could fail to be struck by the profound respect and intense enthusiasm the Portuguese showed in welcoming their august visitor. The French press, with one or two ignoble exceptions, asked why Portugal should be allowed to monopolise the demonstration of goodwill towards King Edward and his subjects on the occasion of the King's first journey after his coronation; and the idea of inviting him to Paris was received with general and warm approval. President Loubet and his Cabinet seized with alacrity a suggestion which was in such complete harmony with their own policy. They found a sympathetic hearer in King Edward, and the preliminaries were quickly arranged for the state visit which His Majesty is to pay to Paris in the first days of May.

That this visit will have political consequences of the most beneficent kind is the firm belief of wise men in both countries. Nearly fifty years have elapsed since such a visit was last paid by an English sovereign to the French capital. Much water has flowed under the bridge since then. France and England are no longer sworn allies and comrades on the field of battle. The one ally of France is now Russia, the enemy of both in the days of the Crimea. No one hopes or believes that the King's visit will bring about any change in the relations of France and her present ally, but there is nothing incompatible with that alliance in a cordial understanding between France and England. To the Parisians and to Frenchmen generally the state visit of an English king to Paris must be an event that is flattering to their national pride. For thirty years past France has been the Cinderella of Europe, and during all that period no great sovereign, except the present Czar, has appeared in state in the

streets of Paris. One does not wish to say anything that may seem grudging or impolite with regard to the Czar's visit, but everybody knows that it was made with a specific purpose in view. It was part of the bargain by which Russia bound herself in certain contingencies to France. Yet, even under these conditions, France received its Imperial visitor with tumultuous enthusiasm and delight. King Edward does not go to Paris to frame treaties of alliance. His sole purpose is to show his friendship and the friendship of his subjects to the French people, and to let them know how heartily we on this side of the Channel will welcome a renewal of old cordiality. None but a monarch could carry through so great a mission with such certainty of success. After all, the most fanatical of Republicans must admit that the monarchy has its uses. It is understood that the King's visit to Paris will be followed by a return visit of President Loubet to London. In the interests of the peace of the world, all will desire the fulfilment of this hope. We could have no visitor who would be more welcome, and none who will be received more heartily by the people of England. If this event should come to pass, it will furnish the needed complement to the King's visit to Paris. His Majesty must feel that in his Easter journey of 1903 he has been permitted to make history.

I have spoken of His Majesty's tour as furnishing proof of the changed order of things which the new century has brought in. There are some persons daring enough, indeed, to suggest that we are passing out of the era of Parliamentary Government into that of Democratic Sovereignty. In this new era, we are told, the monarchs of Europe are to be much more of real rulers than they were during the greater part of the nineteenth century; but they are to exercise their sovereignty in the name of public opinion, and in accordance with the will of their respective nations. This, assuredly, is a fantastic speculation, the fulfilment of which we are little likely to witness. But one thing at least is clear, that all over the world the official rulers of states are bestirring themselves, and are taking a more active part in public affairs than that which they did under the old *régime*. The Czar once more asserts his personal authority in the promulgation of a great scheme of administrative reform in Russia; the German Emperor, who is the *doyen* of the new caste of sovereigns, goes to Copenhagen to efface the last remembrance of the hateful days of 1864; President Loubet makes something in the nature of a royal progress through the greatest colony which France possesses; Mr. Roosevelt undertakes a journey of thousands of miles by rail through Western America, and punctuates his progress by speeches in which he lays down the fundamental principles of his political creed; whilst, finally, the King of England, breaking away from the traditions of centuries, converts his Easter excursion into a political mission the importance of which all Europe

makes haste to recognise. There is plenty of food for reflection in the novel situation thus revealed to us.

Has our Ministry grown stronger during the past month? The Easter recess has given both Parliament and Ministers a welcome season of rest. It came when it was sorely needed. At the end of March it seemed that Ministers were on the very brink of a catastrophe. Nothing, according to the declarations of their own friends, stood in the way of their downfall but the impotence of the Opposition. 'No alternative Ministry' was the melancholy and humiliating cry which proclaimed the only safeguard of an Administration which had fallen into all-but universal discredit. As the month of April draws to a close, the friends of the Ministry seem to have found heart again. Mr. Long, it is true, once more blurts out an awkward bit of truth, and confesses that he cannot deny that there is a wave of resentment against the Ministry of which he is a member passing over the country. But Tory squires and county representatives, misled perhaps by the lull of the Easter holidays, come forward to declare that the revolt of Toryism against its own leaders is at an end, and that the country is once more rallying to the Government which has held the reins of power during the last eight years. This would be very satisfactory to Ministers themselves if only the facts tallied with the statement. Unluckily for them, however, the facts tell another story. Let us examine them in detail. There have been two contested elections since I last wrote, the first for the Chertsey division of Surrey and the other for the Camborne division of Cornwall. The Liberals, in circumstances which have not been fully explained, chose as their candidate for Chertsey a gentleman of estimable qualities who was nevertheless by common consent not the strongest candidate who could have been found, or the one most likely to win votes from the Ministerial side. He made a good fight under many disadvantages, and he had the united support of all sections of his party. But he was too heavily handicapped by the line he had taken during the war to achieve the victory which he laboured so hard to win. The result of the election was that the Ministry retained the seat, though by a greatly reduced majority. That they would have been beaten if a candidate of a different stamp had been chosen by the Opposition was generally acknowledged by their own supporters. It cannot be said, therefore, that the Chertsey election indicated any recovery of strength on the part of the Government. In the Camborne division the failure of Ministers to hold their ground was still more conspicuous. Here the Liberal candidate was the veteran advocate of the Permissive Bill, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, whilst his opponent was Mr. Strauss, a gentleman who represented the constituency in the Parliament of 1895, and who had continued to 'nurse' the constituency assiduously. The supporters of the Government founded their hopes of success

upon the line boldly and openly taken by Sir Wilfrid Lawson with regard to the war. Every effort was made to defeat him on this ground. Mr. Chamberlain was drawn into the struggle, and wrote a letter in favour of the Conservative candidate which read like an echo of the Mafeking epistles of 1900. There were few Liberals who dared to hope that Sir Wilfrid Lawson would be returned. Yet when the result of the ballot was made known it was shown that the Liberal candidate had secured a majority of 689 votes, the majority of his predecessor, the late Mr. Caine, having been only 108. Here, even more conspicuously than in the Chertsey division, the election proved the steady decline of the Ministerial strength in the country. It is difficult to understand how in face of these two contests even the most robust supporters of the Government can maintain that their loss of influence and of voting power is only temporary.

Nor is the test of contested elections the only one that can be applied to the present position of the Government. During the past month certain questions have arisen both in Parliament and out of doors that have thrown fresh light upon the extent to which Ministers have lost touch not merely with the country at large but with many of their own supporters. Of these the most conspicuous is that of the future school system of London. The Government had unquestionably a thorny problem to handle when they came to deal with London elementary education. They had not hesitated in the Act of last year to destroy without remorse and without exception the whole of the School Boards of provincial England. They had applied the same draconic law to Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham as to the poorest and most ignorant of rural parishes, and in doing so they had killed bodies which by universal consent had done magnificent service in the cause of national education. It was this feature of last year's Act which brought upon Ministers their crushing defeat in North Leeds. Everybody hoped that they had learned the lesson which they then received, and that in dealing with London they would find some means of completing their educational scheme without destroying the great School Board which during the last thirty years has done so much to civilise and Christianise the masses of our vast metropolis. To educational reformers of both parties—Church and secular—it seemed that the Government had only two alternatives from which to choose. They might create as their chief educational authority a body elected *ad hoc*, which would practically have meant the retention of the old School Board, subject of course to the provisions of the new Act; or they might treat London as they have treated the rest of the country and make the County Council the governing body in matters of education. There was, indeed, a third course open to them, but it was so objectionable, both in practice and in principle, that neither their

friends nor their opponents believed that they could possibly adopt it. This third course was the creation of an educational authority on the lines of the Water Board, by distributing the seats among the local municipal councils which have taken the place of the old vestries. There is no need to dwell upon the notorious disadvantages of such a plan, and upon its utter inadequacy for the work which would have to fall upon it. The leading clergy of London, including those of highest rank, were opposed to the idea almost as strongly as the most advanced of Radical educationists, and men hardly stopped to discuss its merits or demerits, whilst they argued the relative advantages of an *ad hoc* and a County Council authority. Yet this last was the plan selected by the Government, and which was incorporated in the Bill they laid before Parliament early in the month. Only a couple of days intervened between its introduction and the adjournment for the Easter recess; yet even in those two days condemnation unsparing and almost universal fell upon the ill-starred measure. To destroy the London School Board and to set up in its place a federation of vestrymen was a step from which Conservative and Liberal alike recoiled in anger and consternation.

That the London Education Bill must be altered and re-cast in many important particulars is the opinion of almost all who have criticised it. The most devoted friends and supporters of the Government are just as much convinced of this as their open opponents. In what manner it is to be changed so as to make it acceptable to the House as a whole I do not pretend to say. But when the discussions upon the measure begin the fact that it must be altered in some of its most vital provisions will undoubtedly be forced upon the attention of the Government. Some of the thick-and-thin adherents of the Ministry advise that it should be pushed through just as it stands by means of the majority which the Whips can still command. The Irish members, these advocates of a policy of 'Thorough' declare, will support the Government, and there is therefore no reason to fear an actual defeat in the division lobby. It is difficult to imagine a more fatuous recommendation than this. If the opposition to the measure had been strictly confined to the Liberal benches it is possible that this method of forcing the Bill through might have proved successful. But when one sees that some of the most pungent criticisms have come from the Ministerial side of the House the folly of the 'brute force' policy becomes at once apparent. At this moment it seems, therefore, as though Ministers must either modify their Bill on essential points or run the risk of a defeat which would at once put an end to their existence. Whatever course they may choose to adopt, it is clear that their position has not been strengthened by the introduction of the Education Bill for London.

But a question even greater than that of London Education has

visibly disturbed the repose of Ministers during the past month. When I last wrote I referred to the strange rumours that were afloat in many different quarters to the effect that when the Irish Land Question had been dealt with the Government would bring in a 'modified Home Rule Bill.' For some time this strange story was allowed to pass without much notice and without anything in the shape of an official contradiction. The uneasiness which it created in Unionist circles was unmistakable, but no audible expression of that uneasiness was given. Experienced politicians knew, of course, that no scheme of Home Rule could be contemplated by the Government. But they knew also that such a scheme of land purchase as that which had been laid before Parliament made some measure for the establishment of a representative body or bodies in Ireland almost inevitable, and they were therefore quite prepared to hear that Ministers, after dealing with the Land Question, meant to take up that of Irish Administration. The curious fact was that it was among the Irish members that the rumours as to the intentions of Ministers found the most general credence. How these rumours originated nobody can say. The *Times* has referred to indiscreet utterances in high quarters in Dublin as their probable foundation. The Irish members, in private conversation, pointed to a higher quarter than Dublin Castle as the source of their inspiration, and so loud and confident were they in proclaiming their belief that the hour of triumph for the national cause was at hand that at last they spread alarm among the Ministerial ranks. Then it was that Mr. Balfour, in answer to urgent appeals from his own supporters, tardily intervened to put an end to the rumours. His denial was in itself clear and emphatic. He explained that he had not taken any notice of the rumour before because he never supposed that anybody could have believed it, and he went on to deny it as a 'fantastic fabrication.' There is, of course, no excuse for anyone who refuses to accept this statement on the part of the Prime Minister. But it is one thing to deny that Ministers have a Bill for some modified scheme of Home Rule under their consideration, and quite another thing to show that they have not put their feet upon a slippery plane at the bottom of which they will find themselves confronted by the old problem of Irish self-government. Denials notwithstanding, they have taken a course which must almost necessarily compel them to enter upon that 'step by step' legislation to which Irishmen themselves now look for the attainment of their national aspirations. It cannot, therefore, be said that this episode of the month has made Ministers stronger either in Parliament or the country.

When we come to consider the merits of the Irish Land Bill itself, we are confronted by some curious facts. The first is that Ministers have, wisely as many persons believe, turned their backs

upon their old Irish policy, and made a genuine attempt to substitute conciliation for coercion. Everybody will sympathise with their object in doing this. If we can win Ireland by kindness, then in Heaven's name let us do so. Almost anything must be better than the relations which for more than fifty years have prevailed between the two countries. But when we come to examine the provisions of the Land Bill we are brought face to face with proposals which must fill politicians of the old school with amazement and dismay. It should be noted that the criticisms upon the Bill, so far, have been curiously timid and reserved. Liberals in particular have seemed almost afraid to touch the subject, and Conservative members have left it studiously alone. The measure is nothing less than a gigantic attempt to buy the Irish people over to the side of loyalty and contentment by a huge expenditure of the capital and credit of Great Britain. There are many among us who would cheerfully consent under certain circumstances to this expenditure. Remembering the past, most Englishmen would be ready to submit even to a heavy pecuniary sacrifice if by doing so they could heal the ancient feud between the two countries. But the defects of the Government proposals are obvious, and so grave that it is impossible to ignore them. To put the case in a nutshell, we are asked to expend scores of millions of money in order to satisfy, not the Irish nation as a whole, but merely the class of landowners and land-occupiers. And at the end of a hazardous experiment of sixty-eight years we are to grant to the beneficiaries under the scheme, or rather to their successors of a future generation, the absolute ownership of the holdings which are to be enfranchised at the national expense. Why should this immense boon be conferred upon one particular section of the people of Ireland? And why should the Englishman—including the men of the working class—be called upon to pay in order to confer this partial benefit upon Ireland? Above all, how can we deny to the crofters of the Hebrides and to the impoverished farmers of our Southern counties the State aid which we are thus rendering to the Irish peasantry? These are questions which naturally suggest themselves to any dispassionate person, and they will have to be answered before Great Britain accepts a measure which is revolutionary in its character, and which reads more like a proposal to bribe Ireland into submission, than a really statesmanlike attempt to solve a problem the difficulties of which can hardly be exaggerated. It is not surprising that the reception of the measure on this side of St. George's Channel has been cold, or that responsible politicians of both parties have been shy in their criticisms of it.

But if the reception of the proposed Irish land measure has been cold and cautious rather than sympathetic in Great Britain, it has been very different in Ireland. There the public voice, with few exceptions, is favourable to it. Of course the Irish deny that the

pecuniary assistance they are to receive under the Bill is sufficient. They would hardly be true to their national character if they were to take any other course. But so far as they have formulated their demands it cannot be said that they are specially exorbitant. Twenty millions instead of twelve is the sum which Mr. O'Brien has named as the amount of the free grant from the Imperial Exchequer that will be needed to put the scheme on a working footing, and if the only obstacle in the way of a satisfactory solution of the Land Question in Ireland were this difference of eight millions, it is possible that both parties in the House of Commons would feel that for such an object the money question must not be allowed to stand in the way. But the economic objections to the measure remain, and it is difficult to see how they can be met. In the meantime one significant fact is to be observed. That is that Mr. Redmond, speaking at the National Convention, at which the Bill was accepted with something like enthusiasm by the majority of those present, sternly rebuked those who sought to mix up the question of Home Rule with that of Land Purchase, and thus tried to neutralise the effect of the rumours—unquestionably of Irish origin—of the intentions of the Ministry with regard to legislation on the question of Irish government. He was compelled at the same time to pass a resolution re-affirming the demand for Home Rule; but the fact remains that for the present the question of Home Rule has disappeared from the field of practical politics. When it reappears it will be under conditions altogether new. Perhaps the most striking proof of this change in the situation is that which is furnished by the remarkable series of speeches delivered by Mr. Morley to his present and past constituents during Easter week. Mr. Morley is one of those who in former days nailed the Home Rule flag to the mast. Twelve months ago, when Lord Rosebery was so hotly assailed for venturing to declare that the question of Home Rule was one that must in future be approached under entirely different conditions from those which prevailed in Mr. Gladstone's time, it was generally understood that Mr. Morley sympathised with his assailants. But now the member for Montrose comes forward practically to endorse the declarations of Lord Rosebery, and to oppose a stout resistance to those Liberals who, in defiance of facts and of the teachings of experience, have sought to commit their party to the old Home Rule propaganda on the old lines. It looks therefore as though, among its other consequences, the new departure of the present Government with regard to Home Rule is destined to make for unity among the different sections of the Opposition. No one can pretend, however, that it will have the same effect in the ranks of the Ministerialists. They seem condemned to suffer alike from their virtues and their faults.

Space does not permit me to dwell upon some minor incidents



from which the Ministry has suffered during the past month. The licensing question, or rather the question of compensation for the non-renewal of licenses, has given rise to acute controversies, and the attempt of Mr. Balfour to save the situation so far as Ministers are concerned, by fulminating against those magistrates who, sitting in Brewster Sessions, have been trying to effect a reduction in the number of public-houses in their respective localities, has aroused some feeling against him even in his own party. That there was, to say the least, an appearance of indiscretion in the form of his utterance is not to be denied, though neither he nor his colleagues in the Government can be held responsible for the movement which has suddenly brought the question of compensation to the front.

Those critics of the Ministry within the Unionist party who have been concerned chiefly about foreign affairs have found a new and serious grievance against Lord Lansdowne in the question of the proposed railway from Baghdad to the Persian Gulf. This is a German enterprise, and though as at present devised it is purely a commercial concern, it is an undertaking which may have grave political results. When the question of the railway first assumed a tangible shape in the beginning of April, Mr. Balfour was closely questioned in the House of Commons as to the part which this country was to play in a scheme that for many reasons must be disadvantageous to our interests. The Prime Minister's answers did nothing to remove the fears of those who were apprehensive that we had been inveigled into another agreement with Germany of the Venezuelan type. The fears of the public grew apace until at last they were only too fully confirmed by the publication in the *Times* of the substance of the convention signed on the 5th of March between the representatives of Turkey and Germany for the construction of the line. This document made it clear that the railway would not only be controlled by Germany, but would be governed by statutes which effectually secured German interests without safeguarding those of this country. Ministers who, before the publication of the convention, had shuffled with the question, were compelled to give way, and on the 23rd of April they announced that they would not support the scheme. The fact remains, however, that Germany had counted upon their support, and must have had some reason for doing so.

Finally there remains the grave question of the national finances, by which in the long run the Government must stand or fall.

Mr. Ritchie's Budget statement, which was not presented to the House of Commons until the 23rd of April, was a surprise both to politicians and to the country at large. It is to be regretted that it cannot be described as a Budget which has added to the reputation of Ministers. The financial position of the country was known

by everybody to be serious, and at the recent by-elections this theme was duly discussed by speakers of both parties. The burden of taxation was strongly insisted upon by the representatives of the Opposition, and there can be no doubt that in some of these elections the payers of income-tax deliberately sought to impress upon Ministers their grave objection to that particular impost. Before Mr. Ritchie made his statement it was known that if there were any remission of taxation it would be in the shape of a reduction of this tax. Twopence, or at most threepence, in the pound was the figure at which that reduction was placed by the more sanguine of the financial experts. Nobody believed it possible that the reduction could be so high as that announced by Mr. Ritchie—fourpence in the pound. Still less did anyone imagine that after making this great remission in direct taxation the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be in a position to strike more than two millions off indirect taxation by repealing the new corn-tax. Never was a simpler Budget than this laid before Parliament: so much expenditure, so much revenue, and the surplus distributed almost up to the hilt in remissions of taxation. It was a Budget that at the first moment of its presentation was certain to be popular. No wonder that the members of the House of Commons received the announcement of the reduction of the income-tax with a burst of enthusiastic cheering. They are all payers of income-tax, and, like everybody else, rejoice in the lightening of that unpleasant impost. The removal of the corn-tax was a different matter. It is not a tax which presses upon members of Parliament. To a section in the House it was endeared by the fact that it represented the thin end of the wedge of protection, and they witnessed its withdrawal with something like dismay. To the Opposition it is and always has been hateful; but the Opposition are, like other people, human, and it was hardly in human nature to see a weapon which had been used with effect against the Government snatched from their hands without a certain feeling of disappointment. That its sudden abolition after so brief an existence constitutes a moral victory for its opponents cannot be denied. But it undoubtedly deprives them of one of the arguments which they have used with effect against Ministers in recent elections. Strange to say, the Chancellor of the Exchequer frankly gave this as one of the reasons for the removal of the tax. It lent itself to misrepresentation, he declared, and therefore it must go. 'A most successful electioneering *coup*,' are the words in which the *Times* describes the step taken by Mr. Ritchie in reversing the policy of his predecessor and putting an end to a tax which was only imposed twelve months ago by his own Government. After this expression of opinion from the most powerful of the Ministerial organs it does not seem necessary to say anything more in order to make the matter plain to the community at large. Sir William

Harcourt's unconcealed anger at the 'successful *coup*' only made Mr. Ritchie's electioneering triumph more conspicuous.

But it is only when we examine the whole financial situation that the vices of the Budget become fully apparent. It was described at the moment as 'a dissolution Budget,' 'an electioneering Budget,' and 'a rich man's Budget.' There is a great deal of truth in all these descriptions. It is, indeed, such a Budget as a reckless Ministry, which felt that its doom was sealed and which meant to go to the country to-morrow in the forlorn hope of snatching a victory from the ballot-boxes, might have presented to Parliament. It recalls the historic dissolution of 1874, when Mr. Gladstone made the mistake of supposing that an offer to abolish the income-tax altogether would recall the middle classes to their traditional allegiance to Liberalism and prevent their moving further in the direction of Mr. Disraeli's newly formulated Imperialism. Perhaps if Ministers had studied more closely the disastrous results of that episode in the history of the Liberal party, they would not have acquiesced so readily in Mr. Ritchie's 'successful electioneering *coup*.' Its success, indeed, still remains to be proved. But the chief vice of the Budget does not consist in its very evident appeal to popular feeling. No one can study Mr. Ritchie's figures without seeing that, in order to secure his wholly unexpected surplus of nearly eleven millions, he has allowed his hopes for the future to carry him far beyond the limits of prudence. If there were no attempt at popularity-hunting or vote-catching in the Budget, it would still be open to condemnation as a Micawber Budget. It is founded not upon actualities but upon the expectations of a very sanguine man. It leaves no margin for possible contingencies—nothing but a paltry surplus of 316,000*l*. It takes everything of a favourable nature for granted, and does not even stop to consider the possibility of any of those accidents which year by year affect the calculations of Chancellors of the Exchequer. Even whilst he spoke one of those possibilities had loomed up before Mr. Ritchie's eyes. The disaster in Somaliland is certain to affect the expenditure in the current year, and it will not affect it favourably. One wonders whether Mr. Ritchie when he made his statement entertained anything like a confident belief that a year hence he would be standing in the same place and performing the same duty. If so, he must be as courageous as he undoubtedly is sanguine. Few figures are needed in order to prove the Micawberism of his estimates for the coming year. Last year's estimate, framed by so cautious a financier as Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, fell short in the realisation by 600,000*l*. Yet for the current year Mr. Ritchie estimates on the old basis of taxation an increased revenue of more than 3,000,000*l*. The expenditure for last year, inclusive of 54,000,000*l*. of war charges, was 184,500,000*l*. This year he estimates that the expenditure, including 4,500,000*l*. of war charges, will

be 144,270,000*l.*; his estimated revenue is 154,770,000*l.*, and he is thus enabled to imagine a surplus of 10,500,000*l.* All that can be said is that we shall be unusually fortunate if twelve months hence the figures justify this year's Budget.

The question of direct *versus* indirect taxation is not one that need be discussed here. But at least it is clear that the remission of so large an amount of direct taxation as compared with the remission of indirect taxation is wholly contrary to modern ideas, and leaves the working-classes with a distinct grievance. Everybody agrees that they ought to contribute their due proportion to the revenue of the country, and that, above all, in these democratic days when we see Ministries frankly taking their policy from the man in the street, they should not be allowed to escape a share of the payment for wars of which they have expressed their approval. But to remit eight and a half millions of the taxes imposed upon the well-to-do and only two millions of those which are more especially imposed upon the poor can hardly be said to be in accordance with popular ideas of fair play. Taken as a whole, it is difficult to believe that Mr. Ritchie's Budget, despite its great concession to those payers of income-tax who form, we are told, the backbone of the Conservative party, will strengthen Ministers even among their own supporters; and it is difficult to conceive on what grounds the mass of the nation can be expected to accept it with gratitude.

Mr. Ritchie, however, is not to be blamed for the ugliest feature of the Budget—the enormous sum which is now required to meet the normal expenditure of the nation. It seems only yesterday that our financial authorities were contemplating with horror a possible annual expenditure of 100,000,000*l.* Now we have actually to provide for an expenditure of 139,500,000*l.* And we have to do this whilst, by Mr. Ritchie's own confession, the revenue in many departments is inelastic and disappointing, money is dear, and the business of the country is in a critical condition. Mr. Ritchie was by no means so emphatic as his predecessor was last year in denouncing our national extravagance. But even he had something to say on the subject, and he made it clear that, like Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, he is not one who views with favour the bloated estimates for the army. It is in the direction of economy, and in that direction alone, that we can look for good Budgets in the future. The revenue may go up once more by leaps and bounds, as it did in the happy days of the seventies, but unless we resolutely oppose ourselves to the reckless extravagance of the departments, and above all to the waste of money on absurd schemes of army reform so-called, our expenditure will mount higher still, and the richest nation in Europe will come perilously near to the end of its resources. Finally, in leaving the subject of the Budget, it is only necessary to state the cost of the South African War, which is now at last before

us. It has reached a total of 220,000,000*l.*, of which sum we have as yet paid rather less than 61,000,000*l.* Military successes, it is evident, are not now to be secured 'on the cheap.'

During the month little or no progress has been made towards a settlement of the grave difficulties in the near East, and we are still threatened by the pessimists with an early outbreak of war in the Balkan Peninsula. Russia and Austria have put all possible pressure upon Turkey in order to induce the Sultan to act against his truculent Albanians. They have extorted from him promises in abundance, and as the month closes there are some signs that he is screwing up his courage so far as to attempt to fulfil these promises. But the situation continues to be one of serious danger, and its gravity is not diminished by the fact that Russia has mobilised her Black Sea fleet, whilst the Turkish fortifications at the eastern mouth of the Bosphorus have been hastily put in order. In China the date has passed for the Russian evacuation of Niu Chwang, and the Russian troops, it is almost unnecessary to say, are still in possession of that place and of the railway. Russia has formulated a new set of conditions for her withdrawal from Manchuria, and they are conditions which would make her mistress of the province. At Washington these new proposals are denounced as a distinct breach of faith. Our own Foreign Office has not yet spoken on the subject, but, remembering the past, Englishmen naturally fear that they are about to witness a fresh retreat on the part of their Government before the arrogant pretensions of Russia. The imperialism we proclaim so loudly in other parts of the world is not apparently to be applied to China. The news of a serious disaster to one of our columns in Somaliland completes the record of administrative misfortunes for the month. As yet we have no details sufficient to enable us to pronounce judgment upon the affair, but the loss of nine English officers and of nearly two hundred black troops proves the gravity of the disaster. In West Africa we seem to have brought the military operations commenced by Sir Frederick Lugard to a close by the occupation of Sokoto, and there at least the war-flag has at last been happily furled.

WEMYSS REID.

*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake  
to return unaccepted MSS.*

THE  
NINETEENTH  
CENTURY  
AND AFTER



No. CCCXVI—JUNE 1903

*IMPERIAL RECIPROCITY*

I

FATE has dealt tenderly with the Prime Minister. Misled, apparently, by the agrestic eminence of Mr. Chaplin, he framed his reply to the deputation introduced by that gentleman on the 15th of May as if it were only rural constituencies and their representatives that are concerned in and disturbed by the proposal to repeal the shilling registration duty on corn. It is understood that Mr. Balfour does not derive his knowledge of what goes on in the country through the medium of the daily Press; still, it was to be expected that other channels might have conveyed to him the information that a good deal of the work of Unionist members for large industrial centres during the recess had consisted in explaining to their constituents the principles on which that tax had been reimposed, as enunciated by the late Chancellor of the

Exchequer. Anyhow, it would require a very slight effort of his imagination to realise what it must cost his supporters in Parliament to vote black in 1903 what they voted white in 1902. It suggests curious speculation about the amount of forethought bestowed upon matters of high policy that, down to the very eve of the introduction of the Budget, gentlemen who, having undertaken to address meetings in the country at the instance of the Conservative central office, applied to that office for guidance in the selection of subjects, actually were supplied with leaflets expounding the excellence and success of the registration duty upon corn.

Agriculturists, indeed, and those most closely in touch with their opinions and best acquainted with their peculiar difficulties, read Mr. Balfour's speech with sheer amazement. They were surprised by the persistence with which he imputed protectionist motives to the deputation, and the emphasis with which the corn tax was earmarked by him as a war tax, which could never become 'a permanent part of our fiscal system.' So much for the main argument by which it was re-established by Mr. Balfour's Cabinet last year—that it was in no sense a war tax, but a means of permanently widening the basis of taxation. But what amazed agriculturists most of all was the attempt to convince them that the corn tax was a burden upon their industry. Now, whatever be their intellectual defects, farmers are usually credited with a shrewd knowledge of the place where their shoe pinches. It was reserved for Mr. Balfour to lay a paternal finger upon a sore which had wholly evaded the acumen of chambers of agriculture. It was certainly putting the matter in an unfamiliar light to assure practical men that by the remission of the corn tax 'a great burden on the raw material used by farmers' would be removed.

The disagreeable impression created by this speech was not confined to those who heard it, or to agriculturists in general. It extended to very large numbers of people, unconnected with the cultivation of the soil, who entertain a profound distrust of a policy of Wobble: and what gentler term will serve to connote the repeal this year of a measure advanced last year upon such explicit and statesmanlike grounds? Nobody can suspect Mr. Balfour of insincerity. There have been Ministers in the past able to convince themselves, or, at all events, to assume the air of conviction, of the necessity for a sudden abandonment of a course of policy previously followed. Not so the present Premier. In this instance the discouraging impression was left upon the deputation, and upon thousands of intelligent persons throughout the realm, that Mr. Balfour neither had convinced himself, nor was able to put on an air of conviction. His speech was not that of one who had something to say, but of one who could not avoid the necessity of saying something, acting under the loyal obligation of defending a colleague.

What chiefly galls the withers of friends of the present Administration is the obvious connection between the loss of a by-election or two and the abandonment of the 'broadened basis of taxation.' It inclines one to despair to perceive that political meteorology of this fallacious kind has not fallen into the universal discredit which it has earned. The new impost is 'liable to misrepresentation'; wherefore, at the bidding of myopic wire-pullers, it must be hastily withdrawn. If the thing was right to be done, why not stand the consequences of having done it? Or must policy—Imperial policy—for ever be nothing loftier or further-sighted than election-eering craft?

Fate has kindly thrown a partial veil over this misadventure. A few hours after the downcast deputation to the Prime Minister had dispersed, one of his colleagues sounded an appeal in a very different spirit, which dispelled, in great measure, the despondency and perplexity thrown by the other upon the party. I do not find it possible to recall, from an experience of parliamentary life extending to nearly a quarter of a century, any parallel to the restorative effect of Mr. Chamberlain's speech to his constituents on the 15th of May. Mr. Gladstone's sudden adoption of Irish Home Rule caused a greater immediate stir, and, for aught I know, may have brought balm to many a disconsolate Liberal heart; but it did not come in the nick of time, as this has done, to save a great party from going to pieces. Those who are aware of certain tendencies among the Unionist rank and file will not be inclined to pronounce this an exaggerated statement. Caves may be discounted: they are most alien from the instincts and traditions of the party at present in power; but there arrives a time when the most loyal supporter of a Ministry wearies of trotting round lobbies in support of measures which awaken no enthusiasm in his bosom, and in compliance with a policy which, without disrespect, may be described as nebulous in some of its features. He is inclined to ask himself whether the sacrifice of his time and the withdrawal of his energy from other objects really serve any useful purpose.

To such questioning the answer has come from a Birmingham platform. There is still work to be done—definite, urgent, fruitful.

There have been times lately in Parliament suggesting the similitude of one who has set sail in a centre-board boat and forgotten to let down the centre-board. His progress is a combination of drift and dangerous wobble. We opened our *Times* on the morning of the 16th of May to find that a strong hand had let down the centre-board, enabling the craft to stand stiffly to the breeze, and rendering it possible, nay imperative, to steer a course.

Do not let me be misunderstood. It is not that we recognise in Mr. Chamberlain's bold announcement of a new purpose in fiscal policy the unfurling of the protectionist flag. For better, for worse,



all practical men have long since joined in celebrating, more or less mournfully, the obsequies of protection for British industries. I disclaim absolutely all sympathy with projects for raising by means of import duties the price of commodities in the catalogue of primary or secondary necessities. Nor shall I here question the expediency of continuing to admit duty free manufactured goods in the category of luxuries to the detriment of the home producer. So far as Mr. Chamberlain's scheme is explained in his speech, such questions lie entirely outside its scope. Nevertheless, in that speech frank recognition seems to have been given to one of the cardinal doctrines of fair trade, namely, the inadequacy of sentiment alone to provide a trustworthy cement to hold together the component parts of a great empire. Sentiment is the fertile source of magnificent results, but it is subject from its very nature to sudden fluctuation and periods of revulsion. The sentiment of British colonists in America during the first half of the eighteenth century ran warmly towards the Crown and the Mother Country; but it turned suddenly to bitter animosity so soon as the policy of King George's Cabinet interfered with colonial interests; and for two years before the outbreak of the rebellion, British officers and soldiers endured intolerable insults and injustice from the people whom they were there to protect. On the other hand, paternal sentiment did not avail during the latter half of the nineteenth century to save successive Cabinets, as well Conservative as Liberal, from subsiding into less than lukewarmness in their regard for our colonial Empire. Sentiment, in truth, is one of the most powerful agents in human intercourse, but it is also one of the most inconstant. What would be thought of any business man who relied upon sentiment alone in the transaction of affairs?

Accepting in its entirety Cobden's doctrine that free trade is the best form of international commerce, we were called upon to yield, and have acted as though we did yield, undoubting faith to his assurance that Great Britain, sixty years ago the leading commercial nation in the world, had only to set the example, and every other civilised community would follow it. Time has proved Cobden to be utterly and hopelessly mistaken in that forecast, yet, shutting our eyes wilfully to plain facts, we have proceeded as if his programme was fulfilling itself in every detail, until we have divested ourselves of all means to strengthen the bond of sentiment with Britons oversea by the supplementary bond of material interest. We are not only powerless in present circumstances to offer Colonial Governments any substantial inducement to remain within the Empire, but we are reduced to the humiliating confession that we cannot reciprocate the handsome recognition which some of the Colonies have made voluntarily of their obligations to the Mother Country. Canada has led the way by according to British dutiable goods a preference of

33½ per cent. At the conference of colonial Premiers last year, the representatives of Australia and New Zealand agreed to recommend to their Legislatures a preferential reduction of 25 per cent. in the duty on British imports. Most striking of all, at the recent great conference of the South African Colonies, comprising both Britons and Boers, a similar resolution was agreed to.

These are overtures which, were it a mere matter of international courtesy, it is plainly impossible for us to ignore; but seeing that they are momentous acts of Imperial polity, action upon them is imperative. Are we simply to accept the boon and make no effort to reciprocate it? Is that consistent with national dignity? And what will be the reflex effect of such a course upon the bond of sentiment? Apologists for such a system of Peter's pence will justify it by explaining it as a set-off against the share of Imperial defence bestowed by the Mother Country upon the Colonies. Better keep the two accounts separate. It was confusion about this reckoning that brought about our North American troubles. It would be constantly and naturally present to the mind of the colonial producer that, while his own Government had given preferential terms to his most formidable competitor, the British producer, no corresponding advantage was afforded him in British markets. A searching strain, this, upon sentiment. A writer in the *Economist* for the 23rd of May argues that the Colonial producer should feel amply repaid for any preference accorded to British commodities in the privilege given to him by the Mother Country of a duty-free market. But how can that be described as a privilege which is extended to every country in the world, in accordance with a policy *adopted avowedly in our own interest*?

It is instructive to note the first impression produced upon our rivals in the commerce of the world by Mr. Chamberlain's speech, and to gather therefrom the estimate formed by minds not emasculated by free-trade dogma of the effect of reconstructing our fiscal system on Imperial lines. It is natural that the foreign public in general, and the German public in particular, should not be anxious to see any course taken which should increase the power and prosperity of the British Empire. It is easy, therefore, to read between the lines of the very general chorus of disapproval in the European Press an indication of conviction of the far-reaching nature of Mr. Chamberlain's plan for consolidating King Edward's dominions.

It would be premature to speculate upon the ultimate method and details of this great project. Such extracts from the Australian Press as have reached this country seem to indicate that quarter of the Empire as the one where it has received the least cordial welcome. It is argued that the protective duties whereon the Australian revenues depend are levied chiefly upon British goods, which form by far the greater portion of the total imports; and it seems to

have been assumed out there, from the telegraphic summary of the Birmingham speech, that the scheme adumbrated therein includes the imposition upon all the countries forming the Empire of a hard and fast Zollverein, over-ruling and interfering with the fiscal regulations of Colonial Legislatures. No such project would deserve an hour's discussion. Our Colonies are autonomous and self-governing. Their fiscal policy is and must remain entirely within their own control, to be regulated according to their peculiar requirements and conditions. Inter-Imperial reciprocity can never be forced upon any self-governing Colony; but the advantages of reciprocal trading must no longer be withheld from any British community that is ready for and desires it. But before it can be established, and before we can offer preferential advantage to our own people over-sea, we must resume the power which we voluntarily surrendered, and re-impose upon the foreigner the same relative disadvantage which he has never ceased to impose upon us. Many men will hesitate to alter those one-sided terms which, being greatly to the advantage of certain foreign States, have doubtless tended to keep them on good terms with us. Well, we have a big concern to run, and we must choose men to run it whose nerves are equal to incurring some risks. If a tariff on foreign imports could be justly interpreted as an unfriendly act, what civilised country in the world is not treating us at this moment—has not always treated us—with the utmost unfriendliness?

Will this involve us in a war of tariffs? By no means. The foreigner, it is true, may raise his tariffs against our products, and thereby, according to orthodox Cobdenite doctrine, be inflicting immense injury upon himself. But there will be no tariff war unless we retaliate, which is unlikely. We simply shall exact from the foreigner, who at present pays nothing in taxes and rates to the upkeep of the Empire, a contribution in exchange for admission to our markets, and these we shall keep freely open to British subjects, whether home or colonial, who supply the sinews of Imperial rule.

For more than fifty years we have sought by example and negotiation to convince the world of the doctrine of free markets: we have not a single convert to show for all our pains. Are we to go on crying in the wilderness or shall we proceed to put our arguments to proof by demonstrating the virtues of reciprocity? No demand ever made by theologians upon the credulity of their disciples—by ecclesiastics upon the passive obedience of their flocks—ever exceeded in extravagant disregard of human nature the doctrine of ultra free-traders, that it is vicious to show preference to men of your own race and land. During the fourth and fifth centuries the chief, the only sure means of eternal salvation, was deemed to consist in destroying and trampling upon the natural affections.

The first consequence of the prominence of asceticism was a profound discredit thrown upon the domestic virtues. The extent to which this discredit was carried, the intense hardness of heart and ingratitude manifested by the saints towards those who were bound to them by the closest of earthly ties, is known to few who have not studied the original literature on the subject. These things are commonly thrown into the shade by sentimentalists who delight in idealising the devotees of the past. To break by his ingratitude the heart of the mother who had borne him, to persuade the wife who adored him that it was her duty to separate from him for ever, to abandon his children, uncared for and beggars, to the mercies of the world, was regarded by the true hermit as the most acceptable offering he could make to his God.<sup>1</sup>

It is shocking to modern intelligence to contemplate the extent and nature of the suffering caused by the eremite craze, which drove tens of thousands of men to desolate their hearths in obedience to the gospel as it was then interpreted. Patriotism, the solicitude of every good subject for the welfare of the nation to which he belonged, was extinguished in the private anxiety of the individual to escape the wrath to come. Tertullian boasts of the utter indifference of the good Christian to the affairs of the nation: 'Nec ulla res aliena magis quam publica.' Something of similar fanaticism overcame the patriotic instinct in the height of the free trade movement. No terms could be found too scathing for those who ventured to demur to the exclusive pursuit of cheapness and to perceive something defective in statesmanship that excluded all account of kin.

Just as, in course of time, the humiliating cloud of asceticism was rolled away from Christendom, so, it seems, is a way of escape now opened from the blighting influence of *doctrinaire* enthusiasts. There is one ready and able to take the lead of that body of opinion which has long been acquiring force in this country—the opinion of men who repudiate as not only unnatural but dangerous the doctrine which forbids the recognition of people of our own blood—citizens of the same Empire—as entitled to consideration prior to aliens. They do greatly err who suppose that this opinion is confined to persons of leisure and independent means, thereby paying a very poor compliment to the intelligence of the operative classes, for whose good will and support they are so intensely solicitous. It is true that for many years the advantage of unconditional free trade has been exclusively put before working men by public speakers, and no attempt has been made to explain why the working man is at least as well off in the protectionist United States as he is in England. The reception which Mr. Chamberlain's speech met with in Birmingham, the very Mecca of Labour, is an indication that operatives have heads and hearts, as well as hands. But there were not wanting symptoms of reflection on the part of industrial communities long before Mr. Chamberlain sounded the tocsin. In June of last year the employers and workmen

<sup>1</sup> Lecky's *European Morals*, ii. 133.

composing the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration for the Iron and Steel Wire Trade unanimously passed the following resolutions :

(1) That this meeting of the wire trade, consisting of both masters and men, is of opinion that the time has arrived when consideration should be given to the question of adopting some system of duties within the Empire which will give preference to Imperial manufactures.

(2) That a copy of this resolution, together with the following memorial, signed by both masters and men, be sent to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the President of the Board of Trade.

As was remarked by the president of the association, Mr. W. Peter Rylands (a name not without significant memories in Radical circles), 'Unanimity among all the manufacturers in one trade upon a subject of this kind must carry weight, but when it is coupled with the unanimous support of the workmen whom they employ, its importance must be substantially increased.'

Launched with the authority of one whom men of all parties acknowledge, whether openly or secretly, to be the greatest Colonial Minister in English history, this mighty project must occupy the chief place in political controversy till it is disposed of. Final judgment thereon may be deferred, action thereon must be postponed, till the country has had its constitutional opportunity of declaring its will. But the question can neither be shirked nor shelved. It is one upon which the old frontiers of party are likely to undergo considerable change; not, it is probable, as the result of mighty seismic spasms, but by the natural tendency of men to take sides upon a clear and definite issue. As matters stand, people are at their wits' end to preserve, or even to discern, the ancient lines dividing Liberals from Conservatives. Except on the questions of Home Rule and Church establishment, the difference between the two parties has resolved itself mainly into a mutual pose, nourished on tradition, and modified more or less by confidence in individual leaders. It is said that the Home Rule bogey is to be laid to rest by Mr. Wyndham's Bill, and that Irish disaffection is to be bought up with the agrarian difficulty. However halting may be our faith in the realisation of this vision, it is certain that Home Rule no longer affords a clear ground of difference between parties. As for the Church, the present complexion of the constituencies cannot show disestablishment as a promising rallying cry for the Opposition.

The gauntlet has now been thrown down upon a fresh issue. Public men are naturally shy about declaring themselves upon a programme not yet authorised. Lord Rosebery, moved by his lofty conception of Imperial responsibility and possibility, responded earliest in a glow of instinctive sympathy. Free trade, he declared, was 'no part of the Sermon on the Mount,' and he had never believed that 'we ought to receive it in all its rigidity as part of a divinely

appointed dispensation.' For this indiscretion he has been sharply brought to heel by Mr. Asquith, who says nothing, indeed, about 'a divinely appointed dispensation,' but re-affirms the dogma that free trade is 'the only fiscal policy,' and announces that advocates of the new fiscal Imperialism will 'find arrayed against them the resolute and undivided hostility of the Liberal party.' Lord Rosebery has obeyed the crack of the whip with pathetic docility. He 'cannot conceal his surprise' at the interpretation put upon his speech at Burnley, 'nor can he conjecture what sentence in his speech can have afforded any base' for the inference that he viewed the new scheme with any favour. Not for the first time has he disappointed the expectation of those who fancied that, having passed from the larval activity of a Home Rule Minister into the meditative and detached stage of chrysalis, he would one day stand forth the perfect imago—a statesman who should raise Imperial statecraft above the fog wreaths and baffling eddies of party.

While, therefore, there is not the slightest prospect of any concurrence between the great parties of the State in undertaking this practical scheme for consolidating the Empire, and as little probability of unanimity within the ranks of either side, a new and invigorating spirit has been brought into politics. Members of Parliament and candidates for seats, whatever line they take upon this question, should all feel grateful to him who has transformed political life from a mere tournament of tactics into the battle-ground of principle and purpose.

HERBERT MAXWELL.

## IMPERIAL RECIPROCITY

## II

'I am not one of those who can flatter themselves that our existing fiscal system is necessarily permanent. New conditions of things have arisen since the old free-trade policy was fought out; and I can imagine contingencies under which, not so much by way of protection as by way of retaliation, it might conceivably be necessary for this country to say that it will not remain a passive target for the assaults of other countries living under very different fiscal systems. . . . I can conceive some great fiscal change being forced upon us. . . . It would be war—fiscal war. . . . But material war is sometimes necessary; and it may be, but I hope it will not be, that fiscal war may prove in the history of this country, some day or other, to be necessary also. . . . The other method of a fiscal union (with the colonies) is difficult; but if it were possible I should look forward to it with unfeigned pleasure. If that were done, a trifling duty upon food imports might be part of the general system.'

*Mr. Balfour to the Corn-tax Deputation, the 15th of May 1903.*

'I have considerable doubt whether the interpretation of Free Trade which is current among a certain limited section is the true interpretation. But I am perfectly certain I am not a protectionist. . . . I cannot believe that they (Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright) would have hesitated to make a treaty of preference and reciprocity with our own children. . . . We should insist that we will not be bound by any purely technical definition of free trade; that, while we seek as our chief object free interchange of trade and commerce between ourselves and all the nations of the world, we will nevertheless recover our freedom, resume that power of negotiation, and, if necessary, retaliation, whenever our own interests or our relations between our own colonies and ourselves are threatened by other people.'—*Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham, the 15th of May 1903.*

THE speeches from which the above extracts were taken, delivered in the same day, have focussed public interest; they have diverted public attention from matters purely local, have caught the eye of the commercial and political world, and, broadening the prospect, have given a new significance to the future. The effect of the two speeches was different, largely owing to the circumstances in which they were delivered. The speech of Mr. Balfour was a reply to a protest and an appeal; the speech of Mr. Chamberlain came out of the blue—out of the unclouded sky of a great achievement and the unchallenged *éclat* of a famous embassy. The Prime Minister responded to a challenge—almost an attack; the Colonial Secretary was the herald of a new message, at least a message delivered in new terms and under new conditions. The one appealed to the

logic of the moment, the judgment of expediency; the other summoned sentiment and imagination to the consideration of a problem which had acquired vivid significance through recent experience, while at the same time it was a plant of no sudden growth or startling origin. We have seen Mr. Chamberlain's idea in other forms—as a Zollverein; as a scheme for free trade between all parts of the Empire, with a tariff for revenue against foreign nations. But, like all ideas worth while and subject to national development, it has become simpler in form and clearer in issue with advancing years. What does the idea mean? Briefly, it means reciprocity between the British nations, and sufficient retaliation against our foreign rivals to make that reciprocity possible and profitable. It is a bold and fair issue, and it is one on which a great political fight is possible; it is sufficient to dwarf every other question. If it becomes an election issue, it will draw to itself the public eye and the national and Imperial interest to the exclusion of all else. The fact is obvious. The tariff question invades every home, sits on every office door-step, commands the anxious solicitude of every counting-house, and quickly gets a grip of the working classes. And a tariff question which can be reduced to a general proposition of, 'Stand by your own and make the outsider pay' is easily grasped in principle. As an election cry it is reducible to a phrase. 'Reciprocity means give and take within the British circle, and retaliation means the foreigner paying toll at the Gate of Customs.' Crude though the similes be, they are easy to understand.

That is the A B C of the position for the British elector so far as the principle of Imperial reciprocity is concerned. The detail is a matter of grave concern, and difficult beyond calculation to arrange. Nor could the details of a scheme be arranged or proposed until the colonies had made reply as to their attitude on the question of principle. It is freely said: 'Oh, it's the very thing the colonies want; they will seize the opportunity fast enough; they have everything to gain by it.' But is it, and will they, and have they? It is not so easy to say. What are the prospects of a favourable response? What Mr. Chamberlain proposes is not a preferential tariff on the part of this country, but reciprocal consideration—reciprocity. Now, take Canada first. Reciprocity is a thing which every Canadian understands. He has been bred and fed on the idea. Since he lost reciprocity—in the Fifties—with the United States it has been as a creed to him to recover it. He has at last given up hope of getting a reciprocity treaty with his southern neighbour, but necessity has been a good teacher, and he grasps the principle thoroughly—the poorest farmer's son understands it, it appeals definitely to the mind of the most remote lumberman: he understands it as he has never understood Imperial defence or even preferential treatment. The Imperial idea is an hereditary duty to him, a loving



duty for which he would die voluntarily on due occasion ; reciprocity is a policy by which he would live and for which he would strive always. When the Imperial idea is united to reciprocal relations or reciprocity, he sees an everyday basis for his sentiment and a chance to better his condition within the circle of his patriotism. Properly led, clearly instructed, patriotically inspired, he may be trusted to respond generously to an Imperial policy. So far as trade and tariff is concerned, he is amply educated for it.

The Australian is not in quite the same position. Until very lately his land was a series of provinces with varying fiscal systems and with sharp tariff antagonisms--as between New South Wales, which was committed to free trade, and Victoria, which was a strenuous upholder of protection. The tariff policy of the Australian Confederation is a compromise ; it has many of the features of the Canadian tariff system. Both countries, as well as South Africa, have found it necessary to resort to a wide application of the principle of tariff for purposes of revenue, as it is impossible in such vast and thinly-populated areas, where the cost of collection of revenue is so great, to rely upon direct taxation. Expediency, not principle, in the matter of tariff has prevailed. Mr. Chamberlain's proposals will be viewed from that standpoint ; and behind the consideration of the subject will be a sentiment at once consanguineous and practical. The over-sea Briton will find many advantages in this proposal for reciprocity. His produce will go to the country that provides the best and cheapest means of transport and handling, it will follow the trade routes protected by the Imperial Navy which the colonist is coming to view as his own, within the boundaries of security and insurance ; it will come to a stable market, behind which is the highest and soundest national credit, to be made sounder by his increasing trade ; it will come to a centre whose markets will be less disturbed than any other save that of the United States in the case of a European war ; it will travel along the lines of least resistance. These things he will realise, and if he can enter this market at an advantage, if his trade with the Orient be not hampered by difficulties with Germany, he will hold both hands up for preferential treatment—one consideration excluded. The one consideration to give him pause is, What is the cost to him ? If he gets preference here, how much must he pay there ?

One thing is sure, if England alters her fiscal policy she will not do it as a gift alone, but as a means to a great end—the benefit and profit of the whole Empire, and without sacrifice to any part, where each bears his own heavy burden of development and administration, and Britain bears the heaviest of all. If the policy is to prevail, Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand must be prepared to make their preference worth while ; it must be a real reciprocity, an actual give and take, with the advantages indicated above to the

good, with the prospects of a vastly developed inter-Imperial commerce from which will flow the financial advantages of consolidated trade interests and powerful Imperial credit. At the same time the over-sea Briton is not unconscious of the possible effect of Imperial reciprocity upon other nations. He will realise that the United Kingdom may challenge a fiscal war. The action of Germany concerning Canada has been a good object lesson. He probably also understands that the foreigner will not bite off his nose to spite his face; that if we need him, he also needs us sorely. That the foreigner should expect to have an open market here while at his gate toll must be paid is natural; that he should resent being discriminated against is also natural; but that the nations within this Empire should be considered as a fiscal unit, as one commercial trust, should not seem to him unnatural. He has been forced to realise that in viewing the action of the United States towards its newly acquired territories. As for the United States, no resentment against Mr. Chamberlain's policy will come from that quarter. Her statesmen will approve. They would not approve if the proposals meant danger to British trade or peril to British credit. The preservation of British commerce and credit is vital to American development. It is necessary to the United States that London shall still remain the bourse of the world. Her financial interests are immense, but because of vast speculation, of colossal enterprise, of every penny being used for adventurous as well as conservative development, her financial position is subject to grave fluctuations. She gains now by the stability of British credit and British prosperity, and relies upon it. That is her present attitude. In another generation it may be different. She will probably try to crush then, where now she rivals and incites to greater development, shares more and more in our industrial concerns. It is not probable that the United States will enter on a fiscal war with us; Germany may—but may not, for reasons doing credit to her prudence if not to her fairmindedness.

Since the 15th of May it has been said frequently by public journals that Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain are at variance in their views and their policy. I cannot accept that statement as accurate. Mr. Balfour foresees the possibility of retaliation and Mr. Chamberlain advocates Imperial reciprocity. There cannot be the one without the other; and Mr. Balfour regards the possibility of a fiscal union 'with unfeigned pleasure.' There is no *non possumus* on Mr. Balfour's part, there is a bias in favour of fiscal union. But, bias or no bias, there remains the anxious problem what the proposal for Imperial fiscal union means to this country. No one can doubt the gravity of the situation, but none should hesitate to face the issue, and in the largest spirit. What is most to be feared is the crass over-statement or under-appreciation of fanatical protectionists and hidebound followers of Cobden, who himself was not hidebound.

Because our interests are so great, our trade so immense, we must not assume that the risk lies altogether with us. We are enormously wealthy; our commercial plant is established, the ramifications of our commercial and industrial energy are in every quarter of the globe, and a mistake in policy—the loss of a few hundred millions—would not ruin us. The loss of fifty millions would practically cripple Canada or Australia. Imperial reciprocity is an attractive idea, it appeals to the sentiments of our race; yet we cannot have a fiscal policy based on sentiment alone, and we have to face the chances of the tariff-battle in Europe and the difficulties of adjustment of Imperial Customs.

The fate of this new policy primarily depends upon the reply the Colonies give. To my mind one thing seems convincing. The moment when the corn-tax was taken off was the psychological moment for Mr. Chamberlain's powerful appeal, and I am by no means sure that the removal of the corn-tax was not a carefully arranged preliminary. The small tax was a bone of contention, too small a business to be reckoned as a policy—it was a war tax for revenue. To have kept it on would have confused the issues. But in a general scheme it would be but a detail, and would take its proportionate place in the broad question of national policy. Referring to an Imperial fiscal union, Mr. Balfour said in his speech: 'If that were done, a trifling duty upon food imports might be part of the general system.' I think my inference from the evidence is reasonable, and the subject must now be of dominating importance to the whole Empire, and a serious problem to be solved by the free traders of this country, of whom I am one. Personally, I think it well that the issue has come now. The colonies have been making overtures, and in one case giving preference for several years, and apathy or irritation, each injurious, might have ensued if there came no final or definite answer from us. The Colonies are better prepared to discuss fiscal matters than we are, as is the case with every protected or semi-protected country. There the incidence of tariff is the first thing that every young politician and the mass of voters learn, and their minds are prepared to grapple with the boldest proposition when presented. We shall not be long in discovering what the Colonies are prepared to do in the way of reciprocity: we shall be much longer in discovering what the public of this country think or how they intend to act. Meanwhile, the high-tariff advocates here must not translate the suggestion of reciprocity into a campaign in the interests of Protection. The difficulties in the way of reciprocity are great, the obstructions to protection are, I believe, insurmountable.

## *IMPERIAL RECIPROCITY*

### III

It is just nineteen years since the sentiment of Imperial Federation was materialised in the constitution of a League, presided over first by the late Mr. W. E. Forster, and afterwards by Lord Rosebery. During these nineteen years Imperial Federation has remained, as it was then—a phrase. But that is not to say that no progress has been made in drawing together the far-scattered members of the Empire, or in cultivating and strengthening the spirit of Imperialism. As a matter of fact, the Empire never was so Imperialistic as it is now. The intensity of feeling displayed, both in the Mother Country and throughout the Colonies, in connection with Mr. Chamberlain's reciprocity speech at Birmingham on the 15th of May last affords remarkable proof of this. One is struck with the circumstance that the fiscal problem with which Sir Rawson Rawson barred the way to Federation in the days of the League, when it was under Lord Rosebery, bids fair to pave an avenue now to something more than mere paper Federation. It is in this that Mr. Chamberlain offers the lead; and in relation to this matter let us avoid what Sir Thomas Browne classified as the fourth cause of common errors, viz. 'A supineness or neglect of inquiry, even of matters whereof we doubt, rather believing than going to see, or doubting with ease and gratis, than believing with difficulty or purchase. Whereby either from a temperamental inactivity we are unready to put in execution the suggestions or dictates of reason, or by a content and acquiescence in every species of truth we embrace the shadow thereof, or so much as may palliate its good and substantial acquirements.'

In his opening address to the Conference of Colonial Premiers last summer, Mr. Chamberlain said:

Our first object is free trade within the Empire. We feel confident—we think that it is a matter which demands no evidence or proof—that if such a result were feasible it would enormously increase our inter-Imperial trade; that it would hasten the development of our Colonies; that it would fill up the spare places in your lands with an active, intelligent, industrious, and, above all, a British population; that it would make the Mother Country entirely independent of foreign food and raw material.

But Mr. Chamberlain also explained that free trade does not

necessarily mean the total abolition of Customs duties as between different parts of the Empire. The exigencies of new countries, and especially of the self-governing Colonies, must be recognised, and the revenues of such countries must, for some time at any rate, depend chiefly on indirect taxation. But when Customs duties are balanced by Excise duties, or when they are levied on commodities not produced at home, they are not protective, and are therefore not contrary to the principles of free trade. Thus, then, free trade within the Empire does not mean the abolition of all Customs duties.

While at the time of this writing the attitude of the Colonies towards Mr. Chamberlain's Birmingham proposals is not fully known, it is permissible to recall how Colonial opinions were revealed at the Conference in London a year ago. At that Conference discussion was raised by a motion submitted by the Premier of New Zealand in favour of preferential tariffs. Then the matter was remitted to a private meeting between the Premiers and the President of the Board of Trade. A strong feeling was exhibited by the Premiers in favour of making some definite advance towards establishing closer trade relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies; and finally a resolution was adopted which expressed, *inter alia*—

That this Conference recognises that the principle of preferential trade between the United Kingdom and his Majesty's dominions beyond the seas would stimulate and facilitate mutual commercial intercourse, and would, by promoting the development of the resources and industries of the several parts, strengthen the Empire.

That this Conference recognises that, in the present circumstances of the Colonies, it is not practicable to adopt a general system of free trade as between the Mother Country and the British dominions beyond the seas.

That with a view, however, to promoting the increase of trade within the Empire, it is desirable that those Colonies which have not already adopted such a policy should, as far as their circumstances permit, give substantial preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the United Kingdom.

It is reasonable to assume, in the meantime, that this is still expressive of general Colonial opinion; and if that be so, the main question is with regard to preference in the Mother Country. This is just what the people of this country have got to think out, apart from the doctrinaires. The proposition is that Imperial unity and commercial union are inseparable. If Great Britain, as a nation, is determined, along with her dependencies, to carry out to its grand issues the idea of a comprehensive and cohesive British Empire, she must make up her mind on this question of trade and commerce. The keynote of Mr. Chamberlain's Birmingham address is that Imperial unity involves commercial solidarity. That being so, every advance made by the Colonies should be reciprocated. It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the political aspects of Imperialism, but to consider briefly the subject of Imperial reciprocity.

The fact, however, is that Imperialists cannot regard this

question of preferential trade within the Empire from a purely economic point of view. We are free traders, but, like Lord Rosebery, we do not believe that free trade was part of the Sermon on the Mount. We refuse to worship it as a fetish, or to accept it as anything but a means to an end. The whole fiscal organisation of the country is not to be regulated in order to further the reputed principles of alleged free trade: free trade is to be adapted to the national needs and advantages. The idea of reciprocal or preferential trade may be regarded with horror by many sincere free traders, who shrink from it as a form of protection which Richard Cobden and John Bright would have denounced. But we are not concerned with what Richard Cobden and John Bright would have thought and said in their day and generation. It is not necessary for economic sanitation to live for ever in the atmosphere of the Manchester School. If Richard Cobden had lived till to-day, he would have been inspired by the spirit of the times, not muzzled by the traditions of his youth. And while if he were now to speak all of us would hearken and pay heed, that is a very different thing from listening to those who protest, not what Richard Cobden would think, but what they think he would think. That which has to be considered is not whether a reciprocal tariff with the Colonies would receive the approval of the founders of the Manchester School, but whether it offers any help towards Imperial unity. What we have to consider from the Imperial point of view is not merely the effect on the fiscal system of the Mother Country, but, as Lord Rosebery puts it, 'whether the system of reciprocal tariffs will really bind the Mother Country more closely with her Colonies than is now the case.' If we feel sure it will, then the change can be made with equanimity, even with alacrity. And we need not fear foreign reprisals, because the British Empire will then be the largest consumer in the world—too good a customer for any country to quarrel with.

The adverse comments of foreign critics are of less interest to us at the moment than the comments of Colonial statesmen, journalists, and business men. It is not the case that the Colonies would have everything to gain and nothing to lose under an Imperial Zollverein, because, in so far as they are dependent on Customs duties for revenue, they would lose revenue by the measure in which imports from portions of the British Empire increased over imports from duty-paying foreign countries. In 1902, the total of the foreign trade of the United Kingdom was 877,630,000*l.*, or nearly eight millions more than in the previous year. Of that trade the proportion between Great Britain and her dependencies is returned at 224,300,000*l.*; which proportion is just about 26 per cent. In the five years from 1898 to 1902 the increase in our Colonial trade was 18 per cent., and in our foreign trade 13½ per cent. But the increase has not been wholly favourable to the Colonies. For

instance, in the matter of imports, the increase from foreign countries between 1898 and 1902 was 50,676,000*l.*, or 13·5 per cent.; and the increase from British possessions was 7,170,000*l.*, or over 7·2 per cent. It has been, however, favourable to the Mother Country, for while our exports to foreign countries in the five years increased by 27,824,000*l.*, or 13·6 per cent., our exports to British possessions increased by 27,400,000*l.*, or 30·4 per cent. These are significant figures. They show, for one thing, why the Colonies welcome the idea of privileged entry into our markets, and they show, for another thing, the increasing importance of the Colonial markets to the Mother Country.

Writing a year ago in the pages of this Review, Sir Robert Giffen said, 'Reciprocal or preferential arrangements between the Mother Country and the Colonies are most dangerous, economically and politically. It is a complete misconception that they are of the same nature as a Zollverein, which is a measure of pure free trade, but happens not to be possible for the British Empire as a whole.' It is true that a Zollverein, or Imperial British free trade, is not possible just yet, owing to the financial necessity and industrial infancy of many members of the Empire. But, as a matter of fact, Great Britain has not pure free trade herself. She has a tariff list of many pages, including tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, corn (till July), tobacco, liquor, and a number of other articles. And a large proportion of the commodities which feed our Customs revenue come from British dependencies. Now, why would it be economically and politically dangerous to forego such portion of our revenue as is contributed by Colonial and Indian goods?

At present we are fenced round by foreign systems of hostile tariffs, of bounties and subsidies. It is quite true that the tariffs are not directed against us solely, and that in each protectionist country our free-trade system gives us an advantage over the products of every other country except the particular country imposing the tariff. But it is also true that protection in America and Germany enables those countries from time to time to flood our own markets and to supply our foreign customers, with their products in competition with our own. And it is probably true that in the protective countries there is a jealousy of our present methods and a desire to prevent our further commercial expansion. We have had to take action against the foreign bounty system as applied to sugar. We shall probably have to take action soon against the foreign subsidy system as applied to shipping. It is tolerably certain we should not have obtained international consent to discontinue the sugar bounties if it had not been made plain that if they were not abolished we would meet them with countervailing duties. *Per contra*, it is more than probable that if we grant preferential duties on British Imperial goods, we shall have overtures of concessions from other countries in exchange for the same preferences. The effect of that

would be a stimulus in the direction of free trade, and one main economic reason why Imperial reciprocity may be justified is that it will fructify in the real absolute commercial union that can only be found under a Zollverein like that of the American Republic or the German Empire.

The political reason for supporting preferential or reciprocal trade within the Empire is that it will bring about a political unity which, whether we call it Imperial Federation or not, all the members of the Empire seem at present to desire, and even to expect. If such a unity is both possible and desirable, then it is certainly worth paying something for. The Colonies cannot be drawn into one fold without some sacrifice being made by the Mother Country. And she can afford the sacrifice, especially if the sacrifice be only that of the fetish of a figment of what men call free trade, without fully considering what free trade means. Surely not even the ghost of Richard Cobden in the solemn if sacred precincts of the Cobden Club would deny the advantage of sacrificing something in order to advance free trade within the Empire. Do not let us forget that free trade followed the Scottish Union, the Irish Union, the American Union, and the German Union. It cannot fail to follow the Union of Greater Britain, which will be promoted by preferential trade. In effect, a preferential trade agreement is a commercial treaty, and commercial treaties were inaugurated (or at all events supported) by the apostle of free trade. A preferential treatment of the products of the British Empire would neither necessitate nor justify the imposition of excessive duties upon foreign products, whether of raw material for the body or for the factory. Canada, for example, has reduced the imposts upon British goods by one-third of her tariff rates without raising the duties upon other goods. It is extremely probable that foreign countries would object to, and perhaps be decidedly angry at, preference being accorded to British Imperial goods over theirs. Germany has given an indication of this in her attitude towards Canada. But as foreign countries do not consult our wishes and convenience in framing their tariffs, we need not consider them in arranging a British Imperial tariff. The British Empire is as free to adjust its own fiscal relations as is the German Empire or any other congeries of States.

The Colonies are, as we assume, all, if not clamouring at least eager for preferential treatment in our markets. It is true that they are not as eager as they might be to share the financial burden of Imperialism; but the idea of partnership is novel to them, and what the ties of blood are worth we have seen in Africa. If they make a formal proposition to us for the institution of an Imperial tariff, can we offer any sound objection to it? There is the free-trade theory, of course, but the prosperity and security of the Empire are superior even to free trade, which is not a doctrine but a policy. If the safety of



the Empire demanded that we should abandon free trade, we should have to abandon it. But there is no such demand, and the reciprocal arrangement to which Mr. Chamberlain points is not only not adverse to, but is actually conducive to, free trade. A concession of preferential treatment to the Colonies would be a small price to pay for whole-hearted Colonial co-operation in Imperial defence. And who knows how soon all the resources of the Empire will be taxed to safeguard even a corner of it? One cannot, with the striking examples around us in both hemispheres, adhere to the old free-trade belief that economic prosperity is impossible under protection. And, at the same time, one cannot perceive any possible advantage in protection for this country. But may one not admit the possible advantage of a moderate amount of protection for some of the Colonies? May not, indeed, a moderate amount of protection for some of the Colonies be necessary to the preservation of our national food-supply in time of war? A small duty on foreign wheat, for instance, may make all the difference between marketing the crops of Canada as compared with the superior facilities of the United States, and yet have no appreciable bearing on the cost of food. It is no profanation of the economic gospel to suggest this, but plain reason which demands that economic policy ought to be adapted to circumstance. We have wheat lands and cattle lands in Canada, in Australasia, and in India enough to keep us supplied with food for all time, and to make us independent of foreign restiveness. It is not economic heresy but common-sense to make the most of them.

This is one reason why it is a pity Mr. Ritchie should have decided to repeal the corn-duty this year. It was not a protective duty, nor was it intended to privilege any interests. But it was a possible cover for preferential treatment of the Colonies. A remission of the duty in favour of Canadian wheat was not in the mind of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach when he imposed the tax last year. But it was an idea in the minds of Canadian statesmen, who are now disappointed that their dream is broken. Of course neither Sir Michael Hicks-Beach nor Mr. Ritchie is to blame for Canada entertaining hopes and expectations that were not intended to be roused or encouraged; but once again we are reminded that policy should adapt itself to circumstance. Canada has been the first of the Imperial children to differentiate in favour of the goods of the Mother Country. Canada has been foremost among the Imperial children in showing what she is willing to do for the honour and prestige of the Empire. Canada has just shown to Germany how determined she is to assert her fiscal independence and her adhesion to Imperial preference. To have abrogated the small duty on corn from Canada and India and Australia, while retaining it on corn from other countries, would not have interfered much with Mr. Ritchie's balance-sheet, but would have sent a wave of Imperialism through

the Colonies. It would not have affected the price of American wheat any more than a rise or fall in freights affects it, but it would have stimulated the production in, and tightened the bonds with, the Dominion. We have said that free trade is a means to an end. So might the corn-duty have been—and the end Imperial unity. There is this further to be said in reply to those who would limit the obligations of Imperialism—that if the Mother Country is compelled, as she is even in existing circumstances, to defend any one of her Colonies from attack or aggression, she is certainly at liberty to offer to them any advantage she pleases or to accept any that they offer.

BENJAMIN TAYLOR.

## HOME RULE WITHOUT SEPARATION

THE time seems to have arrived for some earnest effort to settle the chronic Irish difficulty. The Land Bill may do much, and much already has been done in other directions. The Church in Ireland has been disestablished. Wide Local Government has been given, and the whole of the British political world has become determined to content Ireland, if that be possible. Unnecessary to argue this point. Ireland, when satisfied, would form a most potent factor in the establishment of the Imperial system, with which Mr. Chamberlain is so strongly identified. The present Irish Secretary has grasped with marvellous rapidity the intricacies of his task, and he seems qualified, if anyone is, to solve the embarrassing problems that beset him.

The object kept in view by those interested not only in Ireland but in the internal peace of the United Kingdom is to devise some settlement which shall satisfy the Irish without infringing on the unity of the country.

The condition of the Liberal Party is very much like that occupied by the Conservative subsequently to the repeal of the Corn Laws. At that time Conservative fortunes were reduced to their lowest point. The Party was split up into Peelites and Protectionists, and the Liberal Government seemed to float in safety owing to the weakness of their opponents. The moment arrived, however, when, notwithstanding the absence of an organised Opposition, the Liberal Party was defeated, and a Ministry had to be formed from the wreckage of the Conservatives. The Conservative Party under Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli fully appreciated the crisis, and, though not anticipating a long tenure of office, they accepted the responsibility of forming an Administration. Ministers were found, some obsolete and others untried, but they remained long enough in office to heal the dissensions between Protectionists and Peelites. Though driven from power within a few months, the Conservative Party became a force in the State. It worked on until it has now held office for a period almost unexampled. But it has been gradually losing strength. Offices have been distributed on an æsthetic rather than on a popular and practical method. Mr. Chamberlain, the principal

personality of the Government, has indeed shown great capacity, resource, and imagination, but both Conservative and Liberal parties are shackled in general politics by the complex difficulties of Ireland. Those difficulties once removed, parties would resume their natural functions, and we should then have Whig and Tory, Conservative and Liberal, again formed on the old lines.

A pamphlet, published anonymously in 1898, has adduced many reasons in support of a proposal for the abolition of the present Lord-Lieutenancy and the substitution of a Prince belonging to the reigning family as the head of society in Dublin. It is premature to go deeply into the writer's argument, but with his permission we extract a long passage of his pamphlet giving his general ideas :

But if the Irish are so ready to welcome the casual visit of any member of the Royal Family, how much more enthusiastic would be the reception of a Prince destined to raise Ireland from the position of England's poor relative to that of a prominent figure in the society of nations !

The Prince of Ireland should be at the head of Irish society, taking no part in the Government, except on the advice of Ministers. Being a permanent institution, the Prince would do away with the fluctuating policy of Lords Lieutenant, who change with the Ministry. A descendant of Royalty, he would naturally command more respect than a member of the House of Lords, and would found a real Court.

He would hold State functions, and distribute the honours decreed by the Sovereign. Dublin would become the centre of a larger society. Young people would there first make acquaintance with the world, instead of being forced to go to London, where they are visitors, not natives.

Some idea of the brilliancy to which Dublin might attain may be derived from the history of Florence under the Medici, Brussels under the Archdukes, and in more modern times the Courts of Weimar, Dresden, Nancy under Stanislas, Lucca, and Naples, while to-day Cairo attracts from all parts of the world a crowd of pleasure-seekers.

The Prince of Ireland must also be provided with a suitable country seat where to entertain his friends with country pursuits and pastimes.

To fix the income of the Prince of Ireland is, perhaps, premature, but with the certain influx of long-promised English capital, and the sums to be saved by the abolition of the Lord-Lieutenancy, a suitable salary on a large scale would be easily provided. The establishment of a royal residence would mean the foundation of a regenerating social influence, giving to Ireland a national existence in harmony with her relations to the United Kingdom, and a permanent stimulus to the enterprise and industry of the country.

But the social function of the Lord-Lieutenant embodied in the Prince of Ireland, a form of independent administration would be required under the control of the Imperial Government and Legislature.

For this purpose there should be a certain separation of administrative institutions, and some autonomous adjunct to the Imperial Parliament.

The country should be provided with a local representative of the Imperial Government, in the person of a Secretary of State, entrusted with the management of Irish affairs. He would change with the Imperial Government, the task of continuity being left to the Prince of Ireland, as it is in England to the Sovereign. Certain departments could be represented in Dublin by the Parliamentary Under-Secretaries, and the Irish administration thus composed would reside at Dublin during the Parliamentary recess to inquire into the needs or grievances of the Irish people.

To the Secretary of State would be entrusted the special care of the Home Office, Treasury, Local Government Board, and Public Works, the departments to be represented by the Parliamentary Under-Secretaries being :

The Foreign Office,  
Colonial Office,  
War Office,  
Admiralty,  
Board of Trade,  
India Office,  
Post Office,  
Education Department,

while particular attention should be directed to the Board of Agriculture. The existing specially Irish functionaries to be retained are :

The Lord Chancellor,  
The Attorney-General,  
The Solicitor-General.

The official body thus formed and resident in Dublin would afford the Irish an easy method of stating their requirements, and would establish a continuous channel of communication with the Imperial Government for the promotion of Irish interests.

An impulse would be given to Ireland in the direction of an autonomy consistent with the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, while the following proposal would seem to complete the fabric of that autonomy :

For purposes of recommending legislation and giving to the Irish people the means of an authoritative and compact exposition of their wants and wishes, there should be formed an Irish Convocation, combining with popular representation the best elements of every class of society. There would thus be constituted, as suggested by Lord Salisbury in 1885, 'a large central authority' in which 'the wisdom of several parts of the country will correct the folly and mistakes of one.'

Subject, of course, to additions and modifications, the Convocation should be composed thus :

- (1) The whole of the Irish peerage, with the exception of those peers who, under other titles, hold seats in the House of Lords.
- (2) The Irish members of the Imperial Parliament.
- (3) The bishops of both churches.
- (4) The public functionaries above specified, together with certain judges, Lord Mayors, and heads of universities.
- (5) The chairmen or other representatives of the new County Councils.

The Convocation should assemble for a certain period before the meeting of the Imperial Parliament, and should be opened by a speech from the Prince of Ireland, drawn up by the responsible officers of the Government.

The Assembly should have for its president alternately the Lord Chancellor, who would then, as now, represent the Ministry of the day, and a Speaker in receipt of a salary, and chosen from the members of Parliament.

The duties of this body would be to appoint Committees, having the power of Parliamentary Committees for private business in Ireland.

To discuss general measures for the benefit of Ireland, to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament.

It would have no control of Imperial funds, the amount of irksome private business of which it would relieve the Imperial Parliament contributing largely to its own fee fund.

All Irish measures intended by the Imperial Government should be submitted to the Convocation, together with the proposals of private members. The decisions of the Convocations should be recorded in the form of resolutions or of addresses to the Crown, to be laid before the Imperial Parliament at its meeting by responsible advisers of the Crown.

The proposals may be questioned; but they are certainly a contribution to the solution of the problem. I will now proceed to suggest a basis for an arrangement in conformity with the views of the writer of the pamphlet, but perhaps more in keeping with the present conception of parliamentary practice and tradition.

There appears to be considerable misconception as to the real meaning of the principle of Home Rule and its possibilities. Opponents represent it as the absolute separation of Ireland from England. Hitherto it has only separated the Liberal Party. But if we examine the idea without foregone prejudice, there appears to be little difficulty in meeting the views of the real Home Rulers without running any Imperial risk.

For the last fifty years or more there have been in existence in many countries Nationalist movements of a nature analogous to the Home Rule asked for by the Irish. Germany by this spirit of Home Rule has been welded into an Empire; Italy by the same process has been made a Kingdom. So has Belgium. So has Greece. So have Servia and Roumania, while Montenegro and Bulgaria are independent principalities. Home Rule was refused to Italy, and Austria lost Italy. It was conceded to Hungary, and Austria kept Hungary. Thus, where the Nationalist principle has been admitted, great political problems have been solved with no injury except to interests of a despotic and reactionary character.

Spain refused to give her colonies autonomy. In the first place, she lost the whole of her possessions in South America. More recently from the same cause she has lost them in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.

The United States of America might still have been united with England had they been made autonomous. We preserve Canada, Australia, and all our principal colonies by giving them a free hand in their internal administration, and they are glad to remain united with the United Kingdom in everything that concerns Imperial interests.

Those opposed to Home Rule in Ireland are apprehensive of anti-English movements if Home Rule were conceded. The landlords are afraid as well as the moneyed classes. Similar apprehensions were expressed in the Ionian Isles before their annexation to Greece, but since that annexation they have been orderly and progressive. It may be safely averred that if Home Rule in Ireland had existed, the interests of the late Irish Church, and perhaps now of the landlords, would have met with better treatment than at the hands of the Imperial Parliament.

Ireland thus conciliated, there would no longer be an anti-English party, but the nation would be divided naturally into Irish Conservatives and Liberals, amongst whom the population of Ulster would probably have great weight.

Home Rule, to be properly understood, should be examined in detail and not with asperity. It is generally agreed that the institution called the Castle is really a remnant of Home Rule, and that the least attractive. Once place the Lord-Lieutenant in a proper position by abolishing his political partisanship, and conferring his office on a Prince of the Royal House, with the title of Prince of Ireland, it would not be long before both England and Ireland would rejoice in the change. The Prince would be above party and above responsibility; he would exercise a mitigating social influence, and gather round him the best elements of Irish force and genius.

A Secretary of State for Ireland, generally living there, responsible both to the Irish and Imperial Parliaments, and surrounded by representatives of the different Imperial departments, would give to Ireland and to Dublin a distinct national vitality.

The Parliament might be composed as follows :

(1) A House of Commons, containing double the representation now given to Ireland in the Imperial Parliament. Two members should be elected for each existing or future constituency, the member receiving in each electorate the highest number of votes being considered as also elected a member of the Imperial Parliament. The Irish House of Commons and the English House of Commons should each meet once in the year, their deliberations being restricted to matters concerning their respective native countries. During the two or three months previous to the meeting of the Imperial Parliament, the Irish House of Commons and the English House of Commons, the one sitting in Dublin and the other in London, should both in England and Ireland respectively treat and discuss matters appertaining purely and solely to England and Ireland.

(2) The Irish House of Lords should sit at the same time as the House of Commons and under the same conditions. Irish peers should be given seats in the Imperial House of Lords. Bishops both of the Protestant and Roman creeds should be added to this House in certain numbers. The Lord Chancellor should preside over the Upper Chamber, and an elected Speaker over the Lower House. In addition to the Secretary of State, the Imperial departments should be represented in each Irish House by the Imperial Parliamentary Under-Secretaries. Imperial questions, such as the Army and Navy and foreign relations, except as they touch local requirements, should be reserved for the Imperial Legislature.

Neither House could carry any measure beyond the second reading. When each had accomplished its local work, the Imperial Parliament should be summoned; and it would be desirable that once in two or three years the whole Imperial Parliament should

assemble at Dublin. This would give to Dublin an international position.

The Irish capital, headed by the Prince or by the Sovereign, would thus be enabled to entertain the diplomatic representatives and English as well as Irish society, and would give to Irish trade an impetus now impossible from the vicarious nature of its present Court.

All measures having passed the second reading in the respective Parliaments should be discussed in the Imperial Parliament in Committee, on report, and on the third reading. Anything injurious to the public welfare of the Empire would thus be checked and modified. No doubt Dublin would profit greatly by this change, and the Irish would be attracted to their homes in the country to which they belong.

On the occasions when the Parliament assembled in Dublin, it should be opened by the Sovereign in person, who would, in Ireland as in England, be exempt from all responsibility or political imputation. By this means not only the substantial interest and the legitimate pride, but even the vanity, of the Irish would be satisfied. In a word, Ireland, admitted to a prominent share in the British Federation and Empire, would become reinvested with an individuality of which it considers itself at present deprived.

It is not pretended by the foregoing remarks to offer a solution of the great problem underlying the phrase 'Home Rule.' They are designed merely to smooth the ground for further controversies, by diminishing the exasperation animating the discussion as at present carried on.

H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.



## THE BOND-HAY TREATY

### A NEW PHASE OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN DISPUTE

THE Reciprocity Convention concluded last fall between the United States and Newfoundland, and known as the Bond-Hay Treaty, is now before the American Senate, awaiting ratification. Owing to the press of business in the 'short' Session of Congress which closed on the 4th of March, it could not be acted upon, but the 'long' Session which opens next December will not adjourn until the following August, so there will be ample time then to consider it. Meanwhile, Canada is leaving no stone unturned to induce the Imperial authorities to disallow it, because its passage into law will deprive the Dominion of the chief lever which she hopes to use in enforcing an adjustment of the several other subjects of contention between herself and the Republic, such as the Alaskan Boundary and Pelagic Sealing disputes.

Newfoundland has no part in these problems, but is paramount in the kindred issue of the Atlantic Fisheries Question. She stands apart from both the United States and Canada in regard to it, and is the opening wedge, as it were, which separates them more and more. The one which secures her co-operation is practically guaranteed the supremacy in these fisheries, and that is why there is such a competition between them for her favour. The United States will make a reciprocity treaty with Newfoundland because the agreement provides for free bait for her own fishermen and renders her independent of Canada, her chief rival. Canada opposes such a separate compact and aims to force Newfoundland into political union with her, thereby obtaining control of her fishery rights, and using them to secure from the United States concessions which she could never otherwise obtain.

It is an extraordinary circumstance that the two oldest and most vexatious complications with which the latter-day diplomacy of the Motherland has been beset, should be centred in the Island of Newfoundland, the most ancient colony. One of these entanglements is the French Shore Question, the other is this Atlantic Fisheries Question. Both had their origin in the troublous times of the eighteenth century, and the legacy of irritation and international

bickerings which they have proved is an eloquent testimony to the supineness or ineptitude of the British statesmen of those days, who trafficked in the peerless fisheries of Newfoundland with every Power that had to be conciliated.

It is needless here to refer in detail to the French Shore Question, with which the British public are more or less familiar. But this American problem, now forcing itself to the forefront, is one the study of which cannot but be helpful to Englishmen who would learn the basic facts of the difficulties in which the Empire is involved abroad. Like the French Shore dispute, it arose from the prosecution of the great cod fisheries on the Grand Banks off Newfoundland, but in many respects it is much more involved, because it has now become interwoven with the commercial, industrial, and political interests of three countries—the United States, Canada, and Newfoundland.

Soon after Cabot's discovery of the Island in 1497, the fame of its cod fishery spread through Western Europe, and every nation with an Atlantic outlook sent fleets of daring voyagers to the Grand Banks to ply that vocation, using the Newfoundland seaboard, only 100 miles distant, as their base of operations. When England annexed it, France secured Cape Breton, and it was to protect her fisheries that she incurred such an enormous expenditure in fortifying Louisburg, the famous stronghold she created there. The Puritans then settled in New England, the Dutch established themselves in New Holland (New York), and the Spaniards found a foothold farther south. From these colonies, as well as from the mother countries, they pursued these fisheries, the boundless wealth of which has met all draughts to this very day; and the fishery enterprise was encouraged by each of these nations because it meant the training of thousands of seamen to crew their navies. Under such conditions friction and strife became inevitable. War or concessions alone provided an escape from unceasing quarrels between the fisherfolk. It was through these causes that France, by the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, first secured a lodgment on the coast of Newfoundland. But the New England Colonials adopted a different course. Infuriated by the constant raids and insidious attacks of France on their fishery fleets and seaboard, they seized the opportunity of the war of 1742 to organise an expedition against Louisburg, and though the enterprise was regarded as a foolhardy one, they accomplished the capture of the fortress, and achieved a success which was described as having counterbalanced all the disasters which had fallen upon the British arms in Europe.

Is it surprising that these Colonials, with the example of this victory before them, should have in a few years developed that spirit of resistance to British rule which culminated in their war of Independence? As an evidence of the importance of the fisheries,

even then, Lord North, in 1775, introduced a Bill in Parliament to prevent the New Englanders from fishing on the Grand Banks, and in the war which followed, the fishing fleets, British and American, were harried until the whole enterprise had to be temporarily abandoned. When the revolting colonies, in 1778, sought recognition of France, one of the first articles of their treaty of that year was a guarantee by the 'United States' of fishing rights for French subjects on the Banks of Newfoundland, as stipulated for by France, a proof that the lesson of Louisburg had not been forgotten. Similarly, when the Treaty of Paris, in 1783, closed the American war, the United States took care to stipulate for the same fishery privileges in and about Newfoundland as the Colonials had previously enjoyed. The next year a treaty for a reciprocal and perfect alliance in commerce and navigation between Britain and America was negotiated, and by these two instruments the relations between the two countries and their dependencies were governed until the war of 1812 abrogated all treaties. This time Great Britain, being the victor, declared, at the Peace of Ghent, in 1814, that she did not intend to renew these fishing privileges to the Americans without an equivalent, and the treaty contained no fisheries article. This prohibition threw the Americans on their own resources, and they met the emergency by a bounty to their fishing craft. In 1815 they paid 1,811 dollars, which amount rose to the enormous sum of 149,000 dollars four years later, a convincing testimony to the magnitude of the industry. During these four years the United States fishing vessels were rigorously excluded from British waters, and there is one case on record of a vessel being warned away when sixty miles off the coast of Newfoundland.

The Treaty of Washington, in 1818, contains the very essence of this whole dispute, as we understand it to-day. That treaty was a compromise between the extreme views of both parties. The Americans, hampered by the limitations upon their fishery privileges by the war of 1812, were constantly violating the British laws, while the British, in their sweeping construction of their sovereign rights, were in danger of precipitating another conflict. Prior to 1818 all negotiations concerning the fisheries had been based upon the theory that Great Britain had a proprietary interest in the Bank, or deep-sea fisheries, as well as in the coast, or inshore fisheries, and all questions turned, not upon the latter so much as upon the former, because the prosecution of these Bank fisheries was greatly facilitated by the use of the Newfoundland coast as a base of operations, and to secure outfits and supplies.

But now this position was abandoned, and Great Britain virtually restricted herself to her coast fishery rights, the Grand Banks and outer waters being admitted to be free to all nations. The United

States, however, advanced a claim to inshore fishing, and the difficulty was adjusted in this wise:

The United States fishermen were granted, for all time, a concurrent right—

(a) To take fish of every kind on (1) the western section of the south coast of Newfoundland, (2) the west coast of Newfoundland, (3) the Magdalen Islands, and (4) the coast of Labrador.

(b) To dry and cure fish on any of the unsettled south coast of Newfoundland, or Labrador.

(c) To enter the other parts of the coast of Newfoundland and Canada to shelter, effect repairs, purchase wood, and obtain water, but for no other purpose whatever.

(d) In return for these concessions they renounced for ever the right to fish within three marine miles of the coast of British North America, not included in the above, and they agreed to be subject to such restrictions as might be necessary to prevent their abusing the privileges hereby reserved to them.

The effect of this treaty was that the Americans surrendered the inshore fisheries, except on certain coasts, and secured the deep sea fisheries. It might be supposed that this would have put an end to all friction, and promoted amity and good will between the subjects of the two nations. But it did not. Within a year or two arose the famous 'headland' dispute, an offshoot of the 'three miles limit.' The question was this: Should the line—three marine miles off—follow the sinuosities of the coast and be drawn across the mouths of bays where they are six miles wide, or should it be drawn from headland to headland, barring out foreigners from all enclosed 'territorial' waters, large or small? The British authorities, in Canada and Newfoundland, adopted the 'headland' doctrine, and excluded the Americans from even the Bay of Fundy, in Nova Scotia, Baie des Chaleurs, in Quebec, and Fortune Bay in Newfoundland. Many difficulties and conflicts ensued, American vessels were seized almost every year, and many of them were confiscated for flagrant violations.

In 1839 the United States appointed a Commissioner, Lieutenant Payne, to visit the fishing area and report upon the questions in dispute. The American Government had all this time continued its fishing bounties, and the previous year, 1838, they had risen to 314,000 dollars—a figure never subsequently attained. President Van Buren, feeling that the returns were inadequate for the outlay, ordered the inquiry as above, which resulted in a report that the difficulties arose over the construction of the word 'bay' in the Treaty of 1818, and the 'shelter, wood, and water' privileges. In 1845 the British Government relaxed the prohibition against the Americans entering the Bay of Fundy, owing to the proximity of their own Maine coast, and in 1851 Daniel Webster, then the

Secretary of State, in a despatch on the subject, admitted that the British attitude was very generous, and that the American fishermen frequently violated both the letter and the spirit of the Treaty of 1818.

These mutual concessions paved the way for the Elgin-Marcy reciprocity treaty of 1854. This arrangement granted the United States fishermen unrestricted access to British North American waters and shores to catch and cure fish, while the United States waters and shores north of latitude 36° were thrown open to British fishermen on the same terms. The American fishermen thus obtained the right to purchase bait and other supplies; to land and tranship fish; to use the bays and harbours; to prepare, clean, pack, and dry fish, and to enjoy sundry commercial privileges. It being admitted that these concessions were of greater value than those the British subjects could enjoy in American waters, the United States granted free entry to its markets for many of the products of the British North American colonies. This treaty worked very advantageously to both parties, but the United States abrogated it in 1866, at the expiry of the twelve years for which it was originally negotiated.

It had effectually disposed of all pending difficulties, allayed friction between the two countries, and promoted a marked improvement in their trade, and its abrogation revived all the unwelcome drawbacks to national comity. The situation was soon embittered by a renewal of the conflicts of the previous non-reciprocity period, and within five years a new treaty had to be negotiated, in 1871. This dealt with several features of commerce and navigation as well as the fisheries issue, but it is with the latter only that we are now concerned. The fisheries clauses revived those of the 1854 treaty, and the Americans offered free entry to United States markets for coal, salt, fish, and lumber, for a period of twelve years from the 1st of July, 1874, in return for access to the British North American markets. This offer was rejected, and then the United States agreed to an arbitration, to be held at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1877, to fix the sum, if any, which the United States should pay for the use of these fisheries during the period in question. This arbitration tribunal awarded the sum of 5,500,000 dollars, of which Canada received 4,500,000 dollars, and Newfoundland 1,000,000 dollars—a ridiculously unfair division, but carried out because then, as now, Newfoundland's real standing in the case was not appreciated.

The fishery clauses of this treaty were abrogated by the United States in 1886, on the expiry of the twelve-year period, and immediately the old-time troubles were renewed again. The seizure of American vessels threatened serious international difficulties, and propositions for yet another treaty were being exchanged by the two nations. Newfoundland, now awakened to a realisation of her

own peculiar advantages as a baiting and outfitting centre, opened negotiations for a separate fisheries arrangement with the United States, in 1877, when Ambassador Phelps intimated to Sir Ambrose Shea, then Newfoundland's delegate in London, that his government would cordially accept and act on the proposal. But the Imperial Cabinet declined to sanction the project for an independent compact by Newfoundland then, as plans were maturing for a reciprocity treaty including Canada as well.

This instrument, known as the Chamberlain-Bayard Treaty, was negotiated at Washington in 1888. Like its two predecessors, it provided for fisheries reciprocity between the United States on the one hand, and Canada and Newfoundland on the other, but it was for no stipulated period, going into effect automatically on the United States removing the duty from fish and fish-oils, and being nullified on her reviving these duties. It also permitted United States fishing vessels entering for shelter or repairs, to unload, reload, tranship, or sell their cargoes, and to replenish their outfits. It further provided for the appointment of a mixed commission to delimit the coastline as to which the United States by the Treaty of 1818 renounced its fishing rights. The details agreed upon were such as to exclude the Americans from all bays ten miles wide at their mouth, and from certain specified ones fifteen to twenty miles wide.

The United States Senate of the day being Republican, and hostile to President Cleveland, rejected this treaty; but the plenipotentiaries, to prevent the prospect of friction while the treaty was under discussion, had arranged a *modus vivendi*, whereby the United States fishing vessels could, for two years, enter Canadian and Newfoundland waters, and by payment of an annual licence fee of 1½ dollar per ton, purchase bait, ice, seines, lines, and all other supplies and outfits, tranship their catch and hire crews. This temporary arrangement, it may be explained here, still continues in effect, being renewed from year to year for the past fifteen seasons in the hope that some opportunity will arise, through the negotiations with one party or the other, for the framing of another treaty which will meet with a more favourable reception at the hands of the Senate.

The rejection of this Treaty of 1888, avowedly on the ground that it granted too large concessions to Canada, caused Newfoundland to revive her request for permission to negotiate a separate arrangement covering the fisheries question, and in 1890 the Imperial Government authorised Mr. (now Right Hon. Sir) Robert Bond, Colonial Secretary of Newfoundland, to visit Washington for such purpose. He succeeded in concluding with the late Mr. Blaine the draft instrument which has since become historic as the Bond-Blaine Convention. It was on the basis of permitting American fishing vessels to enter

Newfoundland ports on the same terms as the local fishermen, in return for the United States granting free entry to her markets of Newfoundland fishery products. It also fixed certain rates of duties on American foodstuffs and other commodities, but its purpose was aptly epitomised as 'free bait for free fish.' When it was almost completed, Canada protested against its being sanctioned by the Imperial Government, and set forth very exhaustive reasons therefor. It was represented as being a violation of the traditional understanding that the British North American fisheries were to be regarded as a unit and administered and utilised for the financial and diplomatic advantage of Canada and Newfoundland. It was characterised as a departure from the sound policy of making common cause against a common enemy, and the point was urged that Canada should be given an opportunity to secure the same advantages before it became law. Newfoundland's answer was that there was no violation of established practice, inasmuch as there was no injury to Canada's rights. Canadian fishermen now enter Newfoundland waters on the same terms as the residents, and the concession to the Americans merely relieved them of the obligation of paying a licence fee, and placed them on an equality with the Canadian and local fishermen. Moreover, the fact of Newfoundland securing such a treaty would not in any way prevent Canada endeavouring to obtain the same, and possibly succeeding, while on the other hand it was hardly fair that Newfoundland should be deprived of the benefits of such an arrangement because Canada could not obtain them.

After careful consideration the Imperial Government decided that it must recognise the force of Canada's protest, and withhold its approval of the convention until, at any rate, Canada should have had a fair chance to effect a similar compact. Naturally the Newfoundland Government was greatly displeased, and, with her existence held to be depending, in a great measure, on her success in securing this arrangement, she felt that an unfriendly act had been done against her by Canada. She was then in the very throes of the struggle with France, enforcing a Bait Act against these Gallic rivals, and striving to rescue her one industry, the fisheries, from the stagnation into which it had fallen through the bounty-fed competition of the French on the one hand, and the closing of the American markets on the other. Recrimination and bitterness developed bad feeling on both sides, which rapidly grew into a regular trade and fisheries war between the two colonies. Newfoundland refused bait to the Canadians or forced them to pay a licence fee. Canada retaliated by levying a duty on Newfoundland fish and oils entering her ports. This hurt Newfoundland very little, her export to Canada being but trifling, whereas Newfoundland, importing large quantities of foodstuffs and farm produce from

Canada, retorted with a prohibitive duty on these, and diverted all the trade to the United States. A most deplorable state of things prevailed, and it required Lord Knutsford's personal intervention to bring about a return to friendly relations.

This he did, notifying Canada that her opposition to the Bond-Blaine Convention could not be maintained indefinitely. In a despatch to the Governor-General at Ottawa, on the 11th of February 1892, he says :

Your ministers will not fail to observe that the main ground assigned by the Government of Newfoundland for the refusal of bait licences to Canadians is the opposition of your ministers to the signature of that convention, the conclusion of which Her Majesty's Government have postponed in consequence of that opposition.

While, however, Her Majesty's Government have, in view of the negotiations about to be commenced at Washington, informed the Newfoundland Government that the conclusion of the convention must be again deferred, they feel that in justice to that colony they cannot postpone the ratification indefinitely, and should your ministers not succeed in obtaining a satisfactory arrangement with the United States, the attitude of Her Majesty's Government, in regard to the signature of the convention, will have to be reconsidered.

In the meantime, in view of the deplorable results accruing both to the Dominion and Newfoundland from the relations at present subsisting, I would venture to urge strongly upon your ministers to consider, whether by personal communication with the Government of Newfoundland and a mutual agreement not to further discuss past controversies, some amicable arrangement cannot be made.

Apart from the material loss to both colonies, involved in the obstacles which have been placed in the way of their commercial intercourse and development, a prolongation of the present strained relations cannot fail to produce an estrangement of feeling between the people of the two colonies, which may seriously endanger the friendly relations which should exist between the different possessions of the crown, a result which I am confident your ministers would deplore no less than Her Majesty's Government.

I will only add that if representatives of the Dominion and Newfoundland were to meet in this country armed with full powers to come to a conclusion on the points at issue, I should gladly welcome their arrival and give my good offices with the object of devising some settlement which might be accepted as satisfactory by both parties.

The negotiations he refers to were those which the Canadian Cabinet opened with Washington in 1892 ; but they came to nothing. Another attempt was made in 1894, but was equally fruitless. After Sir Wilfrid Laurier attained power in 1895, a third trial was had, and in 1898 the Joint High Commission was formed and met at Quebec. Newfoundland, which had not been recognised at all in framing the treaty of 1871, and only unofficially by an 'agent' in that of 1888, was now admitted to be a factor of sufficient importance to be represented by a Commissioner; and Sir James Winter, then Premier of the Colony, was chosen. It is unnecessary to refer to the failure of that tribunal to adjust the twelve distinct disputes—ranging from the Banks of Newfoundland to the seal rookeries of Behring Sea and from the St. Lawrence canals to the Yukon goldfields—



which were submitted to it. Canada had had her chance, and, as Lord Knutsford observes above, 'the attitude of her Majesty's Government had to be reconsidered.'

During the progress of the Boer war, Newfoundland did not press for the fulfilment of that promise, but in the summer of 1902, when in London for the Coronation, Premier Bond secured the sanction of Mr. Chamberlain to reopen the Washington negotiations, and he promptly concluded with Secretary Hay another convention to take the place of that of 1890. It is no less a tribute to Sir Robert Bond's personal abilities than an attestation of the merits of his case, that he should have accomplished this after such a lapse of time and in the face of so many changes in diplomacy and administration at the American capital. The United States authorities have always shown a disposition to treat with Newfoundland and are evidently satisfied that she has something substantial to offer them which Canada has not, and which, therefore, makes it impossible for the Dominion to obtain a hearing.

The key to the whole situation is bait and a base for the prosecution of the fisheries on the Grand Banks. These banks are 100 miles from the Newfoundland coast, 500 miles from the Canadian, and 1,000 miles from the American. Obviously, then, the ideal location from which to pursue the Bank fishery is the south-east coast of Newfoundland, which fronts on these submarine ledges. That is why the rights which the Americans possess over the western seaboard of Newfoundland are valueless to them nowadays, for that coast is too remote from the Banks. But not alone does Newfoundland afford a base for these fisheries. It provides the bait also. This consists of small fishes—herring, caplin and squid—found in the littoral waters and used to sheathe the hooks with which the deep-sea fishes—cod, haddock, halibut and mackerel—are taken. The bait fishes are netted by the coast folk and sold to the Bank fishermen, who pack them in compartments in their vessels, well covered with ice, so that they will remain fit to use for three or four weeks. Successful fishing on the Banks is impossible without bait, and the chief home of these small fishes is the Newfoundland seaboard. During the season there are always scores of vessels—American, Canadian, and local—in our harbours procuring this indispensable adjunct, and many thousands of dollars are earned by the coast folk in supplying them with stocks. Until 1888 the French, who make St. Pierre-Miquelon their headquarters, were permitted to obtain bait in our waters; but as their fishery was subsidised by bounties equalling 70 per cent. of the value of their catch, and they could thus undersell us in the markets of Europe, we had in self-defence to exclude them by our Bait Act, and now their fishery is not nearly so valuable. The United States commercial agent (vice-consul) at St. Pierre, in his report for the year 1901, says on this point:

'Another blow to the trade of St. Pierre, and one which affected the fisheries as well, was the passage of the now famous "Bait Bill" by the legislature of Newfoundland. The bait business of St. Pierre was once very valuable, and since the passage of this Act the fishing business has been seriously hampered.'

The Americans, as already explained, obtain bait by paying a licence fee of 1½ dollar per ship ton. One cause of their readiness to make terms with us is the fear that otherwise we will enforce our Bait Act against them too, and cripple their fisheries equally. Last year all their banking vessels obtained stores of bait in our harbours, besides which there were carried to New England during the winter and spring 200,000 barrels of herring, much of which was for use as bait by other sections of their fishing fleet. A strict enforcement of our fishery laws against the American trawlers would leave them helpless; and they know it. Hence there is nothing like the opposition in New England to a reciprocity treaty with Newfoundland that there would be to one with Canada. The 'Yankees' admit that Newfoundland is a competitor with whom they can carry on their favourite game of a 'swap,' with an assurance of obtaining some adequate return for what they give, but they regard Canada as being desirous of getting all, and giving nothing in return.

Canada has no adequate bait supply. Her vessels procure this essential in Newfoundland also, because of the greater abundance and cheapness of bait there, as well as the proximity of that seaboard. Only since Newfoundland enacted the bait law and provided machinery for licensing and regulating this traffic, has its full value to the colony been disclosed. The result has been disastrous to Canada's pretensions to be considered as the chief factor in this fisheries dispute, because the Americans are familiar with the statistics of the business, and when Canada approaches them with proposals for fishery reciprocity, they meet her with the unanswerable contention that the baiting and inshore privileges they want are possessed by Newfoundland, and not by the Dominion.

Briefly, the American position is this :

We are willing to concede to Newfoundland free entry for her fish to our markets, because she can give us free bait, which we need for our own fishing ventures. Moreover, Newfoundland is an island, separated from us by one thousand miles of ocean, with unfrequent communication, and her farther shores fully a week's run from ours. Therefore, as she ships to Europe most of the fish caught on her north coast and on Labrador, only portions of her annual catch will be available for competition with ours, and we can meet this competition by extending our own markets. But with Canada the case is altogether different. She cannot give us bait, and yet she prays us to grant her free entry for her fish. She has nothing to offer us in exchange, and no status in the negotiations, except such as she acquires from the fact that she has an interest, as a sister colony, in the bait fisheries of Newfoundland. But, if we can obtain from Newfoundland alone the concessions we need, in return for a grant of free markets to her, why should we be expected to give similar concessions to Canada also for only the same privilege?

The British North American seaboard is 5,290 miles in extent, Newfoundland owning 2,100 miles of it. All of this area is settled by fisherfolk. Special bait is not so requisite for coast fishing as for deep-sea work, and the total catch of the Maritime Provinces—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, and Quebec—is valued at about 10,000,000 dollars annually. Nearly every part of these provincial coasts is within daily railroad or steamship communication with New England, and reciprocity with Canada would mean the flooding of our markets with Canadian fish, which would undersell ours, because their industry is conducted on a cheaper basis. The value of our own New England fisheries—inshore and deep sea—is only 10,000,000 dollars a year, so the admission of Canada's catch would simply double the quantity to be disposed of, and thereby ruin our domestic industry. Under existing conditions we have to impose an import duty of  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. a pound on all foreign fish, to enable our own fishermen to compete with the cheaper caught product of Canada and Newfoundland, and while we can probably successfully withstand the competition of 2,000,000 dollars worth of Newfoundland fish, which would be about the utmost she could send us under a free-trade arrangement, and in return for which we would get bait, it would be utterly impossible for us to attempt to maintain our own fishing enterprise against the incoming of 10,000,000 dollars worth of Canadian fish every year.

Canada is unable to meet this presentation of facts, because the logic thereof is too strong; but she puts forward the argument that her fishery privileges are of some value, and that, furthermore, free trade in fish should be granted by the United States in the interest of the 80,000,000 of people of the Republic who are now compelled to pay an exorbitant price for fish food in order to maintain a monopoly of this business in New England. The British Isles, with a population of 40,000,000, consume fish to the value of 50,000,000 dollars annually. The United States, with twice the population, consumes only 40,000,000 dollars worth, including therein the Atlantic and the Pacific coast fisheries, the lake and river fisheries, and the southern oyster fisheries. The consequence is that the great mass of the American people is deprived of a cheap and nutritious article of diet. Herring, for instance, which sell in England for a halfpenny each, cost five cents ( $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ ) in the United States, and cod is almost as dear as beef. These arguments are effective enough from the viewpoint of the political reformer, but in the United States the doctrine of absolute free trade has not much political force, and the rejoinder of the American statesmen to Canada's plea is that they are not prepared to impoverish their own deep-sea, inshore, lake and river fishermen, to enrich those of the Dominion.

Newfoundland's position is that she is an independent, autonomous colony. She possesses advantages which the United States wishes to enjoy, and she is prepared to trade in them with that country. She has nothing to gain by allying herself with Canada in this matter, because Canada is unable to absorb its own annual fish production, and therefore Newfoundland would worsen her circumstances, rather than better them, by pooling her interests with those of the Dominion.

Such is the actual status of this Atlantic fisheries dispute at the present moment, setting out the respective relations of the several parties thereto. But the question has a diplomatic aspect also, regarding the foregoing as its industrial phase. Where it enters the sphere of diplomacy and intrigue is as follows :

Canada is desirous of including Newfoundland in the Dominion. But this colony is opposed to union, holding that it would not serve her fishery interests. Canada's eagerness to bring about the federation is due to the fact that upon merging Newfoundland in the confederation the fisheries would pass under the control of the Dominion Cabinet at Ottawa. There would no longer be any division of authority as between the two ; Newfoundland's special identity would be extinguished, and the fisheries would be administered as a whole and with one definite policy. The securing of this advantage would enable Canada to close the whole of the territorial waters of British North America, with all the fishery rights and privileges appurtenant thereto, against United States' subjects, and thereby jeopardise the very existence of the New England fishery enterprise. This would provoke a furious outcry from Maine and Massachusetts, in the prosperity of which States the fishery plays a prominent part, and also from the United States Navy Department, which relies in a great measure on the New England ports for sailors to man the warships. Consequently Canada would be able to obtain excellent terms if she would then agree to reopen these waters to the American trawlers.

The concession might be general fisheries reciprocity, or perhaps an abatement of American contentions as regards the Alaskan Boundary. At any rate, the leverage would be most important for Canada, and therefore she will leave nothing undone to prevent the Bond-Hay convention from being ratified. As Canada views it, there is no doubt much to commend this policy, but Newfoundland, which is to be the victim of the scheme, cannot be blamed if she resents it as unfair to her. Sacrificed on the one side to promote Imperial interests with France, she sees no reason why she should be sacrificed on the other side to enable Canada to checkmate the United States. In this crisis Newfoundland awaits the outcome of the Alaskan Boundary Arbitration now in progress in London, which must have an important bearing upon Anglo-American relations generally, and those between the United States and Canada in particular. Should the Bond-Hay Treaty be ratified when next Congress meets, the oldest Colony looks for the Imperial Government to fulfil the promise made by Lord Knutsford eleven years ago.

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## CONQUEST BY BANK AND RAILWAYS

*WITH EXAMPLES FROM RUSSIA IN MANCHURIA*

THE well-known phrase of the famous American leader 'War is hell' must nowadays be qualified by the intensely appalling adjectives of 'profitless' and 'ineffectual.' The recent war in South Africa has demonstrated, not only to what ruinous and colossal figures the bill of expenses can run, but that, as a means of acquiring or forcing one's interests in new territory, it is, at this stage of civilisation, out of date and unsatisfactory. All the expenditures of a so-called successful war produce nothing but the necessity and obligation of undertaking still greater expenses to make the first step of the march of progress possible in a reduced and devastated country. So that, notwithstanding what a nation may pay for the carrying-out of a successful war, the millions spent in this way count for nothing, or less than nothing, as a profitable investment. The truth must be admitted that the time has passed when it was worth while going to war to acquire territory, whether from savages or weaker nations. The costly war produces countless and bleeding sores in the conquered peoples; sores requiring a thick coating of guilt before any hope may be obtained of establishing the foundations there among them for any progress or mutual benefit.

If, then, war is out of date for the purpose of conquest, what is there to replace it?

In Egypt, England has unconsciously touched upon a great principle of 'conquest by absorption, slow, but as permanent in its effects and as unchangeable as the Fates. In Egypt, England has gained control of the Nile and the finances, and she has become so intermingled with the government that the destinies of the two countries are now inextricably intertwined. The acquisition of the Soudan has reduced the question of Egypt to a secondary place, since the control of the Upper Nile carries with it the power of life and death over the Delta.

But it is to Russia one must look for the conscious and intelligent and consecutive development of this principle as applied to the gaining or acquiring of new possessions. From the very earliest

days the Russians have realised that commerce and finance were the easiest and most sure methods of absorbing new territory. They saw clearly that it was infinitely better to divert the stream of everyday life little by little toward a new channel without in any way checking its force, than to boldly throw across it a dam of war, diverting and scattering all its forces without having any new channel for it to follow.

The whole story of the acquisition of Siberia is a wonderful testimony to this idea, although it must be confessed that in its earlier stages its execution was crude and lacking in that subtlety that has characterised their later efforts. Undoubtedly there has never been so great a tract of country acquired by a nation with so little bloodshed. This is admitted even by the bitterest opponents of the Russian advance towards the Pacific. Bloodshed has occurred, but that it has done so has been a detail in the carrying-out of the idea: it was no part of the original plan. Generally it arose from the necessity of protecting traders in the new territories. Of course, in the more southern regions of Central Asia, where Russia came into contact with warlike races, conflicts naturally occurred more frequently, and on a greater scale. But even here the policy was, in the words of General Skobelev, 'to strike hard, and keep on hitting till resistance is completely over, then at once to form ranks, cease slaughter, and be kind and humane to the prostrate enemy.' Another great advantage which Russia possessed was the faculty of suiting her diplomacy and methods to the methods of the people with whom she had to deal. If it was possible to obtain the desired and necessary treaties from a country by conducting the negotiations along the lines customary in that country, Russia was never one to insist upon the red tape of St. Petersburg. And so there was never a feeling of a great and impossible breach between the conquerors and the conquered, such as one finds in India or Africa.

From the time when Yermak first entered into Siberia to discover new fields for the exercise of his powers, to the present time, Russia's progress in Asia has never ceased. To-day she can look at the 4,833,500 square miles of Siberia, and reflect upon the soundness of her policy, and the excellent method in which it has been carried out. To quote from a writer who is not at all a Russophil—Mr. Alexis Krausse—in his book *Russia in Asia* :

The doings of Yermak and of Chabaroff in Siberia aimed rather at the obtaining of fresh markets for Russian produce than at the increase of Muscovite dominion; and the subsequent invasion of Central Asia was brought about not by any political designs on the part of Russia, but by the necessity of teaching a lesson to the Kirghiz marauders who made the limits of the Orenberg steppe unsafe to the caravans which traversed it in the direction of Khiva.

Interesting as has been Russia's work in Siberia, she had there no competition to fear from other nations, and was, therefore, able

to choose her own time for her operations, without dread of outside complications.

It is, therefore, of more value to study closely Russia's present-day system of annexation, and to see in what manner it has been brought up to date and improved to meet the competition of foreign nations. This field of her operations lies, of course, in Northern China. The first noteworthy difference of system we see is that whereas in its earlier stages Russia was content to allow separate persons or bodies to control her commercial policy in Manchuria, it has been deemed necessary now to consolidate the various interests into a strong and serviceable weapon, ever ready to the hand of the Government. This weapon of consolidated power is the Russo-Chinese Bank—a joint-stock corporation supported by Russian and Chinese capital. It is this bank that is gaining for Russia the rich province of Manchuria, the 'Garden of China,' and gaining it so completely that even if Russia withdraws politically from the territory, the Russianising influence will still go on.

In the Russo-Chinese Bank the Russian Government possesses a means of doing everything that is impossible for it to do as a Government. It is the Mr. Hyde to Russia's Dr. Jekyll; no other description will give so good an idea of the situation. That the Bank, though outwardly a private business, is absolutely under the control of the Minister of Finance, is evident from a perusal of the articles of association.

While every care was taken to preserve the idea that the Bank was as much Chinese as Russian, every care was also taken to prevent this being so in reality. Except for the name, the flying together of the two flags on Bank property, and its appearance as a Chinese authority in financial matters, the Bank is entirely and wholly Russian.

Once this mighty organisation was established and in working order, it obtained the concession to construct the railway through Manchuria, the district assigned to Russia by the secret Cassini Treaty of 1897.

For the construction of this road, the Bank formed the 'Chinese Eastern Railway Company'—again observe the skill with which the name has been chosen, suggesting that everything is Chinese, nothing Russian. This company has a capital of 5,000,000 roubles (500,000*l.*), the greater part controlled by the Bank. The funds for the actual construction were raised by bonds, guaranteed by the Russian Government, which doubtless held a large number of them. While this is ostensibly a plain business transaction, proof is not lacking that the railway has been built by the Government, acting through the diplomatic screen of the Bank. In M. de Witte's financial report for 1900 there appears the following significant item: '85,000,000 roubles for loans to private railways, on security of

bonds guaranteed by the Government.' Besides this, in the Budget estimates for the same year appears a sum of 82,000,000 roubles for the same purpose.

The following points from the published railway construction agreement will show how close is the connection of the Russian Government with the undertaking :

The bonds of the railway company shall be issued as required, and only with the special sanction of the Russian Minister of Finance. The face value and real price of each issue of bonds, and all the conditions of the issue, shall be directed by the Russian Minister of Finance.

The payment of interest on and amortisation of the bonds of the Manchurian Railway shall be guaranteed by the Russian Government when issued.

The railway company must secure advances upon these bonds through the Russo-Chinese Bank, and not otherwise ; but the Government may itself directly, if it choose, take up the bond issue as a Government investment or upon loan, advancing upon the bonds the ready money needed by the company from time to time.

Money received by the company for these bonds, no matter whether it is received through the agency of the Russo-Chinese Bank or directly from the Government, or in any other manner, must be kept at such places as are designated by the Russian Minister of Finance, and absolutely under his supervision and control.

The ready money thus realised may be expended by the company in payment of various items of construction and on interest on bonds as the same come due.

Other points of interest in the agreement as published, deal with the exemptions from taxation according to the regular tariff of goods brought into China by this railway, and with the extension of the Russian postal service over the Manchuria system, whereby the Russian letter and parcel post shall be carried by the railway free of charge. All these items would seem to prove beyond a doubt that, save for diplomatic purposes, the railway is a Russian line—one of the arms of that silent octopus, Russian conquest.

The Chinese Eastern Railway is to Manchuria what the Nile is to Egypt ; the Russians have, in fact, constructed through this valuable Chinese province a Nile of steel, capable of being extended in any direction desired. In this respect the petrified Nile has a distinct advantage over its watery prototype. And so subtly and carefully have the Russian authorities moved in stretching out this forerunner of an enforced civilisation, so perfectly have they understood that a Chinaman who is allowed to 'save his face' will accept subjugation when he would not take it—at least quietly—were he forced to open confession of his defeat, so graciously have they paid market value for the land occupied by the railway, that this steel girdle has been put around their world without a murmur. In nothing is this shown more clearly than in the original railway convention, wherein it was expressly stated that the line should avoid as much as possible graveyards and the great towns. This has been done, the only result naturally being that now the towns are either growing out



toward the railway station or else a new town likely to eclipse the old town in importance is springing up at the station itself. Another act of wisdom on the part of Russia has been her readiness to pay good wages for Chinese labour. As much of the labour is arranged for through Chinese contractors, it is probable that the Chinese workmen do not receive the full amount paid per head by the Russians, but they are able at any rate to earn more money per day than formerly. Many of the Russian engineers are on the most friendly and sympathetic terms with the Chinese of their districts. This also does not fail of its effect. In this connection a quotation may be made from the *Novi-Krai*, a Port Arthur newspaper :

It should be noted with a feeling of considerable satisfaction that, in peacefully strengthening Russian influence in Manchuria, the successes achieved have exceeded all our expectations. Take the language question. Not more than three years ago a Russian could not move a step without an interpreter, whereas now the latter is perhaps required in the more remote regions only which are at a considerable distance from the railway.

Which is a striking demonstration in favour of conquest by bank and railway.

The concession to the Chinese Eastern Railway Company resembles the articles of association of a modern newspaper—wherein all manner of privileges are included that may never be used—all mining rights, carrying rights, &c., &c., are all set forth. But perhaps the most important of all the powers granted to the railway is that contained in the article giving to Russia full right to safeguard the railway with any number of troops, there being no limit specified as to their numbers :

The preservation of order and decorum on the lands assigned to the railway and its appurtenances shall be confided to police agents appointed by the company.

To meet with the letter of this clause, the Russian troops when employed on the railway are given distinctive badges and known as railway guards. They receive better pay; otherwise there is no difference discernible between the railway guard and the regular army.

Writing in 1901, I pointed out what is only now seeming to be realised—that the effect of the line upon the ordinary life of the people is enormous. Raised as it is on high embankments above the muddy, water-covered plains of the southern provinces, it has become the high road north and south, and a large percentage of foot travellers now walk along the railway track instead of attempting the often impassable roads. In the northern provinces, as I can testify from personal observation, the embankments save enormous stretches of country from inundation at the time of floods. When the Nonne River near Tsi-Tsi-Khar was in flood some forty miles wide, the country on one side of the railway line was almost dry, while on the

other side there was some twenty feet of water banked up and held back. These also may be small things, but they are not without their effect.

The railway and all its belongings are protected by the Russian and Chinese flags together; thus the Chinese have less desire to destroy property which ostensibly belongs to their own Government and over which floats the protecting Yellow Dragon banner of China. Also seeing the two flags so constantly together helps to impress the idea—upon the ignorant peasants at any rate—that the Russians and the Chinese are practically one and the same power. Even in the towns occupied by Russian troops it is customary on the central tower of the town to have the two flags flying together, although in the streets themselves few but Russian flags are seen.

That Russia has always been keenly alive to the value of railways in acquiring territory may be seen in the skilful drawing-up of the Railway Convention with China, and again also in the Russian action with regard to the Chinese Northern Railway. In a despatch from Sir Claude Macdonald, of the 19th of October 1897, are found the following paragraphs relating to the Russian opposition to Mr. Kinder's appointment to construct the Northern line:

M. Pavloff said that he had no personal feelings against Mr. Kinder; indeed, thought him an exceedingly capable man. The reasons for the somewhat strong representations which he had made to the Tsung-li Yamen against Mr. Kinder's employment on the Northern Extension line were as follows:

Some months ago, shortly after the return of Li Hung Chang from his mission to St. Petersburg, the Chinese Government had informed the Russian Minister that they had no intention of continuing the Northern line; but if at any time they did continue it, owing to the particularly friendly relations existing between the Russian and Chinese Governments, they would in the first instance address themselves to Russian engineers and employ, if necessary, Russian capital. It was therefore with considerable surprise and some alarm that he had heard that the construction of the Northern line was to be actively carried out under the superintendence of an English engineer and with English capital; it was this breach of faith on the part of the Chinese Government that had made him make his representations to the Tsung-li Yamen stronger than he otherwise would have done; he had told the Tsung-li Yamen that it would be more correct to entrust railway lines which approached the Russian frontier to Russian engineers, and added that he would consider it improper to entrust any lines which approached the Burmese frontier to Russians. M. Pavloff said that there was no wish to get rid of Mr. Kinder because he was an Englishman, but because *he was not a Russian; for he must tell me frankly that the Russian Government intended that the provinces of China bordering on the Russian frontier must not come under the influence of any nation except Russia.* M. Pavloff said it was not his desire or that of his Government that Mr. Kinder should be retired; on the contrary, they would be glad to see him promoted, but to some other line. However, he hoped that some arrangement might be arrived at which would satisfy all parties, and he had suggested to the Chinese Government that the line might be commenced at the northern end under the superintendence of Russian engineers, and meet somewhere midway.

In addition to M. Pavloff's opinions may be taken those expressed by the late M. Basily in St. Petersburg to Mr. Goschen. In a despatch dated the 28th of December 1897, the latter states :

M. Basily answered that naturally the Russian Government wished to arrange that Russian engineers should be employed upon a line which would eventually approach Russian territory.

The whole aim and idea of the Anglo-Russian agreement as to spheres of influence in China, arranged in 1899, was to insure the Russian nature of all the railways in or running into Manchuria. The most important portion of that convention is as follows :

Great Britain engages not to seek for her own account, or on behalf of British subjects or of others, any railway concessions to the north of the Great Wall of China, and not to obstruct, directly or indirectly, applications for railway concessions in that region supported by the Russian Government.

So much for the line itself and the military force it represents. The Chinese saying with regard to the military profession runs 'You don't use a piece of good iron to make a nail or a decent man to make a soldier.' In China the military profession has always been considered as one of the lowest, while bankers and merchants rank among the highest. In China banknotes were in use at least as early as 1366, and a bank has more respect paid to it than an army corps. Thus it is that while the Chinese in Manchuria may fear the military strength of Russia, it is the Bank that has won their respect and allegiance. The Bank has in many cases superseded the original financial authorities. It receives the taxes and pays the wages. Thus it occupies in the eyes of the taxpayer the position formerly held by the Chinese authorities, and as it is constantly extending its agencies into even comparatively small towns, this impression gains ground fast. The old one and five rouble notes from Russia have been put into circulation by the Bank, and now pass pretty well everywhere in Manchuria. On several occasions it has been found convenient in paying to the Chinese local authorities their Russian subsidies to do so with cheques on the Russo-Chinese Bank, payable to order. The signatures of the recipients of the cheques are valuable restraints upon backsliding tendencies, and the cheques are more probably to be found in the State archives than in the vaults of the Bank. In this small way also the value of the Bank as an influence for Russianising Manchuria is seen. The Bank has a great deal of influence even in Peking, where the manager has interviews with the Dowager-Empress and discusses serious questions with her Ministers. Perhaps the most striking proof of the Russo-Chinese Bank's position was given when, on the same day as the news of the signing of the evacuation convention appeared, it was announced that some six or seven new branches of

the Bank would be opened at once throughout Manchuria. No comment is necessary. In all the chief towns, there are special representatives of the Russian Government besides the officials of the Russo-Chinese Bank.

From the earliest days of Russo-Chinese intercourse, the Russian traders have had the right to go where they would in China, and this right has been extended to include the right of Russian protection wherever they may be found—a great step in the right direction. The Chinese administration and officials remain as before apparently, though not in reality. As one of the Russian diplomats said, ‘We sow golden seed, but the tree which springs from the seed bears us golden fruit.’ And the Russians have found it much better to allow the Chinese to administer the country while they administer the Chinese. The general opinion prevails that Russia has not enough men trained to administer such a province as Manchuria, and that it is better that the present system of ruling through the Chinese administration should be continued for many years, the present officials being well in hand. It is perhaps due to the Chinese determination, as reported in a Japanese paper, to reform the Manchurian administration that one of the recent demands by Russia upon China had its origin. According to the Japanese paper, the authorities at Peking had determined to remove the Governor-General of Moukden, and wished to prepare the way for such a step by some important changes in the *personnel* of his Staff. The Governor-General of Moukden is an ardent pro-Russian in the intervals of his eating and drinking orgies, and has good cause to be so. To have him replaced by a new official would not be at all welcome to the Russians.

Besides the parallel forces of the railway and the Bank, the Russians have in Manchuria, as they had in Siberia, a valuable adjunct in the Greek Orthodox Church, which is the only religious body allowed to proselytise in Russia.

The green-domed churches follow closely the Russian advance, and may be seen standing out clearly against the dull Manchurian background. To quote the report of a recent writer on the views of a Russian priest on this subject :

‘You see,’ explained the priest, ‘we Russianise, and Christianise, and civilise,’ by natural processes and silent influences. After they have been taught that there will be no trifling with interference to authority (and we never teach the lesson more than once) the people gradually come to like us. In our Church affairs we do not offend the eye or ear of any of their Oriental prejudices, and the Church gradually becomes pleasing to them. In precisely the same way they soon get accustomed to our railway, and are quick to catch its practical advantages. They find that if they are orderly and obedient to the common authority, their treatment is precisely the same as that of all the rest of us. And so gradually, and by natural adoption and adjustment, they become what you would call Russianised.

Here in a nutshell is Russia's method of assimilating the people of Manchuria, and when one adds to it the influence of the Bank, its full power is easily seen. The idea has worked well. Manchuria is Russianised—at least the greater part of it is—and even if there should cease to be a Russian in it to-morrow, it would be impossible for Manchuria to resume its former Chinese condition. The advance of civilisation cannot be so easily brushed aside; the flood cannot be turned back again.

The Russian occupation has brought far better conditions to the people living in Manchuria. In December 1897, Colonel Browne, Military *Attaché* to the British Legation at Peking, on his return from a journey in Manchuria, gave the following figures as the wages then prevalent: A skilled labourer received 6*d.* a day and food, a common labourer 3*d.* a day and food. The latter might be hired by the month for 6*s.* Colonel Browne considered these wages high, seeing that it was possible to live on a vegetable diet, as 95 per cent. of the population do, for 1*d.* per day. What, then, must be thought of the condition of the people now? In 1901-2 the coolies employed on the construction of the railway were receiving forty kopecks (or 9½*d.*) a day, and in one district at least the wages were as high as sixty to eighty kopecks. Thus, financially, they are better off individually since the Russians descended upon the land to possess it. The disorganised filth of the Chinese towns has been transformed into a decent semblance of cleanliness, and where this was impossible new towns with brick houses and broad streets lined with trees have sprung up near the old cities.

It is true that brigands still exist, but they are far more under restraint than before the Russian occupation, for since the advent of the railway and the railway guard, the country through which the line runs is pretty free of them.

To quote again from a recent writer :

Russian law, in the sense that all shall have justice regularly administered ; Russian order, in the sense that murder and outrage by robber bands and savage clans shall cease ; Russian system, in the sense that regularity and method shall succeed social, political, and commercial chaos : Russian law and order and system, as thus defined, have come into Manchuria.

As to the financial condition of the country before the Russian advent, the following quotation from Mr. E. H. Parker's letter to the *Times* in May 1898 is very much to the point :

The best of the three provinces of Manchuria does not raise 120,000*l.* a year in total revenue, and of this the foreign Customs is responsible for a very large half. The lesser half has, moreover, to be eked out by unwilling contributions from the Chinese provinces. The Russians will therefore have plenty of work to do, in order to make the place pay its way. . . . The people will certainly give trouble if the taxes are increased, but they may take to taxation more kindly if they find they are getting their money's worth of law and order.

And again :

No matter what the Russians do inland, all other sources of revenue must necessarily improve, for they could not possibly be in a worse condition than they are now.

Of the finances since the Russian occupation it is difficult to speak accurately, but in the end of 1901, when the railway was in a very unfinished state, the traffic receipts on the Southern section of the line for three months reached 700,000 roubles, or about 70,000£., which would seem to indicate that there is much more money in the country than formerly. It must be admitted by the enemies and friends of Russia equally that, whatever the international and diplomatic results of Russia's ascendancy may be, the population of the country is far better off under the new *régime*. In one district the Russians went so far as to establish a system of local self-government among the Chinese on the Russian plan of village government. The experiment was, however, in the opinion of most, a failure, but the attempt is suggestive.

In all Russia's Manchurian policy there is only one weak point, and that is to be found in the fact that Newchwang is a Treaty port, and therefore out of the hands of the Russian authorities. Russia has devoted a great deal of attention to the question of Newchwang, and regards it as an all-important question in Manchuria. In the recent demands made to China by M. Plançon, three of the seven conditions deal with Newchwang; two directly and one indirectly. These are Articles 5 and 6, and Article 3. The last-named stipulates that no new Treaty ports shall be opened without Russia's consent. The two former deal with the payment of the Customs revenues at Newchwang into the Russo-Chinese Bank and with the Newchwang telegraph lines. The closing clause is perhaps the most important of all. It demands that in Newchwang the Customs commissioner and the Customs doctor shall be Russians, and that on the Sanitary Board shall be a railway representative, a bacteriologist—presumably both Russians—and the Russian Consul, together with the other Consuls. This would give the Russians five seats on the Board, which will contain also two Chinese officials and the foreign Consuls. This indicates the importance which Russia attaches to the retention of her hold on Newchwang.

Newchwang has always figured in the various provincial conventions concluded between the Russians and Manchurian authorities, and the return of the town has been always refused in these treaties. The question of Newchwang is so serious that it is worth fuller consideration to see how Russia came to obtain her present position in the town. From the Russian accounts it would appear that Great Britain, in the person of the naval officer in command of her Chinese Fleet, played absolutely into the hands of the Russians

in this question. I have heard the same opinion expressed by English persons of weight in Newchwang.

At the time of the Boxer disturbances in North China, the Russians stationed a strong force at Inkou, where they have a large concession of some two square miles, three miles above Newchwang on the river, in order to protect the workshops and railway line. A branch line of some fourteen miles runs to Inkou from the main Manchurian line at Taschichou. There were also two Russian gunboats on the river, but none of any other nationality. Rumours as to a prospective Boxer attack on the town being current, both the British and the Japanese representatives telegraphed for gunboats—the one to Admiral Bruce at Taku, the other to Tokyo. As a result a Japanese gunboat arrived, but Admiral Bruce was not able to spare any warship, and was, besides, satisfied that the Russians were in sufficient force to protect the town. So no British aid was sent to Newchwang. When the Boxer attack began to develop, the foreign Consuls were driven to ask for the protection of the Russian troops; and although the Japanese Consul considered that he had sufficient protection in his one gunboat, for the sake of unanimity he joined the other Consuls in giving a mandate to Russia. Once this was given, events worked rapidly. The Boxers were beaten and killed, and the Russian authorities took possession of the Imperial Maritime Customs building and the offices of the Chinese authorities. When protest was made as to the hoisting of the Russian flag over the Customs house, the Russians explained that, as they had driven out the Chinese, they were responsible for the safeguarding of their property. However, the matter was settled more or less amicably by the appointment of Mr. Bowra to the post of Commissioner of Customs. The advent of Admiral Alexieff from Port Arthur at the time of the occupation of Newchwang enabled him to arrange matters very expeditiously. The administration of the town was vested in the keeping of the former Russian Consul, under the style of Commissioner, with a mixed Russian and Chinese board. The secretary of the Russian Consul became Consul, in order that the Treaty port nature of Newchwang might be maintained. Since that time, when favourable circumstances secured them the mandate of the Powers to enter Newchwang, the Russians have remained there, have collected the junk customs and dues, formerly the perquisite of the Chinese Governor of Chihli, and are now anxious to obtain a firm grasp upon the whole Customs revenue. If this revenue is paid into the Russo-Chinese Bank, there are many chances that a great part of it will be retained to liquidate some of the many Chinese debts to Russia.

Russia wishes to remain in Newchwang, and so complete her peaceful conquest of Manchuria; but if she cannot retain that

position, she has a drastic *coup* in reserve. In the large railway concession mentioned above, lying some three miles up the river from the Treaty port, Russia can easily construct a commercial town. Possessing some two square miles of ground, with a frontage of great depth of water right up to the bank, the concession is a valuable one, besides being connected with the Manchurian Railway. That some such idea has been present in the minds of the Russian authorities may be concluded from various significant facts. First, the size of the concession, which is far too large for a mere railway branch terminus; second, the opposition which the Russians have presented to any attempt by non-Russians to buy land near this concession—on this point there was quite a diplomatic warfare, at the end of which Sir Claude Macdonald and the British Foreign Office secured the recognition of the validity of the leases to the land in this vicinity purchased by the British subjects in Newchwang. The third fact of importance is that all particulars of a scheme for the facing of the river front of this concession with stone to prevent the eating away of the land has been under close discussion. The concession lies right on a bend of the river, and as the river is very swift and has a great depth, about 140 feet are washed away yearly. The projected scheme for stone facing was to cost a million pounds. While it is a natural thing to wish to save the concession from being eaten away, it is foolish to suppose that so great an outlay would be contemplated for the mere purpose of protecting a few railway shops and station buildings. If that were all, it would be far cheaper to move further inland and shift before the advancing river.

Once a town was established at Inkou, it would be an easy matter to starve out Newchwang commercially. Much of the trade from the interior of Manchuria is conveyed by junks down the river, and it would be easier for them to stop there, three miles higher up than they do at present. The export trade of Newchwang is carried on not by resident merchants, but by Chinese from China proper, who come north for the season only: it is probable that these merchants would be quite ready to change their place of business to any town where they could obtain special privileges. Special advantages would be offered to the vessels bearing the import trade, and Newchwang, the Treaty port, would be transformed into a collection of desolate consulates. This at least is the Russian idea, and in dealing with questions where the Russian idea means everything, it is well to consider what their own point of view is. This sapping of the value of Newchwang would remove the last weak point in Russia's position in Manchuria, and it is interesting to note how great a part the railway and the Bank play in the game for Newchwang. The railway enables them to acquire a concession just at the right place, while the recent demands with regard to the Customs revenues show what part the Bank is to play.



The work accomplished by the Russo-Chinese Bank and the Chinese Eastern Railway, the modern substitutes for the fire and sword of the old-fashioned conqueror, is indeed profitable. In return for the expenditure of perhaps 50,000,000*l.*, Russia has acquired the economical control of a rich province more than three times the size of the British Isles; and has done it in such a way that nearly all the expenditure has been applied directly to the development of its wealth. The inhabitants now 'think Russian' and almost recognise the Russian flag as being as much their own as the Dragon banner. Besides the province, the expenditure of this 50,000,000*l.* has bought 1,000 miles of well-built railway, two large towns, and all the mining rights throughout the whole country. Not a bad bargain, especially when one reflects that a successful war may cost nearly 200,000,000*l.* and leave the conquered territory in such a state that immediately another thirty or forty millions have to be expended to make a fresh start. Under a system of acquisition such as practised in Manchuria, an outlay not much larger than the *post-bellum* grant mentioned above suffices for the whole operation. There is, besides, no violent break, no necessity for delayed development. Thus the new method, leaving out of account the saving in human lives, has the advantage of economy and immediate results. It would seem, therefore, worthy of adoption by other nations. If they would sanction expenditure for peaceful conquests, they would find it did not cost 25 per cent. as much as the cost of war.

Russia, naturally enough, is anxious to repeat her success, and the chosen ground is North Persia certainly, South Persia possibly. It is of interest to remember the Russo-Persian Agreement of 1888, in which Prince Dolgorouki obtained the refusal of any railway concession in Persia for a period of five years. This shows clearly how valuable the right of constructing railways is considered in Russian diplomatic circles. In Manchuria the railway engineers all speak confidently of going to Persia to construct a new railway there, and not only engineers but also officers of the railway guard.

The Russian official authorities, however, deny that there is at present any intention of building railways, but admit that several 'roads' are to be constructed. The idea is the same—first the roads, then the railways, and always the Bank. In Teheran the British Minister has to struggle against three Russian representatives—the first, the Russian Minister; second, the Russian General in command of the Shah's Cossacks; and the third, the manager of the Russian Bank. Since through the last-named much money has been lent to the Persian Government at critical times, it is obvious that the Bank manager has no small influence in the capital.

In Abyssinia it was, and perhaps still is, hoped to do the same work by means of the French railway and probably a special Franco-

Abyssinian Bank. However, that matter is at a standstill until a more opportune moment presents itself.

The one country which has appreciated the Russian system sufficiently to try to imitate it is Japan. And it is in Korea that she is beginning her work. Much of this is due to the far-sighted view of the great Japanese financier and leader of commerce who is responsible for a Japanese railway line from Fusan in the south to Seoul and probably Wiju in the north. This railway, which is to traverse the entire length of Korea, is ably seconded by the financial and commercial interests possessed in Korea by Japan.

The mechanism of conquest by railway and bank may be thus briefly stated: Select your country; form a bank well under your control, named jointly after your country and the selected one; appoint your bank officials with discrimination, and lay aside an abundance of money ready for calls. Obtain for your bank as many concessions as possible from your partner; secure the concession of the railway to be built by the bank, and be sure to give the railway company a name symbolic of your partner's country. Have the right to guard the railway clearly stated in some inconspicuous clause, also take care to have the mining rights granted to you; build the railway with labour supplied by your partner, and secure the support of the officials by dealing gently and generously with them in their financial troubles. Never neglect to pay your workmen well and care for them when injured or sick; later, have the taxes, and if possible the Customs revenue, paid into the joint bank; and always fly the flags of the two countries above all the bank and railway property. Do all this consistently for two or three years, and your success is assured.

So efficacious is this recipe that the success that inevitably follows it may be perhaps powerful enough to give the process a firm standing in the science of Conquest.

ALFRED STEAD.

‘THE WAY OF DREAMS’

We are such stuff  
As dreams are made of, and our little life  
Is rounded with a sleep.—*Tempest*, act iv. s. i.

‘SUCH stuff as dreams are made of!’ Has anybody as yet discovered, I wonder, what this ‘stuff’ really is? By ‘dreams’ I do not mean those castles in the air which we are some of us in the habit of building, almost unconsciously, as we walk about, wide awake, by daylight, smiling and chatting with our neighbours, and feigning, it may be—also half unconsciously—more interest than we really feel in their worldly affairs; but those *real* dreams—if dreams can properly be described as ‘real’—which come to us during our real slumbers, in the night-season; strange medleys of fanciful imaginings and illusions; wayward, grotesque, and often seeming to be utterly unaccountable; which, try we never so hard, or be we never so confirmed in our materialism, cannot always be attributed to the effects of lobster salad or undigested cucumber.

I have read many learned books and dissertations upon the subject of dreams—a subject which possesses a certain fascination even for some of those who are no longer young or hopelessly foolish—and I can remember once, when living in the ‘near East,’ attending a lecture, delivered by an American lady, upon the ‘stuff’ of which they were made, in the course of which a lumpish, putty-coloured object, looking something like a petrified sweetbread or a cake of soap, embossed all over with serpentine flourishes and twirligigs, was passed round amongst the assembled company. Whilst I was holding this object in my hand, examining it absently—the fair lecturer meanwhile calling our attention to sundry depressions and excrescences upon its surface which she designated by their correct scientific names—I learnt, with a thrill of horror, that what I was thus ignorantly considering was nothing less than a human brain (‘adult male, and highly intellectual,’ we were informed), and no mere plaster cast of it either, but the ‘genuine article,’ whereupon, being in a squeamish, hyper-sensitive mood, I let it drop as though it had been a scorpion.

‘The seat of Fancy and the throne of Thought’ did not, in

falling upon the floor, immediately shatter into a thousand fragments, as I had feared, for it had been hardened and polished (we were told) by an elaborate newly-invented process ; a process which I learnt with regret could never be applied satisfactorily to the living organ, so that it was 'neither the better nor the worse for me' when it was returned to the hands of the lecturer.

Nevertheless, I am sorry, now, that I behaved so foolishly, for had I only held on to it for a little longer, whilst the lecturer was sparing no pains to instruct me as to its marvellous functions and faculties, I might, perhaps, have written with some sort of authority upon a subject concerning which, in spite of the interest I have always felt in it, I can now only count myself profoundly ignorant.

The most ignorant amongst us, however, may be an accomplished dreamer of dreams, and without knowing anything about the 'stuff' of which they are made, or whether the right or the left lobe of the petrified sweetbread is responsible for their machinations, may become familiar with their strange vagaries, and with the acute sensations of joy, fear, melancholy, and horror with which they can occasionally inspire us. The opening lines of Hood's 'Haunted House' recur to me at this moment :

Some dreams we have are nothing else but dreams,  
Unnatural, and full of contradictions,  
Yet others, of our most romantic schemes,  
Are something more than fictions.

Some dreams, that is to say, convey to the mind of the dreamer a mysterious sense of their own importance. We feel, instinctively, that they are not quite as other dreams are, and those amongst us who are interested in such matters may set ourselves the task of looking out for whatever they may be supposed to portend, when, helped by goodwill and propitious coincidence—or, as some may prefer to believe, by neither the one nor the other—who can tell what wonders may not come to pass !

I had a dream which was not all a dream,

this is an experience which most of us have shared with Lord Byron. Other dreams, again,

The children of an idle brain,  
Begot of nothing but vain phantasy,

mere odds and ends, and shreds and patches, of our waking thoughts, reminiscent and derivative, remind one of those eggs which some eccentric celibate parrots are given to producing when in captivity, and which possess no germ that can ever possibly be coaxed into hatching forth, so that one wonders why any bird should be at the trouble of laying them at all.

I cannot agree with the poet Hood in thinking that such dreams

only as are associated with 'our most romantic schemes' are 'something more than fiction.' Indeed, being something of a rhymester myself, I fancy I can detect the real reason why these 'romantic schemes' were ever introduced into the poem at all—a reason altogether unconnected with my present subject.

For my own part, I have always found that these wanton 'midnight fancies' were quite as stubborn as facts. With me they absolutely refuse to be 'personally conducted,' and I have never found it possible, by taking thought, to prearrange, or direct, their course.

If you place your shoes in the shape of a 'T'  
Your own true lover you will see.

This is a Sussex saying, which I can well remember hearing my nursery-maid repeating, hard upon half a century ago, in my old home, as she arranged two well-worn early Victorian slippers in the required form. Some of these seemingly foolish old adages convey to us the germs of an eternal truth, and, perhaps, in the case of this simple servant-girl, the spell may have worked. But with me such preparations have ever resulted in disappointment. No sooner did I make up my mind to dream of any congenial person, than I was sure to have palmed off upon me, for a midnight companion, some individual of whom I had never been thinking at all, who was absolutely unconnected with anything in the nature of a 'romantic scheme,' and with whom I was quite unaware that I had any ideas in common. Often these uninvited visitants are not even persons in my own walk of life, but those between whom and myself a 'great gulf' seems to be fixed in my reasonable waking hours; the Sultan of Turkey (it may be), the Pope of Rome, or the butler of a distant relative. In a word, it has ever been quite impossible for me to dream 'to order.'

Here is a dream that 'was not all a dream,' for which I was quite unable to account at the time. There is nothing sensational about it, and it led to nothing, if not to some agreeable passing conversation. It seemed to be in a limited sense, however, what I may call 'prophetic,' or was it only purely coincidental after all?

Upon the eve of my first London dinner-party, and when I was still in my teens, I dreamed that I was sent in to dinner with a very old man. His frame was bent and decrepit, he walked with a stick, and I perceived that, even in the days of his youth, he could not have been 'dowered with the fatal gift of beauty.' Here ended the 'phantasy,' which, at the dinner-party upon the following evening, was destined to become a reality. A young man who was to have escorted me to the dining-room failed to appear, and after waiting for some time, the hostess, with an arch expression, led up to me a confirmed octogenarian, whose tottering footsteps I supported down-

stairs. His frame was bent and decrepit, he walked with a stick, and I perceived that, even in the days of his youth, he could not have been 'dowered with the fatal gift of beauty.' My heart sank a little at first, but I soon found him excellent company.

He began by apologising to me for being so old, whereupon I begged him 'not to mention it,' and told him of how I had been warned in a dream of the fate that awaited me.

Then our conversation turned upon dreams in general, and upon all their strange surprises and eccentricities, and he told me how horrified he was at the notion of having been projected, quite unintentionally, upon the previous evening, into the dream of a young lady of seventeen who probably took him for a nightmare; particularly when, as now, the disparity in our ages forbade him to hope that I could ever even consent to look upon him as a friend; but this, he said, was almost invariably 'the way of dreams.' He told me also, what I have since come to have some experience of, that, when he was a child, his dreams were quite like three-volume romances, packed full of all kinds of adventures and hair-breadth 'scapes, so that it used to take him nearly the whole day to relate them to his friends; that, in middle life, he dreamed scarcely at all, or that, when he did, he could seldom remember what his dreams were about; but that now, in extreme old age, he had begun with his three-volume romances again, and went dreaming on, mostly about his childish days, and his old haunts, and the companions of that far-off time, and that one of his frequently recurring nightmares, octogenarian though he was, took the form of his mother, who had been dead for nearly seventy years, in the act of pursuing him up the stairs of his boyhood's home, with a birch-rod in her hand, for he had been born in the good old days when parents brought up their children in accordance with the teaching of 'King Solomon the Wise.' He was inclined to believe that much of the incongruity of dreams was due to something irresponsive in the brain of the dreamer. Something or somebody desired to communicate with the sleeper, just as something or somebody might desire to play upon a pianoforte or upon a stringed instrument. An attempt is made, when lo, some of the notes are dumb, some of the chords snapped. The result is discord instead of harmony. Or, something or somebody, having an important message to deliver, rings at the front-door of a certain house. The lights are all out, and nobody answers the bell, so there is nothing for it but to hammer at the back-door, or throw gravel up at a bedroom window, and hence the message often becomes garbled or misinterpreted; and he thought that this theory explained, in some measure, what he was pleased to call the 'abortive-premonitory' dream, as indeed some may consider that it does. He believed that in the present instance my warning had been sent to me in order that I might have telegraphed

to the young man with whom I had been originally coupled by our hostess, 'Don't forget your dinner-engagement this evening,' in which case I should have been saved from the clutches of 'an old creature like a chimpanzee.' Thence ensued *badinage*, and I believe that if my belated cavalier had arrived at that moment and claimed me as his own, I might have found his conversation rather dull and commonplace!

I learnt afterwards that this agreeable old gentleman was well-known as a *raconteur* and diner-out, and that he was famous for his conversational powers. We tore ourselves asunder with quite a wrench when the evening was over. I never met him again, and he must have gone, long since, to a place where there is neither dining nor giving of dinners; but I have never quite forgotten him or his midnight visit, and I often think that his theory about premonitory dreams may have had a germ of truth in it after all.

The late Laurence Oliphant, essentially a mystic, and acutely sensitive to influences of which most of his fellow-men are supremely unconscious, was also an inveterate dreamer of dreams, but, for all his Scottish heritage of second-sight, and his wide experience of occult phenomena, he admitted to me that he was unable to account satisfactorily for dreams of the semi-prophetic ('abortive-premonitory') order, particularly when no good seemed to come of them, and when neither sympathy nor *rapprochement* appeared to exist between the dreamer and the person dreamed of. He gave me several examples of remarkable dreams of this kind, amongst others the following:

He was lying asleep in his lodging in Jermyn Street, shortly after his return from Japan, and before he had become imbued with the doctrines of the Prophet Harris. Here he dreamed that he saw a strange man standing over him as he lay in bed, and gazing at him with an expression of great intensity, as though in the act of appealing to him, or imploring some favour of him. As is often the case (and here is another of the strange 'ways' of dreams) he was perfectly well aware that he was dreaming, and one part of his brain seemed, all the while, to be saying to another (I should have known *which*, perhaps, if I had paid more attention to that lecture), 'By what sign or mark shall we be able to recognise this man again if he should ever appear to us in the flesh?' Thereupon he set himself to observe him carefully. At first sight he seemed to have nothing remarkable about him. A fair, sandy-bearded son of toil, of the kind that used to be called a 'navvy,' with grey eyes, having in them a sad look of appeal. His shirt sleeves were turned up, and with bare arms resolutely folded he continued to gaze down fixedly at the sleeper. As he did so, Mr. Oliphant remarked that in the middle of his forehead, and partly concealed by his unkempt locks, was a large hole, such as might have been made by a pickaxe,

from which the blood was slowly dripping on to the white counterpane, and hereupon the dreamer suddenly awoke.

The scene now shifts to a virgin forest in America, whither some eighty of the disciples of the Prophet Harris had repaired (Mr. Oliphant amongst their number), in order that they might practise, and live up to, their peculiar spiritual views far from the contaminating influences of the world, and when more than a year had elapsed since the Jermyn Street dream. Mr. Oliphant had just set out one afternoon for a ride, and was trotting briskly along a narrow forest-pathway, when he heard sounds of voices, and came upon a gang of English navvies who had been engaged in road-making upon the outskirts of the forests, and were now tramping through it on their way to the nearest town. They were under the command of what is called a 'ganger,' who was shepherding them along like cattle, mounted upon a shaggy pony. Suddenly, as they were about to pass by, one man, stopping short, stepped out from amongst the ranks of his companions, and looked hard at Mr. Oliphant, with an expression betokening recognition and with mute appeal in his eyes. It was the man of the Jermyn Street dream!

'Ah! but had he a hole in his head?' (I could not prevent interrupting.)

'No,' answered the mystic, as he combed his long beard with his thin fingers, 'but *wait!*' and I waited accordingly.

Mr. Oliphant's horse, it appears, was fresh and restive, and in order to make room for the navvies, he had moved out of the way upon a rough bank which ran parallel with the path, where the animal was now plunging and floundering in dangerous fashion, and all these men with their pickaxes and rough voices only added to its nervousness. Knowing that they would be sure to go, for rest and refreshment, to a little beer-shop upon the confines of the Harris Settlement, Mr. Oliphant decided to take his horse for a good gallop before seeking to elucidate this mystery; and here, I must say, I think that he was wrong, although, in many respects, so wise in such matters, because, by the time he came back, although he had been absent for barely an hour, it was too late to find out anything. The hole was already made in the poor navvy's head by the pick-axe of one of his comrades, with whom he had quarrelled at the little beer-shop, and as Mr. Oliphant had the reputation of being a leech as well as a seer, it was to his log-cabin that he was immediately taken by his companions, and here it was that he breathed his last, just as the man who had dreamed of him so vividly more than a year ago bent his bald head and entered the lowly dwelling. Mr. Oliphant's Japanese boy was leaning over the prostrate form, and endeavouring to restore animation, but without effect. The man was dead, and with him died the secret of the *raison d'être* of the Jermyn Street dream, if it ever had one!



The story of this dream is irritating by reason of its incompleteness. What *rappport* could possibly have existed between two men who, one would have supposed, must have differed from each other in every respect? Might they have proved congenial to one another if time had been given them to find it out, or were they both reincarnations of the same kind of animal, or had they been accidentally changed at nurse? Could the brain of one so pre-eminently sensitive as Laurence Oliphant have proved 'irresponsive' when the message came to it, and was it thus bungled, or curtailed, or deprived of its original meaning? Or have we here only another instance of the curious 'way of dreams'? These are questions that now can never be answered.

One more example of the unsatisfactory premonitory dream, even more provoking than the above by reason of its unaccountable limitations.

This time I was myself the dreamer. Some of its details are sordid and unpleasant, but for these I am not responsible. Having dreamed it myself, I can, at any rate, set down correctly what happened.

I was living alone in the country when the message came to me, the other members of my family having gone abroad. The month was November, and I recollect that the weather seemed to be doing its best to make my solitude as gloomy as possible. But I am fond of solitude, and, in spite of fog and drizzle, passed my days in contentment. (I merely mention this to show that I was not in any way depressed or down-hearted.) On the night in question therefore, without having, consciously, arranged my shoes 'in the shape of a "T,"' there was no particular reason why my dreams should have been disagreeable, for I had been thinking of pleasant rather than of unpleasant things.

I was no sooner asleep, however, than I found myself in a narrow street, having an appearance of great poverty and squalor. There was a thick yellow fog hanging over everything, which made me fancy that it must be a street in London. I had, apparently, alighted from some conveyance which had driven off, leaving me standing upon the door-step of one of the most wretched-looking of the houses, with my arms full of parcels and packages, which I was conscious that I had brought with me for some particular purpose. By and by the door opened, and I was aware of a female figure, in a print dress and dirty mob-cap, shrinking behind it, as though from the cold. Inside the passage was dark and narrow. I could see straight through it and out into a small yard at the back, where some tattered garments were hanging out upon a clothes-line. Dirty water was standing in puddles in the dents of the uneven paving-stones, and the whole atmosphere was pervaded by a sickly odour of soap-suds, which I smelt very definitely with my mind's nose (for I suppose

the mind may be entitled to a *nose* as well as an *eye*). A feeling of intense horror and repulsion now took possession of me, though there was nothing visible that could inspire it to so violent a degree. I seemed to be aware of the presence of something evil, or dangerous, or both. Just then I heard a dull scraping sound, with occasional heavy thuds upon the floor at my feet, and looking towards a room opening to the right, I saw two men, dressed like undertakers, crouching down over something dark and oblong which they were pushing through the door-way, apparently with some difficulty. With the horror of I knew not what still growing, I turned to ask the woman who had let me in what these men were doing? Without answering me, she chuckled diabolically. I now looked at her face, which I had not yet remarked. To my disgust I saw that the creature was what is now described as a 'freak,' something deformed and abnormal. 'Bisexual,' too, apparently (as I have heard that every true poet ought to be!), having the beard and voice of a man, whilst wearing the dress of an old woman; a grotesque, drunken-looking face, like some of those that one sees in Gilray's caricatures; only, as dreams are apt to intensify impressions, it seemed twice as hideous and revolting as the ugliest of these. A sudden fear of this loathsome creature took possession of me. I felt that I would even rather be in the presence of the undertakers and their gruesome burden than remain where I was, so I fled into the right-hand room, shutting the door of it behind me.

There was nobody in this room, however, although I had distinctly seen the undertakers with the coffin go into it. It was sparsely and shabbily furnished. A threadbare carpet, with cabbage-leaf design, a few chairs, a horsehair sofa and a dangling head fly-catcher (all these very distinctly revealed). The two windows, looking out into the foggy, miserable street, were broken in some places, and mended with pieces of brown paper. The curtains with which they were draped looked as though they were only the skeletons or ghosts of curtains, of white cotton, made with a mesh like fish-nets, and absolutely useless as a protection either against light or cold. (Something told me that I must take particular notice of these fish-net curtains.) As I stood looking out into the street, I said to myself how grey and melancholy everything was, out of doors, and how much any touch of bright colour would relieve the drab monotony. Scarcely had this occurred to me when a soldier of the Life Guards, wearing the short undress scarlet jacket, passed by upon the opposite pavement, a flashily-dressed young woman upon either arm. This cheerful patch of colour seemed to bring with it a feeling of relief by proving to me that I was still in the land of familiar associations, and not quite cut off from the outer world.

Here ended the vision. It left an extremely unpleasant impression upon my mind, from which I had not entirely recovered,

when something in the nature of a fulfilment came to pass—a fulfilment which, as things turned out in the sequel, merely proved to me that, in my dream, the point which might have been of some serious importance to me had been carefully missed out.

More than a month had elapsed, and then, on a dim and foggy afternoon, I found myself in London, upon the squalid door-step of my dream, bound on an errand of charity.

I was laden with baskets and bundles, containing food and comforts for an invalid, a poor woman who lay dying within, and, lest it should appear as though I drew attention to this fact in a spirit of self-complacency, I may mention (to my shame) that, whilst contributing (as I hope) my fair share towards the support of several benevolent institutions, this was the very first time that I had ever indulged in what is called ‘slumming,’ and which has come now to be so fashionable. My dream, therefore, could not possibly have been the reminiscence of a previous experience. The person who opened the door to me shrank back behind it, as I knew now, with the object of concealing that hideous, unnatural face. I was quite prepared for it, and there it was, sure enough, beard and all, surmounted by the dirty mob-cap. Beyond the open door which led into the small backyard the tattered ‘washing’ was hanging out in the damp ‘to dry,’ and, as in my dream, the whole of the ‘entry dark’ was redolent of tepid soap-suds.

Wondering what all this could mean, I turned instinctively to the right, intending to go into the room on the ground-floor, but the old woman—if ‘woman’ she could be called—motioned to me to follow her, beckoning and chuckling, and led the way up the narrow stair. Here was a difference, and one for which I could not account (but then, in dreams, one can scarcely ever account for anything). All else, however, that met the eye, was precisely as I had foreseen. There was the horsehair sofa, the drab, threadbare, cabbage-leaf carpet, the dangling bead fly-catcher. I turned to the windows, mended here and there, where they had been broken, with brown paper, and there, making a bright spot in the gloom, saw the young Life Guardsman with his two sweethearts pass by in the fog, through the spectral white curtains that looked like fish-nets.

But I will not incur the same reproach as ‘a disciple of Dickens,’ to whom Mr. Herbert Paul alludes in his interesting *Apotheosis of the Novel under Queen Victoria*, and of whom it was said that he would ‘describe the very knocker off your door.’ ‘Le secret d’ennuyer,’ says Voltaire, ‘est celui de tout dire.’

The poor woman whose sufferings I was endeavouring to relieve, and who was little more than a girl, belonged to an unfortunate class. Her short life, indeed, seemed to have been *all* misfortune, and after listening to her pathetic story it was impossible to regard her as anything but the victim of a singularly malevolent fate.

Having run away from home at fifteen to escape from the tyranny of a cruel stepmother, she had erred, in the first instance, from the same inducement as that which is said to actuate the cock-robin when he sings at Christmas—'from *hunger*, not from *love*,' and afterwards in order to support an unhappy baby who, she informed me, was 'now an angel in heaven.' A more trusting faith in a future life, or in the inexhaustible goodness of God, I never yet saw exemplified in any other human creature; but then, of course, she had read none of our latter-day religious controversies, and having been ashamed to go to church since her fall, had never become unsettled by hearing the belief in this paradise of poor insured babies first questioned, and then graciously 'passed' by those who seek ignorantly to draw aside the 'veil of the Temple'! With this, too, and in spite of everything, an innate refinement and an ineradicable natural repugnance to vice (accounting for want of success in adopted profession), so that after talking to her, one was tempted to wonder where next, for want of a more respectable lodging, '*cette pauvre Pudeur sera-t-elle forcée de se nicher?*' Nevertheless, she had been, for some years, completely in the power of one of the most degraded of men, who knocked her about, appropriated her ill-gotten gains, and was now secretly gobbling up all the good things that I had hoped would have helped to restore her to health. This creature having watched me as I entered the house—which I learnt afterwards did not bear the best of reputations—had, on three separate occasions made a plan to waylay and rob me, having taken a particular fancy to my earrings. I had a sentiment about my earrings myself, and so should certainly have resisted him, and then who can say what might not have happened? My first escape was due to my own unpunctuality, or, rather, I arrived too soon—in broad daylight instead of 'at mothy curfew-tide'; an hour unsuited to his enterprise. Upon the second occasion I came accompanied by a servant; and the third time, although all the other circumstances were favourable, the would-be robber, having waited for me, concealed in a back room (only separated from the one I was in the habit of visiting by flimsy double-doors), until he was weary, fell into a drunken slumber, from which, fortunately, he did not awake until some time after I had departed. And yet, it is curious to note how my untrustworthy 'premonition,' like a horse at lunge, went circling round this unpleasant individual without ever touching upon him, when one would have certainly thought that it was the bounden duty of one's own dream to give one some word of warning. The aspect of the weather, the squalor of the lodging, the strange being who opened the door, the red-coated soldier passing in the street—the very pattern of the carpet (merely unimportant accessories)—were, one and all, forcibly insisted upon; but although I was oppressed by a marked sensation of horror at the time of my dreaming, no indication was vouchsafed

as to what the reason of this might be. In a word, if I was fortunate enough to have escaped from what might have been a very unpleasant experience, it was in no way thanks to my premonitory dream. The fish-net curtains, as it happened, were of importance. They were, indeed, the only property the poor invalid possessed, with the exception of her tawdry wearing-apparel, and, but for them, she might possibly have escaped from the villain who held her so mercilessly in thrall. But these curtains had been netted by her mother, in the days of her own innocence, and so she could not bear the notion of leaving them behind. Twice she had set about unhooking them, preparatory to taking flight, but he had surprised her by returning unexpectedly, and, suspecting her design, had only tightened his grip, knocking out one of her front teeth, upon the last occasion, as a warning for the future, and now she was too ill to leave her bed.

One perceives, therefore, a reason for the introduction of the curtains into the dream, but why was this really dangerous man-monster carefully omitted?

The theory of my early octogenarian friend seems here to be admissible, though I do not like to write myself down an irresponsible dreamer. Something, however, must have interfered with the satisfactory delivery of the warning. Would it be altogether unreasonable to suppose that the brain of the sleeper might, on the contrary, have been rather too susceptible to impressions, and that more than one message arriving at the same moment may have caused confusion, in the midst of which the more important pronouncement became unintelligible? Outside the dominion of metaphor this is a *contretemps* of almost daily occurrence.

Here is another dream of a perfectly straightforward kind, a revelation pure and simple, concerning one who was of the dreamer's own flesh and blood, though separated from him by 'leagues of land and sea' when the vision occurred. The person who related it to me was, at the time of his dream, serving as a private soldier in Burmah. Now he has adopted a more peaceful profession, and, departing slightly from the letter of the Scripture, has turned his sword into a very comfortable Bath-chair, as being more remunerative and 'up to date' than a 'ploughshare,' and this is how it happened that I became acquainted with him.

He was lying asleep, one night, *à la belle étoile*, when he dreamed that he smelt an extremely disagreeable smell; 'You will know what I mean,' he explained, 'when I tell you that it was exactly as if some one was stirring up a dead body that had been in the water some time with a long pole.' My thoughts immediately travelled back to the shores of the Bosphorus, and to the old grey horse that had 'been in the water some time,' and that *would* float down from the direction of the Black Sea, and establish itself, in a kind of pocket

in the stream, just under my bedroom window, and I saw in fancy the *caiqueji*, with the long pole, trying to induce it to take its way down the central current, towards the Marmora, and then I saw it floating back to its old place, and there was the *caiqueji* prodding at it again with his long pole; so I knew exactly what he meant, and he then went on to say that 'under clear water, like the sea,' he had seen his father lying, and 'looking as if he was dead.' Hereupon he awoke, and made a memorandum of the day, and the hour, and the smell. The reader will, of course, divine the sequel, for this is not the kind of dream that is apt to deceive. The father of the narrator, whose business it was to help with the lading of cargo-steamer at some port in Ireland, whilst leading a restive horse along the quay, had been pushed into the water, and the accident having taken place in the evening, his body was not discovered until it 'had been in the water some time.' The day and the hour of the occurrence—as will be doubtless foreseen—allowing for the difference in time between Burmah and Ireland, tallied exactly with the day and the hour of the dream; and if the 'dream-smell' should seem to have been a little 'too previous,' this will be readily excused when the correctness of the other details is taken into account. The revelation is distinct and unmistakable. We have here no hammering at 'back-doors,' or throwing gravel up at 'bedroom windows.' The brain of the sleeping warrior was evidently entirely responsive to the 'wireless telegraphy' which conveyed to him the message of his father's tragical end.

There is nothing 'rare and strange' in all this. If we are to believe our friends and the newspapers, indeed, the dream merely belongs to the 'common or garden' class, and as such it may be even deemed unworthy of having been recorded. Like the 'Psychical Society,' however, I only value evidence when it is 'at first hand,' and I made up my mind, when I began this paper, that, with the exception of such visions as were home-dreamed, I would only set down those which had been related to me by the dreamers themselves, and that of these I would narrate just half a dozen and no more, and this happened to be the only one of its kind that occurred to me at the moment, and that seemed to fulfil the required conditions.

Apart from those dreams of which the meaning appears to be designedly shrouded in symbol or metaphor—of which Pharaoh's dream in the old time, of the fat and the lean kine, and the full and the withered ears, is an excellent example—there are those others which may be held responsible for the common saying that 'dreams go by "contraries."' You dream, for instance, that somebody gives you an onion (let us suppose), and behold, this is a sign that you will shortly receive a present of a diamond ring! (Or *vice versa*—with me it has generally been '*versa*'!) Or else (it may be) you dream that you are walking about in a public place without any

clothes on (not at all an uncommon form of nightmare!), and this foreshadows that you are about to be invited to a Court ball, to which you will go all dressed out in your best. Both these forms of vision are very prevalent in the East. They are prevalent in the West likewise (though to the East we must yield the palm in all that deals with metaphor and symbol); but in East and West alike they call for the services of an interpreter, for you can no more make 'head or tail of them' unassisted than you can make a will without witnesses, or cut off your own leg when under the influence of chloroform. Now, here in the West, this interpreter is generally merely a vulgar and irresponsible dream-book, accessible to all men, and which attaches a similar meaning to all similar dreams without any respecting of persons, whilst in the East it is a mystic being, deeply imbued with occult lore; a seer, living apart from his fellows, and qualifying himself, by sacrifice and prayer, for his sacred mission. More interesting results obviously follow.

But, if such dreams may not be rashly self-interpreted, neither can they be with impunity altered, or even modified, in the telling, merely to suit the fancy of the dreamer, as is exemplified by the following story, related to me by a Turkish lady whilst I was living at Constantinople.

This lady, whom I will call Sultané Khanoum, because this did not happen to be really her name, dreamed one night, some years previously, that she saw her son, a young *Mulâzim* in a certain regiment, led out with his hands bound with cords to an open space in front of the barrack square, and there publicly shot. Having a great affection for her son, and as the dream was extremely vivid, it made a painful impression upon her, for, as she had no means of knowing, at first, whether it was purely and simply prophetic or premonitory, or merely metaphorical or symbolic, she feared that it might betoken something decidedly unpleasant for him in the future.

She related her dream to her family in the morning, but as her son was then present, being at home upon leave, she suppressed the fact that *he* was the person who had appeared to her in such tragical circumstances, fearing it might affect him disagreeably, but substituted in his stead one of his companions in arms, a young officer in the same regiment, whom I will here call by the name of Haïdar Bey. Later on in the day she donned her *yâshmâk* and hurried off to consult a soothsayer, one

far renown'd

For gifts of prophecy; whose eyes, tho' blind,  
Could peer into futurity, and find  
The ripen'd fruit ere yet the seed was strewn,  
And by fix'd stars and changes of the moon  
Foretold our human destinies,

to whom she related her dream in the same terms, with Haïdar Bey in the principal rôle. After many prayers and incantations, the

grey-bearded seer, with bowed head and averted eyes, gave forth his interpretation in solemn tones. And, behold, after all, it was one of those dreams that always 'go by contraries'; so the poor mother need not have been so frightened! The fact that Haïdar Bey appeared in the dream as though bound with cords meant, when interpreted, that his breast would shortly be covered with ribbons and decorations; whilst his being led out to execution signified that he would soon be promoted to the command of his regiment, and steadily advance in the favour of his imperial sovereign!

When Sultané Khanoum heard this she was exceeding joyful, and rose up and clapped her hands, and cried out to the soothsayer, 'But it was *not* Haïdar Bey! What have I to do with *his* advancement? The dream was about my son, *my own son!*' 'Why then did you deceive me?' asked the interpreter in a hollow voice. '(Of this folly you must now reap the consequences. The honours that were intended for your son must descend upon the head of Haïdar Bey, and no power on earth can now deprive him of them,' and, needless to say, this disappointing prediction came to pass, all in due season!

And now, in conclusion, learn what may happen when the dreamer too rashly seeks to interpret his (or her) dream without the assistance of a qualified expert:

In the days of my youth I was invited to stay at an old country house for Christmas and the New Year, whither I went chaperoned by a lady a good many years my senior, but who was still in the prime of life, and accounted exceedingly handsome. The house was filled with young people, only some few elders being of the party. Upon the eve of the New Year these boys and girls professed to wish to dive into the future, and all kinds of methods of doing this were suggested and tried, some of them being taken from ancient recipes which were preserved amongst the family manuscripts in the well-filled library. As we separated for the night my chaperon, who was in a very lively mood and had taken a leading part in the evening's amusements, exclaimed suddenly, and as though by inspiration: 'Let us believe that whatever we dream to-night will really and truly happen to us in the course of the coming year. There must be no concealments, remember! And we'll all tell our dreams, whatever they are, to-morrow morning at breakfast.' 'This was at once agreed to by all of us, and so, in the bloom of 'second' youth and beauty, and radiant in her well-fitting toilette in the height of the hideous fashion of that bygone day, she smilingly bade us good-night, and vanished with her flat candlestick through the double doors which divided her sleeping apartment from the long corridor.

Alas, what a contrast to the figure that emerged from those self-same doors upon the following morning! Pale and haggard, and with black lines under her fine eyes, my poor friend looked quite



ten years older than upon the previous evening, and it was evident that she had been shedding tears. She possessed such a highly nervous and sensitive nature, and had dabbled so much in spiritualism and the occult, that she was looked upon by us all as the one person who would be quite certain to receive some kind of confidential communication with respect to her future, and we feared at once, from her altered manner, that the revelation had been unpropitious.

She looked so ill and miserable that we did not at once press her to confide to us the reason, but some of us began to reel off the dreams we had had—none of them at all remarkable—whilst hoping that she would soon gratify our curiosity by doing the same. By-and-by the spirit moved her to speak, and in accents that were somewhat faltering at first, but which grew in firmness as she went on, she told us of the revelation—as she fully believed it to be—which had come to her upon this last night of the old year, in response to her rash wish to pry into futurity. The simplicity of her language, combined with her ill-suppressed emotion, carried conviction with it, and we one and all listened to her words with breathless interest.

The narration produced upon the assembled company, young and flippant for the most part, and conscious that it had been invited only in order that it should amuse itself, the same effect that the tolling of a passing bell might possibly evoke at a picnic, or the sight of a woman in widow's weeds at a Bacchanalian supper-party. Everybody looked solemn for about two seconds. Then it seemed in better taste to ignore what might have been accounted ominous in the dream, and to look at it purely from the æsthetic side. A young poet who was present said that it was 'a beautiful dream' that anybody might well be proud of, and proposed that the dreamer should immediately write it down, whilst it was fresh in her mind, so that a very limited number of copies might be printed (for private circulation only), upon hand-made paper, and bound in white vellum, tied with silk strings 'of the colour of a daffodil.'

The notion of these daffodil strings cheered up everybody except the dreamer, who still wore the expression of a doomed creature. She complied with the poet's request, however, and copied out the dream in manuscript, and I believe a few examples of it were even type-written, but no further effort was made to save it from oblivion. I was presented with an early manuscript copy, so that I can give the 'revelation' here, in the dreamer's own words :

'It was summer,' the narrative begins, 'and I found myself sauntering about in the public gardens of a foreign city, a city I had never been to before. I was dressed in a flowing Indian muslin, embroidered with gold, which trailed behind me upon the grass, and I was very pleased with the fit of it, and with my appearance generally, being conscious that I was looking my best. By-and-

by the sun seemed to become oppressively hot, and I looked about me for some shade. The sounds of solemn music reached my ears at this moment, and, looking across the street which was nearest to the gardens, I saw a magnificent cathedral, grey with age, into which the people were flocking as though to assist at some religious ceremony. I crossed the street, impelled by an irresistible impulse, and entered the church. As I lifted the heavy leathern *portière* in front of the arched doorway, a sudden chill seemed to strike me to the heart, and I said to myself that I would sit quite close to the entrance, so as to be able to leave when I liked, without disturbing the congregation, if this chill became unbearable. There appeared to be no one in this part of the church. The interior of the building was portioned off, and subdivided, by numerous heavy curtains and carved oaken screens, so that I was unable from where I was to see into the chancel. I seated myself in what looked like an old-fashioned English pew, surrounded by dark panelling, and here I remained, listening to the chanting of monks (as I supposed, for the service was Roman Catholic) upon the further side of one of the carved partitions. The light in the church was extremely subdued, but when my eyes became accustomed to it I perceived that all the curtains and draperies were of black funeral cloth, and I also recognised that the organ was playing the solemn strains of the *De Profundis*. No doubt, I thought, I was assisting at the obsequies of some illustrious person. Just as I was wondering whom this might be, I felt a sharp current of air upon my left shoulder, and by a sudden glimmer of light I knew that the *portière* of the principal entrance had been pulled aside. I was surprised that the air from outside, where all was sunshine, should strike so cold, and, turning round, I saw a male figure entering the church very quickly as though in a great hurry. When my eyes recovered from the sudden ray of light which had made the surrounding gloom seem all the deeper, I perceived that this was the figure of Death, in the horrid semblance of a skeleton, though I could only see the upper part of the body on account of the screens and curtains that came between. The head, a "peelit skull," was surmounted by a kind of postillion's hat, set jauntily upon one side. I have seen the same sort of hat in the *vignettes* and *culs-de-lampe* in French illustrated books of the eighteenth century, only there the figure that wears it is usually a Cupid. In this instance a large cockade was attached to it, and long streamers of black crape hung down at the back. The shoulders of the figure were covered with a short cape, having several collars, like those that used to be worn by hackney coachmen in by-gone days, from beneath which I could see the bony fingers grasping a small bow from which they were sending barbed shafts in all directions. The figure took aim with great rapidity and without pausing to watch the result, and as it did so I saw the naked ribs,

upon each side of the vertebræ, exposed by the lifting of the short cape. Perceiving me, it hurriedly adjusted an arrow and took aim, but I dipped my head and the shaft rattled harmlessly against the panelled side of the pew. I perceived that it was a very short arrow—like those that were once used in cross-bows—and that it was fledged upon three sides of the head with black feathers. The figure meanwhile continued its way very quickly, aiming to the right and left as it went, and, passing through the heavy black curtains which concealed the body of the church, was soon lost to view, an icy blast following in its wake and blowing back into my face. Frightened at what I had seen, though grateful for my own escape, I rose and left the cathedral by the way the figure had entered it, thinking that, thus, I should be less likely to fall in with it again, and, once more, I felt the soft warmth of the outer air. I now strolled about in the churchyard, letting my white dress trail behind me as I had done before, and trying to read the inscriptions upon some of the ancient monuments, which, being mostly in Latin, I only partly understood. In this manner, and without being aware of it, I worked my way round to the opposite side of the church, and here, quite near to the principal entrance, I came, in the middle of a smooth grass-plot, upon a newly dug grave. I went close up to it and looked down into the damp cool earth, and said to myself that it was probably intended for the departed person whose funeral rites were being conducted inside the cathedral. Then, as I was turning to leave the churchyard, meaning to regain the public gardens, I found that the train of my dress had apparently become caught or entangled in something; a branch, or a clod of the rough earth cast up from the grave, as I supposed, and, not wishing to tear the muslin by pulling at it, I bent down to free it from whatever the hindrance might be. As I did so, my fingers closed upon the head of a black-fledged arrow, like the one from which I had escaped inside the church, by which my dress had been literally pinned to the edge of the newly made grave, and, glancing back in the direction of the cathedral, I espied, crouching behind a grey tombstone, the same grisly figure that had aimed the first shaft at me, his bony hands still grasping the uplifted bow, and with a grin of triumph upon his horrible face. The *De Profundis* then pealed forth so loudly from within the church, that it seemed as though the solid earth trembled and vibrated, and with a cry of terror I awoke from my sleep. All had been so terribly vivid that it was some time before I fully realised that it was only a dream, and a sense as of some overwhelming calamity has oppressed me ever since!

Poor woman! that New Year indeed opened miserably for her, and 'all along of' this sinister warning, for such she felt assured that it must be. By and by, acting on the advice of friends, and as the London season was about beginning, she plunged into a

little salutary dissipation, which proved temporarily beneficial. But after Scotland, when the autumn fogs set in, she became in lower spirits than ever. Her parting words, even when uttered between tea-time and the dressing-bell, were permanently valedictory in tone. She ate next to nothing, and went unusually often to church. Those who were not in the secret imagined that she must have developed some fatal internal malady. These symptoms became aggravated as the months wore on, until it was only the poor shadow of her former self, tearful, prayerful, and repentant of all past follies, that stuck the final stamp upon the last of at least fifty small packets, containing the souvenirs destined for her friends and admirers, and which were to be duly registered and despatched so as to reach their destination upon the morning of that New Year which she felt convinced would never dawn for her!

Fortunately, however, these packages were never posted. A week afterwards (by which time, as she said, she was 'beginning to feel safe') I surprised her in the act of endeavouring to remove from them, with the help of hot water, those postage stamps which were of the highest value. She looked bright and hopeful, as in the old days. The terrible premonition, in a word, had come to nothing, but had proved utterly bogus and unreliable, and my charming friend, if she did not 'live happily ever afterwards,' lived more or less happily for many a long year—long enough, at any rate, to laugh at her former absurd fears.

Here we have an example of the 'message' being delivered plainly enough, with the circumstances and details, all set forth in their proper order, and the brain of the sleeper upon the alert to receive impressions, and yet the whole thing was nothing more or less than a cruel practical joke. But this is 'the way' of dreams!

MARY MONTGOMERIE CURRIE.

*FREE LIBRARIES: THEIR FUNCTIONS  
AND OPPORTUNITIES*

DURING the last fifteen or twenty years a very important problem has been gradually defining itself. And the problem, briefly stated, is this: By what means and under what conditions can the various agencies engaged and concerned in the work of public education be so organised and co-ordinated as to form, for men and women pursuing their studies collaterally with the business of daily life, an efficient national system of advanced popular instruction? A brief review of the origin of these agencies, of their progress, and of their present position may not only be of interest, but is a necessary prelude to the discussion of the particular question which is the subject of this paper.

It would not have required much sagacity to foresee that the Education Act of 1870 would mark an era in social progress, and would be the dawn of a new day for the masses. But the most sanguine prophet would hardly have ventured to predict that it could have effected in a single generation what it has effected. Of those classes of the community which are now full of intellectual enthusiasm and ambition, and which are devoting the evening hours of lives spent all day in drudging behind counters and in city offices to pursuing the same studies under the same teachers as the undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge, it found at least two-thirds ignorant, and contentedly ignorant, even of the rudiments of Literature and Science.

While the Education Act was still in its infancy, another movement was maturing. If the effect of the Act was to swell hundreds into thousands, those hundreds had made their voices heard; if the effect of the Act was to awaken and inspire a new generation, the preceding generation had prepared for its advent. About two years before the Education Act was passed, the University of Cambridge, at the instigation of Professor James Stuart, appointed a syndicate to consider an application made to the vice-chancellor for the organisation of a scheme the object of which was to extend to certain provincial towns teaching of a University character by University men. It was to take the form of courses of weekly lectures, followed

by a class; printed syllabuses approved by the syndicate were to accompany the lectures; questions on the subjects of the lectures were to be set by the lecturers and answered on paper by the students. At the end of the courses examinations were to be held by examiners appointed by the syndicate, and as the result of them certificates were to be conferred by the University. The application was granted, and in the autumn of 1873 the lectures commenced. Three courses, one on English Literature, one on Physics, and one on Political Economy, were delivered at Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester. The success of the scheme is sufficiently proved by its subsequent history. Every year added to the number of the courses. In 1880 there were 37 courses, the average attendance at the lectures being 4,369, at the classes 2,624; the number of weekly papers 887, and the number examined 572. The last returns, the returns for the session of 1901-2, record the number of courses as 101, the attendance at the lectures as 9,200, at the classes as 3,210, the number of weekly papers as 1,359, the number obtaining certificates after examination as 638.

Not less remarkable and encouraging has been the progress made by the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching, a society till recently under the control of a Joint Board appointed respectively by the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, but now incorporated in the University of London. The work of this society is confined to the Metropolitan area and the suburbs. Beginning in the autumn of 1876 with seven courses of lectures and classes, and with 139 students attending them, it could record, ten years afterwards, in 1886, no fewer than sixty-five courses and classes, in average attendance at lectures 3,748, at the classes 2,020, with 806 students writing weekly papers and 482 obtaining certificates as the result of examination; these rising in the last session recorded, that of 1901-2, to 195 courses of lectures and classes, with 15,407 students attending them, and to 2,257 students obtaining examination certificates.

The lectures organised by the University of Oxford have always been less systematic and of a more popular character than those of the Cambridge and London branches. And if this has, unfortunately, given a handle to those who have taken exception to the Extension system as encouraging superficiality and smattering, it has not been without compensating advantages. It has attracted many thousands to the lectures who would otherwise have been indifferent to them; it has extended the area of the movement, and has thus been invaluable as pioneering work. Its success has been truly extraordinary. In 1885, when the history of this branch of the extension practically began, twenty-seven courses of lectures and classes were organised, the average attendance at which was estimated at 6,000. Since then every year has recorded progress. Centres have been established

in all parts of England. The last statistics, those for the session of 1901-2, record the number of courses organised as 190, the number of active centres as 135, of lectures as 1,979, and the average total attendance at the lectures as 20,862. It may be added that the Victoria University is following in the footsteps of Cambridge, London, and Oxford, and has now some fifteen centres in active work. As provincial Universities are multiplied, there can be little doubt that within their several areas there will be corresponding activity in a similar direction, and that at no very distant time every district in England, however remote, will have its centre of Extension teaching. Nor is this movement confined to England. It has already been initiated in Scotland; and, as it has many influential supporters both in Wales and in Ireland, it may be predicted with confidence that the Universities of Wales and Ireland will, before long, be engaged in the same good work.

But popular education has another side and other functions. The University Extension lectures appeal only to adults, and necessarily proceed on the assumption that the foundations of advanced instruction have at least been laid. Without a degree of culture which many thousands of those whom popular education is intended to reach cannot be expected to possess, they would be practically of little use. Nor are they always, for obvious reasons, financial and otherwise, accessible even to those who might profit from them. But in the summer of 1889, at the suggestion of Dr. Paton, of Nottingham, and Mr. Percy Bunting, a Society was founded which met the needs of these students. Its object was not merely to discourage loose and desultory reading and the perusal of the worthless and even deleterious literature in which young men and young women, when left to themselves, are apt to indulge, but to make their reading profitable by directing it to what is sound and instructive. It went further: by suggesting the formation of reading circles to meet together, under a leader, at certain times for prescribed courses of study, it furnished a regular curriculum of instruction in any given subject, and, by a very simple contrivance, all the information needed for the profitable perusal of the books included in the curriculum. Every month a magazine is published by the Society prescribing the books to be read and containing a full introduction to each book prescribed, together with a commentary and notes on any points in it likely to present difficulties. Should a reader or the leader of a circle require further assistance in his studies, he has only to write to the head office and any questions he submits will be at once, and fully, answered. The courses of study prescribed comprise all subjects conducive to what may be called the liberal education of the young citizen—Literature, History (ancient and modern), the elements of Political Philosophy, Economics, Architecture, Geology, Physiology, and the Laws of Health. For each course are prescribed three sets of

books—those required, that is, the books which the circle or independent student undertakes to read through and with care; those recommended, that is, books which may be read by those who desire to extend their study; and, lastly, those works which it may be useful to consult. And the courses are adapted to all classes of readers. There is an Introductory Section for working men and women designed to initiate them in systematic reading, the books prescribed here being of the simplest kind, such as George Eliot's *Silas Marner* and Wyatt's *English Citizen: His Life and Duties*. The books required are obtainable at the lowest discount prices at the central office; and the fee, which includes the three numbers of the magazine guiding the reading, is sixpence per annum. Next comes the Young People's Section, the books here, in the first division, being made to bear simply and attractively on Nature study, in the second, on the duties of citizenship, while the third comprises selections from the poets, and tales likely to be pleasing to the young, as well as wholesomely influential. A few shillings would purchase all the books required here; the entrance fee is one shilling a year for members of a circle, and eighteenpence for members not belonging to a circle.

For more advanced students are provided what are called General Courses. These, as arranged for the present year, are grouped under the headings of Social Science, the Growth of our Colonial Empire, Early Man and his Life, Biography, Travel, the History of Venice, Novels, Essays, and Poetry, together with a Holiday Section, the object of which is to invest excursions and pleasure trips with intellectual and artistic interest by recalling the association of the places visited with eminent men, with historical scenes, and with their presentation in works of art. Last come the special courses. Some of these are in History—the making of the modern European nations, Europe since Waterloo, English history from the death of John to 1660; some in Literature—English literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Dante, Shakespeare, Thackeray, Browning; one course is on Oriental and Greek history, one on Egyptian Archæology, another on the elements of Architecture. Science is represented by a course on Physiology and the Laws of Health; Sociology, by Ruskin, as a social teacher; while Scott's historical novels represent that important branch of literature which occupies the borderland between fiction and history.

When we add that in every one of these courses, with, I am sorry to see, the exception of English Literature, the utmost care has been taken to select, as required books, the cheapest and best books on the several subjects, that the works recommended for extended study and reference have been chosen with equal judgment and competence, it will be seen how invaluable is the guidance here provided, at the cost of a few shillings, for everyone who chooses



to seek it. That a Society which supplies what this Society supplies should during many years have had a hard struggle for existence is indeed surprising. But its statistics lately have been most encouraging, and show conclusively that it is making way, if slowly, yet steadily. In the session of 1901-2, its last completed session, the members enrolled in the young people's section were 6,387, in the general courses 3,989, in the special courses 1,550, while its honorary and miscellaneous members number 1,659, making a total of 13,585.

Here, then, we have an institution, the potentialities of which are sufficiently apparent from what it has already achieved. For fees ranging from sixpence to two shillings annually, any child, or adult in England can be taught to read with system and profit, can be guided by experts—some of them among the most distinguished specialists of our time—to the best books on any given subject; can be supplied with many of these books at nominal prices, often for little more than a few pence; can, by being furnished with lists of books recommended for collateral and supplementary study or for reference, be taught how to utilise the public libraries and find their way about the catalogues; can be shown how easily and simply a practice, scarcely less deleterious to the mind than dram-drinking is to the body, the practice of loose and purposeless reading, may be transformed into a means not merely of self-education, but into a source of one of the highest and purest pleasures possible to man.

We come now to another institution, the history of which illustrates the enormous progress in capacity for rational and intelligent recreation made by the general body of the people during the last few years. In 1841 John Borthwick Gilchrist left his fortune in trust 'for the benefit, advancement, and propagation of education and learning in every part of the world, as far as circumstances permit.' In accordance with this provision the trustees have, among other applications of the income, arranged, each winter, several series of popular lectures, chiefly on scientific subjects. The success of these lectures has been phenomenal. In granting a course of lectures to any particular town, the trustees make it a condition that the largest hall in the town should be secured, and these halls, no matter what their size may be, are crowded. No course in 1902, estimated by the total attendance, was attended by fewer than 2,000; the highest point reached was 10,500, the average exceeding 4,000. The total attendance at the thirty courses of five lectures numbered 135,659. The lecturers were all of them distinguished men, dealing solidly and methodically with the subjects severally undertaken by them: the master of Downing College, Cambridge, for example, dealt with 'Brain and the Apparatus of Mind,' Professor Seeley with 'Volcanoes,' and Dr. Waldstein with 'Labour and Art in English Life, illustrated by Greek Art'; and perhaps nothing could be more

significant than the fact that this last lecture was one of the most popular, and was attended by large audiences which at one time numbered 2,000. I cannot but remark in passing that it seems a great pity that the trustees should not allow these lectures to be extended to literary, historical, and social subjects. We may safely assume that a popular audience who could be attracted by such a theme as Dr. Waldstein's would be at least equally attracted, and perhaps more benefited, by lectures on some of our own national classics or national heroes.

Whatever conclusions may be drawn from all this, it is quite clear that a new era in popular progress has defined itself, that social legislators and philanthropists are face to face with new duties, with new responsibilities, with new needs. The million are in literal truth now standing, so far as educational capacity is concerned, where half a century ago those who filled our old public schools and our two Universities used to stand, but under very different conditions. It was sufficient in those days if eight years at Eton or Rugby, and four at Oxford or Cambridge, made a youth a gentleman or a scholar, or both. Nothing more was required either of him or of them. That theory has vanished, or, if it lingers, lingers only with those who are far in the rear and whom nobody heeds. The inevitable must be accepted; with necessity there can be no contention. The problem which the Universities and those at the Universities who regulate advanced education have to solve is how to reconcile the esoteric system and ideals of the old academic régime with the new ideals, as yet no doubt only half defined, which a world not altered merely, but transformed, is instinctively formulating, and will imperiously vindicate. The problem awaiting solution at the hands of educational legislators outside the older Universities is how, out of a weltering chaos of material and of opportunities, to educe system and concentrate what is dissipated.

In the institutions and societies which I have described we have all that might develop, under favourable conditions, into an efficient popular system of advanced secondary education co-extensive with the kingdom, so accessible that it should exclude no one who desired its discipline and guidance, so regulated that it should, in graduated courses, meet and satisfy the requirements of every citizen who desired to pursue his or her education collaterally with the work of daily life. What some twenty or thirty thousand young men and young women are now doing, as many more, and as many more indefinitely multiplied, might, with proper encouragement, be induced to do, with proper provision, be enabled to do. A beginning at least has been made, and the beginning is the important, the all-important thing. Neither fire nor fuel can generate itself, but, once produced, there need be no limit to the energy of the one and to the accumulation of the other. We have the fire and we

have the fuel. Enthusiasm and ambition of this kind when once kindled are contagious. If fortune favour, spark catches from spark and flame feeds flame. But fortune must favour. Of the final triumph of the movement, the history of which I have been sketching, of the ultimate attainment of its ends and the realisation in fulness of its ideals, there can be no doubt at all. It depends on ourselves whether we shall witness them. And now I come to the main object of this paper.

No one can doubt that the establishment and rapid multiplication of free public libraries is, from a social point of view, the most important single event of our time; that the influence exercised by these institutions is of as much power to thwart and defeat the efforts of educational philanthropists and legislators as it is of power to further and confirm them. With these institutions, judiciously regulated, as their allies, the societies whose history I have sketched might soon expand to the full measure of their usefulness and service; with these institutions pursuing, as they are now pursuing, not merely an independent course, but a course too often in a diametrically opposite direction, the work of these societies can only effect what it does effect with difficulty and by a counter effort.

A glance at the present position of the free libraries, at their constitution and at their economy, will show what a colossal power for good or for evil we have in them. The history of them is as interesting as it is significant. Their origin is no doubt to be traced to the stimulus given to municipal life by the great Act of 1835; but their inception was due to the efforts of three philanthropists whose names can never be mentioned without reverence by the friends of social progress: William Ewart, during many years member for Dumfries; Joseph Brotherton, who represented Salford, and whose services as an enlightened and disinterested public servant in most troubled times are still remembered at Manchester; and Edward Edwards, then an assistant librarian in the British Museum, with whom the project seems to have originated. The result of their efforts was the Free Libraries Act, passed in August 1850, and the result of this Act was the establishment of free libraries in Liverpool, Manchester, and other leading cities. Since then, slowly at first, afterwards less tardily, and between 1870 and 1895 with increasing rapidity, they have made their way. During the last few years the movement has received an extraordinary impetus from the unprecedented munificence of Mr. Passmore Edwards, and more recently from what appears to be the limitless patronage of Mr. Carnegie. These institutions now number in the United Kingdom 518, all supported out of the rates; and this estimate does not include the local branches of the greater libraries, such as those at Leeds, Birmingham, Liverpool, and Manchester. Every year will add to their number, and it seems certain that before long there will be no town

and no district, either in the larger cities or in the country, without them. Every librarian, subject, of course, to the council whose servant he is, has practically a free hand, and the library under his control takes its colour and its policy from him; the selection, for example, of the books, the encouragement of serious as distinguished from frivolous readers, and the assistance given to them in their studies.

As, however, the library is supported by the ratepayers, the books obtained are necessarily such as the average ratepayer and his children and dependents would be likely to appreciate; these are necessities, the rest are luxuries. And, unhappily, in most of the smaller libraries necessities so much predominate over luxuries that the measure of the intelligence and literary merit displayed in the books is pretty much that of the taste and discernment of the average ratepayer and his dependents. Many of the libraries—I speak of the smaller ones—are so completely under the thrall of those who only seek such recreation as ‘shilling shockers,’ newspapers, and the ordinary comic rags afford that they cannot but be regarded as unmixed evils. Even where things are not so bad as this there can be no doubt that there is more than one great evil common to all these institutions. They encourage habits of reading for the mere purpose of killing time; they form and confirm the practice of intellectual dissipation; they introduce boys and girls, and half-educated young men and women, to poems and fictions which, though not actually immoral and warranting inclusion in the *Index Expurgatorius*, inflame their passions and imaginations, and have a most disturbing and unwholesome effect; and they place in their way, often with the most disastrous results, works on religious and moral subjects for the perusal of which they are not ripe. No one who keeps an eye on the casualties recorded in the daily papers can have failed to notice, not only with what increasing frequency the suicides of young men and even mere boys are occurring, but how often, in the letters and messages justifying with flippant sophistry their crime, we have ample testimony of the demoralisation caused by the perusal of works never intended for youth, and which but for these libraries would not have come into their hands.

That these institutions have failed to effect what it was hoped they would effect, that as they are at present constituted they are open to gross abuse, and are in fact so abused, that many of them do as much mischief as good, and that in all of them important reforms and modifications must precede any serious aim at educational efficiency, is admitted nowhere more unreservedly than by many of the librarians themselves. What these libraries may be reasonably expected to do, and in what way they may be of service to popular education, to the movement of which I have spoken, will be best indicated by considering those who resort to them.

By far the largest number are, of course, those who read only for

recreation and amusement, and who confine themselves to such books as afford them what they seek—light literature, novels, and newspapers. It would not be desirable, even if it were possible, to ignore the claims of such readers. If rubbish be popular and in demand, rubbish must be provided, or the ratepayer has a grievance. But such rubbish should be reduced to a minimum. To flood the libraries, a very common practice, with third- and fourth-rate novels, either in the form of presentation copies by the authors or in the form of remainders or job lots going cheap at the booksellers', admits of no excuse. As these readers are not discriminating and, except when their attention has been directed by current reviews to a particular book—Miss Corelli's or Mr. Hall Caine's last, for example—will fall on what fare they find, a wise librarian will stock his shelves with fiction which is, at least, wholesome and of merit or distinction. As fiction undoubtedly has or may have great influence on the young and impressionable, more care should be taken than commonly is taken in its selection. It is most important that those responsible for its supply should know the nature of the fiction they introduce. In many of these libraries, partly owing to the inadvertence or ignorance of the librarian and committee, and partly from the sheer impossibility of inspecting the myriad issue of the popular Press, currency is sometimes given to publications of the vilest kind. I have already said that this class of readers must be provided, and amply provided for, and that it is necessary to recognise that they will always form a majority of those who frequent these libraries. But what these readers are not entitled to, and what it is monstrous to suppose they are entitled to, is what, in the case of most libraries and of all the smaller ones, they practically possess—the control over what the libraries supply. I cannot speak from statistics, but I should probably not be exaggerating if I said that more than two-thirds of the money expended on these institutions is expended in catering for the tastes of those loungers whose reading is entirely confined to light novels, magazines, and ana. The simple truth is that our boasted progress among the masses—I am not speaking of the minority and of the better class, but generally—has resulted in little more than in exchanging one form of dissipation for another, intellectual dram-drinking for physical, the sensational novel or racy skit in the free library for the tankard or quartern at the public-house bar. And the one is as bad as the other. Nothing so unfits a man for the duties of life, for concentration and for healthy activity, as habitually indulging in this sort of anodyne and stimulant—for it serves both purposes, and both purposes to the same demoralising effect. In the last procession of the 'unemployed' it is at least significant that a large number of them emerged from the free libraries to fall into the ranks, and, the procession over, extinguished their cigarettes to resume their novels and magazines in the free libraries again. „

With the next class, the miscellaneous readers who occasionally travel out of novels into history and solid literature, we approach a class which deserves serious attention, for it is only a step from them to those who read, unsystematically it may be, not simply for amusement, but for information and improvement. Out of both these classes will, in all probability, develop, with proper encouragement, young men and young women able and willing to profit from regular teaching. And, lastly, come the students proper, those who are preparing for examinations and pursuing studies with a definite object, whether with a view to Government posts, to degrees in the London or provincial Universities, to certificates in the Oxford and Cambridge 'Locals,' or in connection with the Extension Lectures or the National Home Reading Union. These are the readers whose interests should be the chief care of the free libraries, for whose use the libraries are, or should be, principally intended.

To these classes the librarians stand in different relations. As students for examination have their reading prescribed for them, and are necessarily reading under guidance, they require nothing more than the provision of such books as may be of service for collateral information. And these books they have a right to demand, even if the average ratepayer or telegraph boy be docked of the last fascinating batch of shockers and skits. But their relation to the second and third classes of readers is very different. Here a competent and intelligent librarian may be of incalculable service, not merely to individuals, but to the cause of popular education. And his duties are two-fold: to do his utmost to see that, commensurately with the means at his command, his library is in the highest state of efficiency; that, in literature, what is classical predominates over what is mediocre, that the last new monograph on an author is not in the place of the best attainable edition of that author; that third- and fourth-rate criticism and poetry, going cheap or obligingly presented by its authors or publishers, are not conspicuous; that in history and science the works selected have been the result of consultations with experts in each, and that philosophy and theology are not represented as they are commonly represented on the barrows in Farringdon Street. Few things are more lamentable than to see an intelligent working-man wasting his time and energy in reading useless and inferior books, such as entirely-superseded scientific treatises and cyclopædias, or histories long deservedly sold for waste paper, simply because they fall in his way and he knows no better. In many of these libraries the cases are loaded with this and similar lumber; 'for it looks so bad,' as a librarian once observed to me, 'to see empty shelves.'

But if a librarian has to cater, he has also to advise and guide, or, at least it is open to him to do so. Educated people who are conversant with books little know what difficulty novices find in getting at books on a given subject, and in knowing how to use them when found.

If philanthropists—I submit it with all respect—instead of continuing to assist in scattering these libraries broadcast over the country, would substitute some provision for rendering those already existing really efficient and beneficial, they would supply a want more urgent than their multiplication. And it is not difficult to specify what is needed; it has just been indicated—provision for enabling readers to know how profitably to avail themselves of the treasures placed at their disposal; provision for an adequate regular supply of the best books in leading subjects of study, and for securing the services of properly trained and properly qualified librarians. The first need would be largely met by the endowment of a course of five lectures, at the service of any public library which might choose to apply for them, the first dealing generally with books and how to use them, the others forming general introductions to the study, say, of Poetry, of Criticism, of History and Political Philosophy, of Economics, of Theology and Ethics, each including a list of the books which might be most profitably studied or consulted. I am very sure that there is no large free library to which such a course of lectures would not be a great boon, and in which they would not be of real service.

Most and perhaps all of the principal libraries are happily so fortunate in their librarians that nothing is left to be desired except what the librarians themselves desire, ampler opportunities and ampler means for being serviceable to serious readers. But it is, too often, far otherwise with those in the control of the smaller libraries—in other words, with the majority of those who fill these most responsible posts. As such posts are now so numerous, and as they will probably increase in number every year, it is surely not too much to require from those who become candidates for them what is required from candidates for other civic appointments—certificates of competency, guarantees of general and special qualifications for their work. In the case of assistant librarians such certificates are actually required. This is due to the efforts of that admirable society, the Library Association, the object of which is to promote the better administration of libraries and the efficiency of librarians. With this object it has instituted classes for instruction in Bibliography and Literary History, in Cataloguing, in Book Classification and Shelf Arrangement, and in Library Management, requiring also a knowledge of Latin and French, and granting certificates as the result of an examination in these subjects. In one or two of the American Universities preparation for this profession is a recognised function of the teaching body, and Chairs of Bibliography have been established. Our own Universities are not likely to follow their example, nor is it at all desirable that they should do so. The technical qualifications proper and necessary in assistant librarians are no doubt requisite in their chiefs, but they are so far from constituting all that is needed in men filling posts of this kind

that they may almost be said to be of secondary importance. Of all classes of pedants bibliographers and mechanical martinetts are the worst and most hopeless; and such pedants would in nine cases out of ten be the inevitable result of a faculty in Bibliography. The type of men required for chief librarians is that commonly represented by those who have had a public school education, who have graduated in Honours at one of our leading Universities, who, with liberal tastes, practical good sense, and business capacity, have added to their academic discipline and attainments a knowledge of modern languages and literature, as well as an intelligent general interest in all that is stirring in the world around them. To such men a few months would suffice for the special and technical instruction necessary to fit them for their duties. At present, no doubt, the incomes are not sufficient to attract men like these; but on the principle that what is worth doing at all is worth doing well, especially under conditions that what is not done well is almost as useless as if it had been left undone, it is surely worth asking whether, in important centres at all events, such men should not be secured. A very small addition to the rates would raise these incomes to the average value of a College Fellowship or an Assistant Mastership at a public school. This is, it must be admitted, a counsel of perfection, and, if ever it be adopted, cannot, for obvious reasons, be adopted at present.

Meanwhile what I venture to urge is this, that as long as the free public libraries pursue an independent course, and continue to subordinate the interests of education and intellectual activity to the demands of those who have no part or concern in either, they will not only defeat the ends for which they were designed, but they will thwart and counteract all that educational legislators and philanthropists are striving to effect. Their most important function is the encouragement and promotion of popular secondary instruction, and the dissemination of what is conducive to the moral and intellectual improvement of the masses. Their proper policy is alliance and coalition with those agencies which are engaged in that work—with the University Extension Departments of the Universities, with the National Home Reading Union, with the Administrators of the Gilchrist Educational Trust. There is no reason at all why these libraries should not co-operate systematically and on principle, as some of them are now doing occasionally, in the work and aims of these agencies. What is more natural than that, where the means of education are provided, those who would turn them to account should have the opportunity of doing so? What so preposterous as to accumulate books, and with every facility for putting them to profitable use, to suffer them to remain idle or abused? It is a proof of the lethargy and indifference prevalent in many, and I fear in most, of these institutions that so far from encouraging the efforts of the



Home Reading Union the librarians will not even give publicity to its appeal for members, though repeatedly and emphatically urged to do so, among others by the late Lord Chief Justice and the present Master of Downing College. It is a matter of common experience to find that in districts where University Extension centres are established the only people who take no interest in them are the librarians and councils of the public libraries, not because of any hostility, but simply because they have no conception of the lectures having any relation to the functions of the libraries.

The recently established University of London which, epoch-marking alike in its constitution, its policy, and its aims, will infallibly, before many years have passed, revolutionise civic education, might, with advantage, extend the surveillance which it exercises over other educational bodies in the metropolis to these institutions. It already undertakes the organisation and control of the University Extension lectures, and such surveillance would therefore be work very germane to that in which it is now engaged. It might, for example, assist in the selection of books, a most important function, by providing experts in the different subjects of study, whose business it should be to ascertain and specify what works should be chosen and what rejected. It might undertake the occasional inspection of the libraries, have some voice in the election of librarians, and in the economy generally of the libraries. It might suggest and supply short courses of lectures on appropriate subjects. In the case of new libraries being founded, or additional grants conferred on those already established, it might with propriety be consulted. But these are details, and details adjust themselves. The point of importance is that the libraries should be in touch with the University and the University with the libraries. If what is here suggested were initiated in London there can be little doubt that it would be followed elsewhere.

I am not pleading for any interference with the recreative side of these institutions. It would indeed be hard and in the highest degree absurd to attempt to place restrictions on the readers who find in these libraries welcome and legitimate relaxation from the toils and cares of daily life. Men and women engaged from morning to evening in arduous work, jaded it may be, and half worn out, cannot be expected to seek anything but amusement. And who would grudge it them, whatever frivolous form it might take? In the case of forty, perhaps, out of every hundred for whom the librarians have to cater, the mere pastime craved has been fairly and hardly earned. But the case here stated rests on the remaining "sixty. Of these, twenty probably are sauntering losels, who prefer bad novels to honest work, and to whom these libraries are an unmingled evil. The other forty consist of those in whose cause and in whose interests this article has been written.

In conclusion, let me repeat that this question of the public libraries—their present condition, their future prospects—is one which deserves what assuredly at present it has not received—very serious consideration. It is important politically, it is important socially. On a truly colossal scale they are powers for good or powers for evil, and as they are now constituted there can be little doubt on which side the balance inclines. There are some questions, the decision of which may with safety be left to the general body of the people, certain subjects in which it is both an intelligent and competent guide; but education is not one of them.

J. CHURTON COLLINS.

## MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER

I SHOULD not venture to write even a few words on this subject, which has been talked about and written about amongst us so long, and by so many persons 'of light and leading,' but that (so far as I know) it has not been discussed in print by any woman. I do not know what is the view taken of it by those women who regard themselves (and I would speak with all respect of them) as the pioneers of female progress. I hope they do not include the legalising of these marriages in England in their list of desirable changes. But I should think it probable that many, if not most, of them do. And so I write rather as the spokeswoman, if I may be such, of women who do not speak on platforms or attend public meetings, but occupy the normal position of our sex in this country—the position which it will always occupy, despite any possible changes in the machinery of national life.

And first I would offer a few words, with all humility, on the religious aspect of this question. It is not for me to speak as a theologian or a Biblical scholar. But it does not appear to me that the question is one either of theology or Biblical scholarship. They who accept the authority of the canonical Gospels cannot (I submit) ignore the importance, in regard to this controversy, of our Lord's express setting aside of the 'precept' attributed to Moses, in a yet graver question than this concerning the relations of the sexes. I understand that the import of the texts St. Matt. xix. 3-8, St. Mark x. 2-9 is not in dispute, whatever be the case with the verses immediately following in those Gospels. If in the question of permitting divorce Christ expressly overruled Moses, *a fortiori* it would seem impossible for Christians to base Christian obligations in the matter of marriage upon the 'Mosaic' law. Our supreme authority sets aside Mosaic ordinance in the graver case, and refers His disciples to an older and Divine law. It would follow that references to the Book of Leviticus are not in place as laying down the law for His disciples in the lesser case. Such references may indeed be made, as showing the light in which marriages of affinity

were regarded in the Jewish Church and nation. But it cannot be argued that since Leviticus says this or that Christ says so too.

But what does concern Christian people most deeply is to collect, from all sources they can reach, the mind of Christ. Now, no one disputes the substantial accuracy or the practical authority of our Revised Version of the New Testament; no one disputes the general trend of primitive Christian tradition in the matter of marriage. It is not a question of textual scholarship, nor of minute acquaintance with the scanty records of early Christian society. As Christians we endeavour to collect, from the New Testament as we have it and from unquestioned primitive tradition, the counsel and the ordinance of our Lord concerning marriage.

And we find Him sounding no uncertain note for us. In that vital question of divorce, whatever be the precise import of one Greek word used by one of His reporters, the whole purport of His counsel is in restraint of natural, human self-will and self-pleasing. He refers us to a primeval Divine law which, according to Him, establishes the indissolubility of marriage, however much its dissolution might be desired by either or both spouses; and He indicates unmistakably that the law is the same for man and wife. And I believe all Christians are agreed that the general 'note' of Christ's teaching is one of restraint of natural impulses—especially in regard to the strongest of human passions. The question remains, of course, where restraint is to come in.

Our Lord refers to the primeval Divine ordinance as governing His view of the whole subject. But to this it will be replied nowadays, that for many persons amongst us Christ's reference to Genesis has no authority whatever—Genesis has no authority; Christ Himself has no authority; Genesis embodies rude and early Hebrew tradition, of no more weight than the rude and early traditions of other peoples. Christ spoke merely as a man and a Jew accepting the earliest, and not the subsequent, traditions of His nation. From all this I appeal unto Caesar—the Caesar of modern science. My contention is that it matters not to the present argument whether the nature and authority of this (supposed primeval) marriage law derive (as according to Genesis they derive) from a revelation made by a personal Divinity for the good of mankind, or from the evolution of ages of human society, which have threshed out what mankind have found beneficial for themselves. To some persons, indeed, these alternative hypotheses seem merely the statement of two aspects of the same fact. On either the sanction of the law is in its proving good for men; it is binding for that reason, both on Christian and scientific grounds. And therefore I claim that, whether people accept Christ's authority or not, the law, whether revealed or evolutionary, is 'holy, just, and good,' and ought to be obeyed.

'But you are speaking' (it will be answered) 'of the general law of the indissolubility of wedlock—not of the prohibition of certain marriages. Now, whatever be held as to the sanction, in the experience of the race, of the indissolubility of wedlock (and there may be two opinions as to that), it is a far cry to the forbidding marriages of affinity.' No doubt; but I shall humbly endeavour to show why (as it seems to me) these two laws—or rather these two clauses of the marriage law—are of kindred significance and obligation.

It does not come within my present purpose to discuss the first of them, otherwise than to insist upon the significance of its restraining force. According to it men are not permitted the liberty in relinquishing their partners of the other sex which animals exercise. Whether the general principle admits of exceptions or not is not here discussed; but the principle stands out clearly—that individual wishes are not to be supreme in the matter. Now, in what stands the reasonableness of this? What is its claim upon the human conscience? Apart from the word of Christ, which suffices for Christians, it stands in nothing but this—that experience has proved that individual passion, if not restrained, works havoc for humankind, and most signally in the relations of the sexes. These things are not so with animals; but it would seem that since man was man things have been so with us; and so they are plainly before our eyes at this day.

I suppose it is unquestionable that all anthropological and ethnological science impresses us with the fact that human progress is a record of slow steps upward from the brute level. One position after another was won by the wonderful differentiating force (so to speak), the 'variation' whose origin is still lost in mystery; and in no particular have its victories been more momentous than in the development of the human relations of the sexes. It was only by virtue of these that family life in the course of ages became possible; and the best family life has only emerged by degrees. We should revolt now from the manner of existence compatible with polyandry, or (most Europeans would add) polygamy either; and however people may fail to realise it in their own lives, it is not and cannot be denied that true family life, as developed in Christian and civilised nations, is the best product of human evolution yet reached. Science recognises, no less than the Church teaches, that in the family is the germ of all human well-being, the foundation of a truly human polity.

Now, the point I would insist upon here is (as has been said) that all this achievement has taken place in virtue of restraint put upon the passion between the sexes. We are told that the etymological significance of the word 'Paradise' is 'a wide-open park, enclosed against injury, yet with its natural beauty unspoiled;' and thereafter 'a safe-fenced garden, wherein the wicked shall not enter.' Even so

our earthly Paradise of a righteous family life, the nursery of all good things for mankind, must be fenced. Its very existence depends upon its being a space marked off, where the flame of passion shall be under rule and order.

To me (says Dean Church) the relation of the sexes, the passion of love, is as much the crux of our condition as pain. . . . How strange, how extravagant, how irrationally powerful all over the world, how at the root of all the best things of life, how at the root of its very worst! Strange, ambiguous, perplexing lot for creatures made in the image of God.<sup>1</sup>

The flame is beneficent, but maleficent too; it is a glory and a shame, creative and destructive; it cannot be allowed free play over the whole field of human life. Accordingly, the best human societies have long ago marked off certain regions where it shall not enter. The relations of parents and children, of brothers and sisters, have long been sacred from it. The present question before us is whether our fenced Paradise, our enclosure called 'the family,' shall still extend, as at present it does, beyond the field of blood-relationship to that of relationship 'by affinity,' as it is called—*i.e.* the kinship of a married person to the kindred of his or her spouse.

It would be idle to pretend that the prohibition of marriages of affinity has the sanctity of the prohibition of marriage between the nearest blood-relations, or that its breach can or ought to excite the horror which would attend incest. But what I (and, I hope, many whose opinion is of greater weight than mine) contend is, that to annul the prohibition of marriages of affinity is a distinctly retrograde step for us English people to make from the position which we have reached among mankind. It is surrendering a bit of the field of life to the domination of passion which, in the interest of the family, the greatest of human institutions, had been fenced off from that domination. I say 'in the interest of the family,' for in the best family life the husband and wife are one—'they twain one flesh' in ancient Scriptural language—and an important element in this identity of life and feeling is that each spouse adopts the relationships of the other unchanged. To this level we have attained; but how shall it be kept if the disturbing factor of passion be admitted where by adoption it had been excluded under the severest ban? To take the instance presented to us: the husband under our existing law takes his wife's sister to be his sister—*i.e.* it is impossible that marriage should ever take place between them; and the fraternal relation, which he has adopted, is amongst us secured from passion by the most stringent and time-honoured of sanctions. But suppose the sanction annulled in fraternity through affinity. The wife has grown sickly; she has asked a young, pretty sister to help her in her

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Mr. Mules: *Letters of R. W. Church, Dean of St. Paul's*, edited by his daughter.

family cares, and she becomes aware that the 'fraternal relation' is waning, and that a feeling abhorrent to it is growing up between the two persons she has loved and trusted most. Can anyone say that there is no degradation of family life, no stepping down, in all this? Yet it, or cases very like it, might become common; and, because of the peril of this, one of the purest and most delightful of relationships which have developed in civilised life must cease *if this proposed change in the law be made*. I am sure hundreds of sisters-in-law would bear me out in saying that the relation between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law is one of the flowers in this vale of tears; it is the fraternal relation with a difference; it has a fragrance of its very own, for there is what we call 'romance' in it, quite apart from love-making. I well remember my old friend, the late Mr. G. S. Venables, enlarging, with an enthusiasm which was rare in his reserved speech, on its peculiar blessing and charm. All this must disappear, of course, if we relax the law which holds the husband's relations the wife's, and the wife's the husband's.

'Oh, yes,' it is answered, 'all this pretty talk of a new fraternal relationship added to the old, as a fresh bloom upon the old stem of life—this is all very well for rich people who can afford to dally with life. But this that we advocate is a poor man's question; poor widowers cannot afford charming sisters-in-law with decency. It is better to allow the sister-in-law to become the wife in the family, for live in it, very often, she must after the first wife's death.' Now, if it were the case that the change in the law advocated is absolutely necessary, under unavoidable conditions, to secure working people in this country from concubinage, it would be a very grave question whether even such considerations as I have adduced above should weigh against the change. But, in the first place, no such case for change ought to exist at all. None of our arrangements ought to be such as to thrust us upon the alternative of a general lowering of family life (as it is contended here would be the case) by the permission of certain marriages, or the promotion of concubinage in certain classes of the community. And, next, I do not believe that any such case for change does exist; on the contrary, there is strong reason to believe that the plea advanced is chimerical. As is well known, the evidence of the clergy, from their parochial experience, goes to show that the instances in which a working man takes his sister-in-law as his concubine, since he cannot make her his wife, are very rare. (I myself have spent many years in the life parochial, and my experience is fully in keeping with this.) On the other hand, if we are to relax the law on the ground that illegal connections, with or without a form of marriage, are *occasionally* contracted, in defiance of the law, amongst working people now, we should have to legalise connections which would revolt all English

decency. This is well known to those who go in and out amongst working-class families. Adultery is rare—probably has a lower percentage than in the classes socially above them; but offences against family decency are, as might be expected in view of the lack of proper house accommodation, much more frequent than in the upper classes. All this is surely an argument for amending that lack of proper accommodation in working-class dwellings which is a disgrace to this country, and not for legalising the indecencies which result from it.

But I do not—I hope other opponents of this proposed change do not—rest our case upon the evils we forecast from it in the single instance in which it is at present advocated. I am utterly unable to understand how persons forming part of the Legislature of this great country can propose to deal with one of the fundamental laws of human society in this piecemeal fashion. I have spoken throughout of ‘*marriages of affinity*’; I only take one such marriage as an instance. I am unable to see upon what principle, if a man’s marriage with his sister-in-law be permitted, his marriage with his stepmother (his father’s widow) can be forbidden; or a woman’s marriage with her son-in-law; or any other of the marriages of affinity now forbidden by law. English feeling would, I believe, revolt at present from the particular developments last named—probably from others too—but upon what rational ground? Upon that of the peace, decency, and decorum—in a word, the honour—of family life as established amongst us, which is the very ground upon which we oppose any change in the law at all.

We feel, as we ought, great concern for those who, under the sway of one of the strongest influences that warp men’s judgment, have persuaded themselves that these particular marriages ought to be legal, and have evaded or set at defiance the law of their own country on the ground that it must and shall be altered. But this concern can be no ground in itself for altering the law. The law must first be shown to be bad in itself.

Much has been made of the concern which our great colonial communities have in this question in the Mother Country. Now we have the deepest respect for those great communities. In many respects they can and do give us lessons. But in a question like the present, I submit, it is neither wise nor fitting that the Mother Country should be dragged in the wake of the Colonies (I use the words in no opprobrious sense). The ideal of life in the Colonies is necessarily a very imperfect one as compared with that of the Mother Country. We have a long and varied past, and our community at this day embraces many elements, social and educational, elements of refinement and culture as well as of practical experience, which the oldest of colonial communities do not and cannot possess. If we look to the history of the English race in the past, and on its various constituents at present, it seems simply grotesque that England



should alter her marriage law *because* her Colonies have altered theirs. The eminent and learned German Catholic theologian, Dr. Döllinger, was wont to say, 'I look upon the Church of England as the great bulwark of true religion throughout the world.' Even such is the State and nation of England among the nations of the world for the wise and far-sighted ordering of life and polity. Let not England abdicate her place. But the Colonies are great and self-governing communities; the Mother Country has long ceased to dictate to them in internal affairs, and she must respect their arrangements therein. This, in the case now debated, might surely be done by a provision that all marriages contracted by *bona-fide* members of colonial communities in their own colony should be recognised in the Mother Country, and the issue of such marriages be deemed legitimate here.

I cannot forbear entering protest against certain pleas recently put forward in this controversy. The palpable evils of a dual marriage law for Church and State (evils, I believe, now increasingly manifest in Italy, for instance) are cited by advocates of change in our law as arguments on their side, *i.e.* by the very persons who would *introduce* duality! Such was the line taken lately by Lord Chetwynd in a series of letters, printed conspicuously by the principal organ of 'society' in the newspaper Press. Apparently, this strange reasoning is designed to force the conclusion that they who uphold the present and only existing law *must* surrender to a new one. But this is to beg the whole question. Never was 'the thin end of the wedge' more legitimately opposed than in this matter.

If such a subject as the marriage law is to be dealt with by us at all, let it be in a thoroughly business-like, deliberate, and consistent way. Let evidence be taken, by persons duly qualified, from persons competent to give it as to the evils and disadvantages alleged to follow from the existing law. And let the whole matter be put before the whole country at a General Election. I am fully aware that all this will appear to the advocates of the particular measure before us as unnecessary, pompous, dilatory, and cumbersome. It is such a simple, small change, say they, which we ask for. It really *would* make hardly any outward difference in our social life, and it would improve morality. I have tried to controvert both these pleas, and also to show that, though the particular change now advocated be a matter of detail, a principle, and that a momentous one, is really involved. Most persons, when they vehemently desire some change in order to get their own way, are apt, whether they are interested as principals or advocates, to think it a simple and obvious thing that they ought to get it. It is for others to look at the matter in a broader light, no matter whether they are called obstructionists or any other hard names, or laughed at as pompous, irrational conservators of old-world ideas.

THEO. CHAPMAN.

## *AN UNPOPULAR INDUSTRY*

*THE RESULTS OF AN INQUIRY INSTITUTED BY THE WOMEN'S  
INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL INTO THE CAUSES OF THE UNPOPULARITY  
OF DOMESTIC SERVICE*

SOME years ago Miss Clementina Black, writing in this Review upon 'The Dislike to Domestic Service,' declared it to be 'generally admitted' that young women of the working class had become 'imbued with a distaste for domestic service.'

In the intervening years persistent reiteration has established this general admission upon the footing of an accepted fact; and whether we agree with those who count such a distaste as a 'sort of depravity,' or incline with Miss Black to look upon it as a 'natural, reasonable, and well founded' revolt against a system of 'total personal subservience,' we are all more or less concerned about a fact that threatens to revolutionise the whole machinery of domestic life.

It seemed to the Women's Industrial Council that, although so much had already been said and written upon the great 'problem,' a systematic inquiry might throw a valuable and interesting light upon the causes which render the largest industry for women so unpopular. Accordingly a schedule of questions was prepared and distributed among persons likely to hold opinions of their own on the subject, or, more important still, likely to reflect the opinions of girls who might, but do not, enter domestic service.

If the sole or main object of the inquiry had been to elicit definite answers upon plain matters of fact, the schedule of questions could not, it must be confessed, be regarded as a model. It is, indeed, frankly open to the severe criticism with which it met in some quarters; the most cutting, perhaps, being those of the mistress who calls the questions a 'fandango of nonsense,' and the servant who writes against several of them, 'I do not understand.'

The nine questions asked cover a wide area, and are largely speculative in character; they are further complicated by annotations and sub-questions, characterised in one reply as 'little homilies' and condemned in another as 'hopelessly involved.'

The committee having charge of the inquiry were, however,

fully conscious of these defects and anomalies; but the object being to arrive at a consensus of opinion upon a difficulty acknowledged to be largely *sentimental*, it seemed desirable that the questions should not be framed upon too statistical lines, but tend to encourage thought and suggest remedies. All things considered, the results may be deemed by no means unsatisfactory. Of the 500 forms sent out, 127, or roughly 25 per cent., were returned—a response far in excess of that usually accorded to inquiry forms, even of the most cut and dried type.

The 127 replies came from the following sources :

Mistresses . . . . .	44
Heads of training institutes, teachers of domestic economy . . . . .	25
Branches and members of the Women's Co-operative Guild . . . . .	18
Girls' Club leaders . . . . .	10
Housekeepers and servants . . . . .	10
Registry offices . . . . .	6
Students (male) . . . . .	6
Masters . . . . .	2
Professional women . . . . .	2
Anonymous persons . . . . .	4
	<hr/> 127

The value of this list lies in the diversity of experiences and point of view from which the replies were written.

Thus among the mistresses are to be found the *châtelaine* of a mansion ruling a retinue of well ordered maids, the mistress who can afford only the doubtful 'help' of a succession of small daily drudges, and the mistress who is her own servant. It includes also the mistress who finds no difficulty whatever in getting and keeping her maids, and the mistress to whom the servant problem is an ever active trouble. Many of the mistresses were at considerable pains to ascertain and record the minds of their maids upon the questions.

The opinion of heads of training institutions and teachers of domestic economy is valuable as presenting the point of view of workers upon the raw material, if one may so call it; these workers look, naturally, more to the perfection of mechanism in domestic work than to the social relationship which begins to enter into the question after the servant has once embarked upon her work under the roof of a mistress. Many of these replies express not merely the opinion of the individual signing the schedule, but the official verdict of the committee or organisation represented by the signer. One comes from the male head of a large Technical Institute.

Of the eighteen replies from branches and members of the Women's Co-operative Guild, it may be said that the opinions of the

working-class mothers of the best and most thoughtful sort is here represented. These replies present the collective dictum of some hundreds of women, many of whom have had personal experience of domestic service; most of whom have daughters who must become wage-earners in some capacity or other, and all of whom are adepts in the discussion of industrial and social questions. They come from factory towns, rural villages, urban centres, and suburban districts, and the guilds have mostly devoted one or more meetings to the discussion of the schedule.

Leaders of Girls' Clubs, especially those who made a point of collecting the actual opinions of the club members themselves, arrive at the answers from still another standpoint. For the most part the clubs are composed of girls who have deliberately, or by chance, chosen some occupation other than domestic service, and their reasons for this choice go quite to the root of the matter.

The ten schedules filled up by servants offer particularly interesting results, including some quaintly and strongly expressed reflections upon the 'slavery' of domestic service. Here, for instance, is a reflection upon the question of efficiency *v.* incompetence: 'Many will not know (how to work properly) as they say it doesn't do you get more added to your work once you do things nicely you are kept to it. No doubt some do (know their work) and others say the simples (*sic*) get the best of it.'

And again, 'On and off duty would do a good deal of good; on, on, hour after hour makes life a misery.'

Another speaks with an experience of eleven 'places,' and, avoiding a categorical reply to the questions, raises one or two points not covered by them. Touching, for instance, the 'Penny Novel,' she says: 'Servants' money will not allow her to buy books very often, though they are cheap; but if the lady bought a few cheap books that are *worth reading* on purpose for the servants would it not put a stop to a great deal of the penny novel reading that is doing so much harm?'

Sunday hospitality, cheap and insufficient food, discourteous speech to servants are all touched upon in these replies, and all may in some degree have contributed to build up a vague dislike.

The Registry Offices for the most part feel the pressure of the ill-balanced supply and demand too keenly to judge patiently. 'I certainly know by my own experience as each year slips on they (servants) are getting scarcer and the demand more,' is a lamentation echoed in each of the six replies.

The remaining replies have each a separate value, and will be referred to when the questions come under consideration. The six male students give perhaps the least illuminating answers; they certainly lend colour to the cherished feminine conviction that some questions are beyond the grasp of male intelligence.

The questions were nine in all, but as these may be grouped into three main divisions it is not necessary to repeat each one *in extenso*.

Nos. 1, 2, and 6 dealt with the conditions of work, and asked whether the unpopularity of domestic service was due to the work in detail (Question 1); its monotony (Question 2); or the unorganised conditions regarding hours, leisure, and system of work (Question 6).

Questions 3, 4, 7, and 8 dealt with the desirability, the difficulty, and the monetary value of training and the weakness of insufficient knowledge on the part of mistresses.

Question 5 asked, 'Is it the social status?' Question 9 compared the method of remuneration usual in domestic service—monthly payments, board and lodging—with the weekly wage of other employments, and asked whether this prejudiced parents against service as an industry for their girls.

TABLE I

Question	Yes	No	Yes Qualified	No Qualified	No reply	Total
I. . . . .	11	89	8	3	16	127
II. . . . .	41	30	35	5	16	127
III. . . . .	54	19	18	3	33	127
IV. . . . .	37	21	30	20	19	127
V. . . . .	62	13	27	3	22	127
VI. . . . .	42	9	48	11	17	127
VII. . . . .	6	75	8	9	29	127
VIII. . . . .	86	6	18	4	13	127
IX. . . . .	17	62	13	7	28	127
Total . . .	356	324	205	65	193	1,143

## GENERAL SUMMARY OF REPLIES TO ALL QUESTIONS

Table I. represents the general impression conveyed by the answers to each question. The columns devoted to 'qualified' answers include many reflections upon side issues for which the 'little homilies' before mentioned are to some extent responsible. For example, to the question: 'Is it the social status?' is appended the sub-question: 'Have not the nurses also taught us that it is the women who give the social status to the work, not the work which stamps the woman?' One lady writes: 'I believe that the nurses have both gained and also keep their status on account of the training necessary'; and a Secretary to a M.A.B.Y.S. branch thinks the unpopularity is 'partly' due to the status and adds, 'The shop girl looks down on the "slavey," and *I am told* brother Tom will walk out with sister Jane, the shop girl, and not with sister Mary, the maid. . At least we might allow servants the title "Miss."

A servant reflects thus : ' A thorough nurse teaches a great deal, but a bad one is as loathsome as a leper.'

193 answers are scheduled as giving 'No reply'; this does not mean, however, that in 193 cases the question is not answered at all. The column includes papers not categorically filled up, many of which are nevertheless valuable in themselves.

#### THE QUESTIONS—GROUP I—CONDITIONS

Question	Yes	No	Yes Qualified	No Qualified	No reply	Total
I. Details . . .	11	89	8	3	10	127
II. Monotonous routine . . .	41	30	35	5	10	127
VI. Hours and gene- ral conditions	42	9	48	11	17	127
Total . . .	94	128	91	19	49	381

The first questions of Group I. endeavoured to find out whether the actual details of domestic services were distasteful to girls. The table given above shows that 89 out of the 127 agree in considering that girls as a rule like house work. Some few consider that laundry and cooking are not popular branches. The Honorary Secretary to a large society having to do with the welfare of girls considers that it is not the work in 'detail' but 'in general.' 'Girls now regard it as menial and therefore *infra dig.* as compared with business employments.' A mistress remarks that the question is one of temperament, but that 'probably the slipshod management of the majority of working class homes indisposes the children brought up in them from taking interest in household work.' All agree that girls find much enjoyment in attending a domestic economy class.

The replies to the question whether the monotonous routine is in fault show a far more divided opinion and a larger percentage of qualifying remarks. Very generally these take the form of pointing out that the monotony of surroundings rather than of routine is disliked. Factory work is monotonous, but it is done amid the bustle and companionship of a workroom, whereas the general servant leads a life of great loneliness unless the mistress takes her into the centre of family life and confidence. Restraint rather than monotony is generally considered the chief drawback. This question and Question 6 must be taken together, since a monotonous occupation carried on in comparatively short spells is bearable, but extended over an indefinite number of hours, and with uncertain and inadequate periods of relief, becomes unbearable.

As will be seen from the table, there is strong agreement that the long hours and lack of liberty are prime causes of the unpopularity. Many answers, indeed, put lack of personal liberty as

the chief cause. The head of a registry office writes: 'Mistresses are sometimes of opinion that every waking hour of the servant belongs to them, with the exception of a few hours stipulated for at the time of engagement; consequently the servants have no time for themselves—even for needlework—except it be *stolen*.'

'Want of liberty,' says the Honorary Secretary to a M.A.B.Y.S. branch. 'Not merely liberty to go out, but liberty to be natural, to dress as she pleases, to receive visitors, &c. The fear of being unkindly treated, and of not getting enough to eat. The natural dislike of a girl to leave home; vague prejudices of this kind deter a girl from going into service. That she finds she has to work seven days a week, and her work is "never done," induces her to leave service, if she has entered it, unless she is fortunate enough in her first place to be treated with consideration.'

The servant cannot help contrasting her employed day with that of her sister working in a factory or workroom, where work ceases at definite hours, and whose evenings, Saturday afternoons, and Sundays are free. 'A factory girl has plenty of companionship, and is protected and emboldened by the presence and the public opinion of large numbers of her own class, which is sometimes organised by trade unionism. The domestic servant is hampered, too, in her chances of marrying by her mistress's objection to "followers." That objection also implies a general moral censorship from which the industrial worker is free.'

That forty-eight replies come under the head of 'qualified' assent is due to the fact that Question 6 was particularly overshadowed by the sub-questions before alluded to. Under the main question, 'Is it the conditions of work?' suggestions as to improvement were invited, which, while tending to obscure the main question, opened the way to many characteristic dissertations upon the general condition of service. The sum total of these may be aptly epitomised in this sentence from the reply of a woman's co-operative guild member: 'The facilities now given for the development of mental capabilities, the tendency to protest against restriction, the desire for change and opportunities for wider social intercourse, not being consistent with the general conditions of domestic service, are the cause of its unpopularity.'

The second group of questions touches a matter of growing importance in all branches of female labour. In effect, the questions merely summarise the problem which faces the parents of every girl who must earn her own living: Is it worth while to spend time and money upon making a girl an efficient industrial worker? In the particular industry under discussion the solution of the question is further complicated by the curiously widespread belief that a knowledge of household work comes to all women by the light of nature, and that they therefore need no training in the technical

## GROUP II—TRAINING

Question	Yes	No	Yes Qualified	No Qualified	No reply	Total
III. Does the fact that unskilled workers get work easily make training unnecessary?	54	10	18	3	33	127
IV. Is it the difficulty of training?	37	21	30	20	19	127
VII. Is the difficulty of putting training to use as a means of wage earning after marriage a drawback?	6	75	8	9	20	127
VIII. Do mistresses from lack of knowledge expect too much?	86	6	18	4	13	127
	183	121	74	36	94	608

sense of the word. This belief is referred to, though not endorsed, in the majority of replies to Question 3. It is generally conceded that a well-trained servant is appreciated, though not to such an extent as greatly to improve her wages. In fact, so badly balanced is the supply and demand that, as a large majority of the replies denote, the unskilled can get work quite as easily as the skilled. The demand nowadays, exclaims one despairing lady, is 'not for a competent girl, but for any sort of a girl.'

Question 4, regarding the difficulty of procuring training—if desired—resulted in some interesting replies. The initial difficulty seems to be that parents do *not* think it worth while to spend time and money upon training for their girls. In the class from which domestic servants are generally recruited the real or apparent necessity for immediate wage earning is a strong factor in the disregard for preparation. The consensus of opinion expressed by heads of Polytechnics and other institutions offering training in housewifery, shows that such training as now exists in these institutions does not attract pupils of the servant class, and does not encourage pupils to enter service. 'Bright girls look down upon service . . . and prefer to take up other kinds of work. Parents, who have a stupid girl, who is not bright enough for anything else, think she will do nicely for domestic service.'

It is fair to say that one lady head of a Polytechnic dissents from this general view, and thinks that a domestic economy course does incline girls to service. Institutional training is generally condemned as too mechanical to produce real efficiency.

It will be noted that an overwhelming majority of the replies to Question 8 are in the affirmative. That mistresses ignorant of domestic management and organisation abound, is abundantly testified. An interesting social reflection is made by a lady who has



much personal knowledge of young servants. 'A new class of employer of servants seems to have arisen during the last fifty years, a class who cannot afford to keep enough servants to do the work and yet who expect to keep up the standard of comfort prevailing in their homes before marriage.' Another view is presented in two replies, and takes the matter into the region of the unfathomable sex question. 'A woman is not always happy in her methods of controlling other women, and this accounts for many small tyrannies, petty rebellions, and frictions. The "master" may speak sharply, give unreasonable orders, unnecessary trouble; on the whole, as from him, it is not resented. Let, however, the mistress do the same (or much less), and at once there will be trouble.' Thus writes a lady whose study of the question is by no means superficial. 'Women lose many of their finer attributes in dealing with paid servants; how to get the most possible out of them is the thought of most,' says a working woman who has herself been a servant.

A cook in a private family goes to the root of the whole unending struggle between employer and employed, in a sentence the unconscious cynicism of which is curiously confirmed by a schoolmistress in a country district. Says the cook: 'Most ladies don't want girls that know their work and that is why the unskilled get the work, for they get them to do anything, where girls that know their work won't do it.' Says the schoolmistress: 'Mistresses are glad to get young girls whom they can train to their own liking, as the experienced ones are independent and want too many privileges.'

Here is a pretty text for a treatise upon the rights of labour and the wickedness of 'Ca Canny!'

#### GROUP III—STATUS AND WAGES

Question	Yes	No	Yes Qualified	No Qualified	No reply	Total
V. Is it the social status? .	62	13	27	3	22	127
IX. Do parents prefer a weekly wage? .	17	62	13	7	28	127
Total , .	79	75	40	10	50	254

These two questions were perhaps the most direct in the whole schedule, and consequently the replies to them are the least discursive of the series. In reply to Question 5, 'Is it the social status?' the response in the larger number of cases yields a plain Yes, emphasised by such remarks as, 'The first and greatest cause,' 'The crux of the whole question,' and 'most decidedly,' or qualified by such observations as 'This affects generals only, not better class servants,'

'Something to do with it, but not much.' One lady of wide experience says, 'Servants feel bitterly that as domestics they come lower down in the social scale than "young ladies" in business. My servants have confessed to me that when away for summer holidays they hide the fact of their being servants.'

The six men students are all emphatic on this one point, and by a unanimous vote agree that 'This more than all else put together is the cause of unpopularity, coupled as it is with a serving badge—"the cap."' Hardly any of the sixteen persons who reply in the negative to this question give any reason for their belief.

Question 9 presents a difficulty which the majority of replies affirm does not exist, except in rare cases. It is pointed out that weekly wages are becoming much more general in domestic service, and that the working classes are well accustomed to distinguish between real and nominal wages. As Miss Collett shows in her 'Report on the Money Wages of Servants,' 'while the relations between mistresses and servants are very little affected by the rate of money wage agreed upon, the active competition of employers and the free movements of domestic servants secure for the latter the full market rate for their services,' and this fact is well known to working class parents. On the other hand, several club leaders, having to do with factory girls, give it as their opinion that parents do consider a weekly wage, brought in to the family purse, of greater advantage than the monthly payment, over which the girl herself has a spending power.

The fact that in the working classes calculation of earnings is based upon a weekly wage was amusingly illustrated by a little incident that happened to the present writer, who was once accosted in the street by a small maiden, whose diminutive figure was clad in 'cut down' garments of dingy hue, her hair screwed into a tortured wisp of tidyness, and her rosy soap-shining face one pucker of anxious calculation. With most flattering confidence the hurrying little feet stopped short in front of me, and a childish voice asked, 'Please will you tell me how much ten pounds a year is a week?' She had evidently been to seek her first 'place,' and, like many another adventurer into the fields of industry, found awaiting her an economic problem difficult to solve. I am always a little proud to remember that I could give her the answer straight away, and that I did refrain from asking her any questions in return.

#### SUGGESTED REMEDIES

The Women's Industrial Council, in making their inquiry, hoped also to receive some suggestions that would lead to better organisation, if not to practical reform. For the most part, however, the

replies leave a depressing conviction that a really practical remedy is yet to seek. One lady well known for her wide interest in industrial questions writes: 'The subject troubles me a good deal, both practically and theoretically. . . . I like the theory of limited hours, but I am sure it is *quite* impracticable for "in-workers." Under existing conditions it would never be tried except by a few enthusiasts. . . . It seems to me a profoundly unsatisfactory social arrangement, yet I shall never have the courage to try any other, or even much modification.'

Another of even greater authority upon economic questions concerning women propounds in three epigrammatic sentences what appears like a vicious circle of negations: 'Domestic service will never be willingly accepted by the majority of young women until it becomes a non-resident calling.'

'It will never attain a condition satisfactory to the employer until it becomes a highly trained calling.'

'It will never become a highly trained calling until it assumes conditions that attract, instead of repelling, workers of the best class.'

Between this pessimistic timidity on the one hand and this emphatic pronouncement on the other, there is an agreement in which practically all the replies join—namely, that a remedy must be sought chiefly in the direction of a non-resident system of household service.

Increased facilities for training in housewifely knowledge, both in elementary and secondary schools, is urged by many, while the present system of education is condemned by some—as not only inadequate to meet the necessities, but the cause of the trouble. 'But even the person of most violently conservative tendencies, who thinks to find in the modern educational system an explanation of the scarcity, the inefficiency of the domestic maid-servant, and her increasingly exigent attitude, will hardly be bold enough nor futile enough to advocate retrograde educational conditions. For good or ill, for content or discontent, we stand committed to advance.'

Residential training schools—not training homes, as at present existing—to which entrance shall be by scholarships or apprenticeships, graduating from the elementary school, and carrying certificates of merit, seem to some a prime necessity in restoring dignity to the industry.

One of the several ladies who send thoughtful essays instead of categorical answers to the questions instructively points out some of the differences between modern household ways and those of the days before service became unpopular. The rapid comings and goings of visitors and guests, the innumerable cheap *bric-à-brac* with which houses are crowded, and the unending demands these things

make upon the maid's adaptability and patience. 'It is not,' she says, 'that the old times were better, for there is another side to these changes, which bring life and desirable energy with them, but it is evident that in *adjustment* to the times the remedy must be sought.'

Finally, it is left to the gentlemen to provide both the least and the most practical suggestions.

The six male students agree that what is needed is an effective reduction of hours of work to—say—sixty per week.

Sunday afternoons, and one afternoon every week free, *and the day's duties to cease at 7.30 P.M.!*

The secretary of a large technical institute thinks a residential school would supply good mistresses with good servants, but would not affect the bad mistresses and the general servants.

The proprietor of a large registry office in a printed leaflet launches out into truly masculine impatience against a condition of things that apparently causes him much professional difficulty. 'Here we have, not a mass of people without employment for them, but a mass of employment without people for it! Was ever there such a crass absurdity?' He has a remedy, and it is 'simple' and worthy of a Virginian planter of a hundred years ago. 'Poor relief should be denied to healthy women under forty, and to women having grown-up daughters out of work, unless sufficient reason is shown why employment (in service) cannot be found. Ladies should induce their husbands to dispense with female clerks, and never to employ females (young or old) for occupations absolutely masculine. They should boycott refreshment-rooms and restaurants served by young women, and not deal anywhere where it is reasonable to suppose that they *are being deprived of a domestic servant*. All dressmakers out of work should be urged into service; and 'all public institutions for the poor, such as board schools, orphanages, &c., should be required to train suitable young girls in such a way as to fit them for domestic service'!

An American author who has given considerable study to the question as it affects the United States has embodied in a novel, a copy of which he presented to the Council, a scheme which advocates the formation of an 'army of industry' to make good servants out of available material and then supply these servants to mistresses. The 'army' would be organised and controlled by a limited liability company, and would offer as attractions to the young women, free, practical specialised training, certificates, protection against abuse, security of regular hours, and good wages (only non-residential workers would be supplied), holidays, a residential club, and a suitable uniform. To mistresses would be offered a guarantee that 'army' servants would be reliable and efficient.

The whole scheme is carefully worked out and contains many

practical points, but would possibly prove more acceptable to American than to British housewives.

Another gentleman provides a scheme for an association of mistress and servants upon co-operative lines which, properly organised, should do much to check many of the present evils and disadvantages of the industry, and something also towards encouraging girls to enter service by offering sick pay, hospital and convalescent tickets, holiday pay, &c., and securing training, free registry, and desirable situations. An association somewhat on this line has been working in Glasgow with moderate success for two or three years.

### CONCLUSIONS

Although no statistical importance can be claimed for the result of this inquiry, and although it is not proposed to dogmatise upon any aspect of the difficult problem propounded, it may be claimed that some light is thrown, as from a many-faceted lantern, upon its most puzzling feature, and that the answers contribute somewhat to its better understanding.

The unpopularity of a person, of a cause, or of an occupation may be a matter of fact, capable of being proved by numerical definition; but the reasons for such unpopularity *can* only be arrived at by a consensus of opinion expressed without regard to statistical bearing. Thus, there emerges from this inquiry a very definite confirmation of the fact that domestic service *is* unpopular; and a general agreement upon sufficiently broad lines and from sufficiently experienced sources as to the causes of such unpopularity.

These are shown to be, not industrial but social, not inherent, but real and strong. Household work *per se* is not found to be distasteful to girls, although it should be more fully recognised that there is in every rank of life a proportion of women to whom a liking for the washing of pots and pans does not come naturally. 'But the disposition in that direction is certainly inherent in the sex.' The chief causes may be found in the stigma of inferiority, lack of liberty, the intolerable burden of personal subservience, and the opening up of pursuits which offer the reverse of these things.

'I look upon the unpopularity of domestic service among working women as socially a most healthy sign,' writes a lady whose condemnation of the inquiry was outspoken and complete. 'It is a sign that the struggle for escape from galling social chains, for personal liberty to choose their own pursuits, in which the educated woman of the last century engaged with such brilliant and lasting effect, will not end until all women shall have adjusted their lives to the newer standard thus set up. The present system, with its good and bad features, is responsible for the present difficulties.'

The change to better systems will not come without suffering;

it will hardly be hastened by any partial scheme or organisation, however well intentioned. To quote finally from one more reply, 'The trend of working class opinion is leading towards reforms in the conditions of domestic service, and it appears that the most useful and least dangerous work which educated people can do just now is to promote and popularise opportunities for training.'

CATHERINE WEBB.

*STONEHENGE  
AND THE MIDSUMMER SUNRISE*

EARLY in the morning of midsummer day people go every year to Stonehenge to watch for the sunrise. Standing by the ruins of the central trilithon, behind the big flat stone which is called the altar, they look out north-east through one of the openings in the outer circle of stones, over the avenue which is marked for a quarter of a mile by parallel bank and ditch on each side. Some little way down the avenue stands a solitary stone, the 'Friar's Heel,' pointed at the top; and an observer looking from the altar sees it standing up above the line of hills which make the distant horizon. But if one retreats a little up the slope behind the trilithon the peak of the Heel-stone comes down to the horizon, and tradition says that it marks the place where the sun rose on midsummer day when Stonehenge was built. Nowadays, if the watchers are so fortunate as to find the low eastern sky free from cloud and haze, it is very plain that the first gleam of sun appears well to the north of the peak of the Heel-stone, and it is some seven days before or after midsummer day when it rises directly over the stone. But inasmuch as the place of sunrise on that day depends upon the distance the sun goes north of the equator, and as that depends on the inclination to the equator of the plane of the earth's orbit, we want only a change in this inclination to alter the place of the midsummer sunrise, and make the Heel-stone fulfil its reputed purpose. Supposing, then, that we are able on the one hand to show that it is probable that the building was laid out to point accurately to the sunrise, and on the other hand to learn what was the actual inclination of ecliptic to equator at different epochs, it is a very simple matter to fit a date on to a given place of sunrise, and to say, Thus is the date of building determined from astronomical considerations.

Now the use of a process like this is apt to lack something of the rigour which one expects to find in arguments based upon the most exact data of astronomy. No less an authority than Professor Flinders Petrie has come to grief in adopting it. There is a very interesting book of his, unfortunately out of print, which tries to

sum up the evidence from all sources for the date of Stonehenge. To the astronomical evidence which he brings forward he allows, indeed, no great weight; but it deserves none, which comes about in this way. Professor Petrie measured, with an accuracy which is at least as great as the rough-hewn stones will bear, the direction of the peak of the Heel-stone from the point behind the great trilithon whence it appears on the horizon line. He was fortunate to catch a midsummer sunrise free from haze, and measured how far the sun now rises north of the trilithon-Heelstone line; he calculated what change in the inclination of the ecliptic would suffice to account for it, and with the known rate of change how many years that would represent. But so strong in his mind was the idea that the Heel-stone was the sunrise mark, that he overlooked the fact that the change is taking place in the wrong direction, that the sun now rises further south than it has done in all historic or moderately prehistoric time, for the last ten thousand years at any rate, and yet it still rises north of the stone. He applied the correction with the wrong sign, and found 730 A.D. If his figures are right, but for this error of sign, we find that the trilithon-Heelstone line points to the sunrise, not of 730 A.D., but of about 3000 A.D., a date for the building obviously too late. In fact his work shows that there is one very definite thing about Stonehenge that is certainly to be proved astronomically, that to an observer standing behind the great trilithon the sun never yet began to rise immediately over the Heel-stone, unless the downs which make the horizon have very greatly changed.

But the difficulty of proving anything definite upon the matter at all is shown by the two assumptions that we have already been compelled to make, that the sunrise was viewed from a certain spot exactly behind the central trilithon, and that it was the first tip of the rising sun for which they looked. Suppose that it was the middle of sunrise that was accounted important, when the sun was half above and half below the line of distant hills over the stone; the conditions are very nearly fulfilled to-day. If it was the completion of rising, when the sun just cleared the hills, then one might put back the date some two thousand years. It is very clear that since in these latitudes the sun rises sloping-wise, there is trouble ahead for any theory that cannot do something more than guess what stage of the sunrise the builders of Stonehenge desired to mark.

It might well seem that this is as far as one can go. From Petrie's measures the middle of sunrise was over the stone a quarter of a century ago; nearly two thousand years ago the sun completed its rising over it, more than a thousand hence it will begin to rise over it; for thousands of years a watcher from behind the altar might have seen the sun rise close to the indicating stone. And who shall say that the builders of Stonehenge required any more than that, if



indeed it is not pure chance that there is any connection with the sunrise at all?

Before one admits that Stonehenge was so carefully built that the date of its building is now recoverable from its orientation, it may be pertinent to ask, what is the evidence that ancient buildings were orientated with great care? One thinks at once of the pyramids of Gizeh, and of the care which their builders plainly took that they should lie square to the cardinal points; of the theory, which has found some favour, that the long ascending passage in the great pyramid was directed to the pole star of the time; and perhaps of the wilder notion that the pyramid before it was finished to its final shape served as a great observatory. And if it is scarcely fair to argue that the natural plan of a builder who cared for symmetry would be to place the lines of a square building north and south, east and west; if one finds in the work a deeper astronomical significance, it is a significance which is found in the plans of present-day observatories. The fundamental direction is north and south; the essential plane is the plane of the meridian; the pole of the sky lies in it, and the stars in their daily courses have reached when they come to it their highest points. One is concerned with the culminations of the stars, and with the sun at noon.

But a glance at the plans of many ancient buildings for which it is now claimed that their foundations were laid astronomically reveals the fact that they have in general nothing whatever to do with the meridian, and the exponents of orientation theories have found an explanation of this in the supposition that it was not the culmination of a heavenly body, but its rising or setting that was of chief account in old times. To this view some of the translated inscriptions certainly seem to lend support; it is asserted that the sun at rising, noon, and setting had three distinct names. To Rā, the sun god at noon, 'Tmu and Horus of the horizon pay homage in all their words.' And without laying stress on any of these identifications—for some recent work suggests the horrid suspicion that anything may be identified with anything else according to fancy; witness Lanzoni's twenty-four variants for Hathor, as an addition to Plutarch's equation  $Isis = Mut = Hathor = Methuer$ , as Lockyer gives it—it does seem possible to adopt as a working hypothesis the idea that in Egypt the sun and the stars were noted, and perhaps worshipped, at their rising and setting rather than at their meridian passages. If it were so, one can imagine an explanation for the feature which is characteristic of many Egyptian temples, the narrow central passage running from the 'naos' or shrine, clear through the complexities of the inner and outer courts, strictly defined by narrow pylons, and sometimes continued beyond the temple down a long avenue of sphinxes. The temple was an observatory, dedicated to the worship of one of the heavenly bodies,

and the straight passage from the shrine pointed to the place where it rose or set.

Now this theory has one incontestable advantage. Every line drawn at random must point to the place where some conspicuous star rose or set at one epoch or another. The dates of Egyptian history are so remote, and their uncertainty for the early period is so great, that we have to deal with lapses of time which are no small fractions of the precessional period of 26,000 years, in which the pole describes a circle in the sky nearly fifty degrees across. The distances from the pole, and therefore the places of rising of all the stars, are always changing, and in the course of a thousand years they change a great deal; the same temple which would in 1500 B.C. point to the rising of Spica would 1700 years later serve for Procyon. If one would identify a certain temple with a star, one must know the date of the temple and see if there is a star that fits it, or inversely discover by guessing or otherwise the star that was deified, and put back the date of the temple building to correspond. How infinite are the possibilities of the latter process may be read in Sir Norman Lockyer's work, *The Dawn of Astronomy*, and how effectively the results may be criticised, in the *Edinburgh Review* thereon.<sup>1</sup> There are in the scheme of identifying temples with stars two fatal weaknesses: in nearly every case it is necessary to go back far beyond the date which archæologists have fixed for the building, because it is absurd to go far forward, and there is no star to suit at the accepted date; and very often the star which is thus found is curiously inconspicuous; one cannot believe that its appearance on the horizon, which is mist-laden even in Egypt, would have furnished a spectacle that wanted a vast and splendid temple for its celebration.

But among the countless temples of Egypt there are a few, and one of them the most magnificent of all, the temple of Amen-Rā at Karnak, that seem to be related to the sun. Any temple in the latitude of Thebes that points within twenty-six degrees of east or west will catch along its axis the rays of the rising or the setting sun on one day or another of the year; but these temples have a special orientation. They point to the sun at the solstices, at midsummer or mid-winter, the days when the sun rises and sets further north or south than at any other time of the year. To the temple of Amen-Rā Sir Norman Lockyer devotes a whole chapter. The orientation is  $26\frac{1}{2}$  degrees north of west; it points nearly to the place of sunset on midsummer day; not exactly, for an observation in 1891 showed that the centre of the sun now sets behind the southern wall of the propylon, even if one is watching from a point on the axis two or three hundred yards from the shrine towards the entrance. The difference may, of course, be explained by the slow

<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, October 1894.

change in the inclination of ecliptic to equator to which reference has already been made. Here is the description of the building and the suggestion of its use :

From one end of the temple to the other we find the axis marked out by narrow apertures in the various pylons, and many walls with doors crossing the axis.

In the temple of Amen-Rā there are seventeen or eighteen of these apertures, limiting the light that falls into the Holy of Holies or the sanctuary. This construction gives one a very definite impression that every part of the temple was built to subserve a special object, viz. to limit the light which fell on its front into a narrow beam, and to carry it to the other extremity of the temple—into the sanctuary—so that once a year when the sun set at the solstice the light passed without interruption along the whole length of the temple, finally illuminating the sanctuary in most resplendent fashion and striking the sanctuary wall. The wall of the sanctuary opposite to the entrance to the temple was always blocked. There is no case in which the beam of light can pass absolutely through the temple.

What, then, was the real use of these pylons and these diaphragms ? It was to keep all stray light out of the carefully roofed and darkened sanctuary ; but why was the sanctuary to be kept in darkness ?

If the Egyptians wished to use the temple for ceremonial purposes, the magnificent beam of light thrown into the temple at the sunset hour would give them opportunities and even suggestions for so doing. For instance, they might place an image of the god in the sanctuary, and allow the light to flash upon it. We should have 'a manifestation of Rā' with a vengeance during the brief time the white flood of sunlight fell on it.

The picture is convincing. Whatever may be the ultimate verdict on the star temples, one is almost persuaded that we have in the temple of Amen-Rā the very type and ideal of a temple fitted for sunset ceremonies on midsummer evening. The enclosed and darkened sanctuary, the rigid limitation of light by pylons and gateways all along the length of a very long axis, the subservience of the design to the preservation of a central passage straight and unencumbered, are the criteria by which we should judge a solar temple. The exactness of workmanship of what remains must be the measure of our confidence that its builders worked with mathematical accuracy.

\* In a paper not long since presented to the Royal Society, Sir Norman Lockyer and Mr. F. C. Penrose described 'An attempt to ascertain the date of the original construction of Stonehenge from its orientation.' Let us examine their results in the light of the interpretation which the authors have given of the methods of old astronomical building, exemplified in Egypt and in Greece. The whole of the argument rests upon the assumption that Stonehenge was a solar temple.

The chief evidence lies in the fact that an 'avenue,' as it is called, formed by two ancient earthen banks, extends for a considerable distance from the structure, in the general direction of the sunrise at the summer solstice, precisely in

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the same way as in Egypt a long avenue of sphinxes indicates the principal outlook of a temple.

These earthen banks defining the avenue do not exist alone. As will be seen from the plan which accompanies this paper, there is a general common line of direction for the avenue and the principal axis of the structure, and the general design of the building, together with the position and shape of the Naos, indicate a close connection of the whole temple structure with the direction of the avenue. There may have been other pylon and screen equivalents as in ancient temples, which have disappeared, the object being to confine the illumination to a small part of the Naos. There can be little doubt also that the temple was originally roofed in, and that the sun's first ray, suddenly admitted into the darkness, formed a fundamental part of the cultus.

It is difficult to imagine a building more utterly unlike in plan an Egyptian temple than Stonehenge. Within a circular bank of earth, three hundred feet across, is a smaller circle of thirty equidistant stones supporting lintels. This is the boundary of the building proper, a surprisingly perfect circle. Within are the remains of five trilithons, and a number of small upright stones which seemed to have formed two more circles. The trilithons stand in the form of a horseshoe; they are the only part of the building which is not perfectly symmetrical about a point, the centre; the only part, therefore, which can be said to have an axis. The axis of the horseshoe passes pretty closely through the centres of two opposite openings in the outer ring of stones, and points towards the sunrise. When a line is drawn to show it on the plan it is fairly evident; take the line away and there is only the general symmetry of the horseshoe of trilithons about one diameter to distinguish it from any other of the fifteen diameters of the circle that pass through pairs of opposite openings in the outer ring. The horseshoe is fifty feet across; the whole building a hundred. Where is there in these proportions any likeness to the temple at Karnak, with its passage twenty feet wide running straight and open through a building about fifteen hundred feet by seven hundred? The 'pylons and other screen equivalents which have disappeared,' the roof and the darkness, exist nowhere but in suggestion. It is easy to understand how, to bring an appearance of verisimilitude into the comparison, it was essential to dwell upon the avenue.

Two parallel banks with their complementary ditches, about fifty feet apart, form the avenue. It starts from the earth circle nearly, but according to Petrie not quite opposite the opening in the outer ring of stones that faces the trilithon and the altar stone, and it runs north-east towards the midsummer sunrise. With the single exception of the Heel-stone there is no stone standing within it now, and no sign that any has stood there in the past; no evidence of pylons to limit the view, or indeed of anything, save its identity of direction, to show that it formed an integral part of the stone

building. It is just a pair of low earthen banks running steadily down hill, out of sight altogether from the point behind the trilithon whence the sunrise is watched. Where is the likeness here to the view from the shrine of Amen-Rā of the furthest pylon of the temple 1,500 feet away, seen through innumerable doors? Yet despairing of being able to find an accurate orientation for Stonehenge itself, when some stones had fallen, and others were leaning, and all was rough, and the whole building was only 100 feet across, Sir Norman Lockyer and Mr. Penrose have based their estimate of the date of foundation—1680 B.C.—entirely on the orientation of the avenue, determined as follows. They pegged out as best they could the central line between the low and often mutilated banks, and measured the bearings of two sections of this line near the beginning and the end. The values differed by only six minutes of arc, so the avenue is remarkably straight even in its present imperfect state. But :

This value of the azimuth, the mean of which is  $49^{\circ} 35' 51''$ , is confirmed by the information, also supplied by the Ordnance Survey, that from the centre of the temple the bearing of the principal bench mark on the ancient fortified hill, about eight miles distant, a well-known British encampment named Silbury or Sidbury is  $49^{\circ} 34' 18''$ , and that the same line continued through Stonehenge to the south-west strikes another ancient fortification, namely, Grovely Castle, about six miles distant and at practically the same azimuth, viz.  $49^{\circ} 35' 51''$ . For the above reasons  $49^{\circ} 34' 18''$  has been adopted for the azimuth of the avenue.

There is something uncanny about this argument. The authors are trying to find the place of a pre-historic sunrise by assuming that the avenue pointed to it. They measured the direction of the avenue, and found that the measures agreed so very nearly with the Ordnance Survey measure of the direction of their mark—presumably on the highest point—at Sidbury camp, that they adopted the latter measure rather than their own; in other words, they agreed that the avenue is directed very exactly to Sidbury. Henceforward one cannot leave Sidbury out of the argument. As against the theory that the avenue pointed to the sunrise there is the fact that it points to Sidbury. The latter is no more likely to be accidental than the former. There are two courses open to us. On the one hand we may suppose that the avenue was drawn to lead over the down to Sidbury camp, and had no intentional relation to the place of sunrise. On the other hand we may suppose that Sidbury is in the sunrise line not by accident but by design; that it forms an integral part of the solar temple of Stonehenge. And since the camp occupies the summit of a steep and isolated hill, while Stonehenge lies on a wide and gently sloping down, it is plain that the camp end of the Stonehenge-Sidbury line must have been fixed first, and the site of the temple determined by prolonging the line sunrise-

Sidbury till it struck a suitable place on the down. There is nothing impossible in this; the question is, Can it be said to be so probable that one is justified in finding a date for Stonehenge from the direction of the line so drawn? Which is the greater improbability, that the Stonehenge-sunrise line was laid out so that it passed over the peak of Sidbury hill eight miles away, so nearly invisible from Stonehenge by reason of an intervening down that Sir Norman Lockyer thought that the latter formed the local horizon, and makes no mention of having seen Sidbury over its top, though the Ordnance Survey party could do so; or that the line of an avenue setting out from Stonehenge straight towards Sidbury happens to point to the place where the sun rose at a date which is perhaps as likely as any other for the foundation of the building, seeing that archaeology unaided can tell practically nothing on the subject?

If preference be given to the first alternative, and we assume that Stonehenge really was so placed that Sidbury marked the point where the sun rose on midsummer morning, the question still remains, Was it done so accurately that it is worth measuring accurately now, and drawing from the measures an exact statement of date? It may well be objected that in our climate Sidbury is probably not visible from Stonehenge at sunrise once in twenty years, and that the likelihood of a long delay in drawing out the plan of so great a work would very soon have induced the builders to adopt a line near enough for their purposes though not for ours. Another objection is that Stonehenge is a 'rude stone monument': Karnak emphatically is not: very probably it is the finest piece of building that the world has seen. It is straining analogy almost to the breaking-point to argue from one to the other, and treat Stonehenge as a solar temple because perhaps the shrine of Amen-Rā at Karnak was. And lastly there is the grave difficulty that everything depends upon guessing right what is to be considered the critical phase of the sunrise or sunset. Sir Norman Lockyer has assumed that for Karnak the moment of sunset was when the sun's centre had just reached the horizon; for Stonehenge sunrise was the moment when the first tip of the sun appeared above the hill. It was necessary to adopt these precise yet different phases for the two cases, because any other assumptions would have led to results obviously absurd. The unconfessed discrepancy of treatment tacitly confesses how arbitrary is the process.

One may well doubt whether anything is gained by these attempts to help out the deficiencies of archaeology with the aid of astronomy. Archaeology is all the worse if an uncertain date is made to masquerade as a certainty in plumes borrowed from astronomy; and astronomy, which has a character for accuracy to lose, is apt to lose it in the company.

ARTHUR R. HENKE.

## WESSEX WITCHES, WITCHERY, AND WITCHCRAFT

### INTRODUCTION.

It was just a casual word, dropped by a chance acquaintance, which first aroused in me an active interest in witchcraft. The subject had always exercised a fascination over me—chiefly from the mystery which underlies everything in connection with it, baffling science to frame laws which can adequately define it, and leaving us free to place our individual construction on its causes and effects. It is a fundamental truth that everything in the universe must be governed by laws, but in investigating witchcraft we are stopped at the outset by finding that like causes do not produce like effects, that the unravelling of one mystery in no way helps towards the solution of a second.

A few years ago I should have used the word 'superstition,' in connection with witchcraft, as a mere matter of course; but now, having listened to so many stories bearing on this subject, having interviewed so many people who have themselves been under the spell, having even conversed with those supposed to be gifted with a power emanating direct from the devil himself, I am disposed to question the appropriateness of applying this word to a belief which, strange though we may consider it in this century of advanced education and civilisation, does nevertheless hold a firm place in the hearts and minds of many of the less sophisticated, as well as in the intellects of some of the more thoroughly educated people.

Credence in the supernatural dates from prehistoric times, and we may easily trace instances of this from the time when Moses thundered his denunciation 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live,' almost without a gap down to the present day; but it was probably in mediæval times that witchcraft was most indulged in, most feared, and more often visited with gruesome results—as far as the witches were concerned.

It will be remembered that John Knox was once accused of being a wizard; and for what? Because nothing but sorcery, so it was

said, could account for Lord Ochiltree's daughter, 'ane damosil of nobil blude,' falling in love with him, 'ane old, decrepit creature of maist base degree of ony that could be found in the countrey.' In the year 1537 Lady Janet Douglas was burned at Edinburgh, with the taint of being a witch. It often happened in those days that a person became famous through being able to identify certain marks on certain people, which were supposed to go with, and be inseparable from, the properties of witchcraft. Mr. John Bell, a minister of the Gospel at Gladsmuir, in his *Discourse on Witchcraft*, said: 'Sometimes it is like a little teate, sometimes but a bluwish spot, and I myself have seen it in the body of a confessing witch, like unto a little powder-mark of a blea color, somewhat hard, and withall insensible, so as it did not bleed when I pricked it'!

Many of our poets have taken the subject as their theme, most of them treating it as being full of horrible, revolting incidents. Rowe's lines are particularly suggestive of morbid imagination:

At length in murmurs hoarse her voice was heard;  
Her voice beyond all plants, all magic, fear'd,  
And by the lowest Stygian gods revered:  
Her gabbling tongue a muttering tone confounds,  
Discordant, and unlike to human sounds;  
It seem'd of dogs the bark, of wolves the howl;  
The doleful screechings of the midnight owl;  
The hiss of snakes, the hungry lion's roar;  
The sound of billows beating on the shore;  
The groan of winds among the leafy wood,  
And burst of thunder from the rending cloud,  
'Twas these, all these in one.

Practically all prose writers who have touched the subject have been to the pains of condemning witchcraft in no half-hearted terms. Gilfillan speaks of a witch as 'A borderer between earth and hell,' while Martin Luther, with his intolerance of the thoughts of others, his prejudice regarding things which he was either ignorant of, or did not personally agree with, says: 'Witchcraft we may justly designate high treason against Divine Majesty, a direct revolt against the infinite power of God.' Goethe, showing a broader grasp of the subject, gives this definition: 'The demonio is that which cannot be explained by reason or understanding, which is not in one's nature, yet to which it is subject.' Goldsmith, in a little essay on *Deceit and Falsehood*, evidently has it in his heart to pity the supposed witches who, either rightly or wrongly, suffered the extreme penalty for acts which they may, or may not, have been the cause of. In sarcastic strain he ends his essay:

If we enquire what are the common marks and symptoms by which witches are discovered to be such, we shall see how reasonably and mercifully those poor creatures were burned and hanged who unhappily fell under that name. In the first place, the old woman must be prodigiously ugly; her eyes hollow and red; her face shrivelled; she goes double, and her voice trembles. It frequently



happens that this rueful figure frightens a child into the palpitation of the heart; home he runs, and tells his mamma that Goody such a one looked at him, and he is very ill. The good woman cries out, her dear baby is bewitched, and sends for the parson and the constable. It is, moreover, necessary that she be very poor. It is true, her master, Satan, has mines and hidden treasures in his gift; but no matter, she is, for all that, very poor, and lives on alms. She goes to Sisly the cook-maid for a dish of broth, or the heel of a loaf, and Sisly denies them to her. The old woman goes away muttering, and perhaps in less than a month's time, Sisly hears the voice of a cat and sprains her ankles, which are certain signs that she is bewitched. . . .

The old woman has always for her companion an old grey cat, which is a disguised devil too, and confederate with Goody in works of darkness. They frequently go journeys into Egypt upon a broom-staff in half an hour's time, and now and then Goody and her cat change shapes. . . .

There is a famous way of trying witches recommended by King James the First. The old woman is tied hand and foot and thrown into the river, and if she swims she is guilty, and taken out and burned; but if she is innocent she sinks, and is only drowned.

Then, drawing attention to the improved conditions which existed in his own time, he concludes with the words: 'An old woman may be *miserable now*, and not be *hanged* for it.'

Until a few years ago, when I commenced serious investigations, I had looked on witchcraft as a defunct, historical delusion; and I was surprised, not to say startled, when I discovered that it was far from dead, but existed still as a firmly rooted belief amongst a large proportion of the older people. 'Do I b'lieve in them witches?' said an old man to me once. 'Why, of course I do; don't they speak o't in the Bible? And if s'be as such things did come about then, why shouldn't we find 'em now?'

I have spent many a pleasant hour listening to some of these mysterious tales, chiefly from the lips of the older men and women, but occasionally from people of less than middle age. They tell them, too, with such perfect sincerity, such ingenuous whole-heartedness, that to doubt the narrators' actual belief in their statements would be simply narrow-minded bigotry.

Since the time when laws were framed to protect reputed witches from receiving the summary justice with which their acts were formerly met, at the same time punishing those who set themselves up as 'witch doctors' or 'conjurers,' the people have maintained a discreet reserve on the subject; and it is only by gaining their complete confidence that they can be induced to speak out plainly. However, by unconditionally promising that, in any second-hand expression of their stories, neither names nor localities shall be mentioned, I have usually found it a comparatively easy task to obtain from them the fullest particulars, even including the names of people still living, and the places of their residence.

Some of these stories are of a character which will scarcely bear repetition, not because they are obscene, but because they are frank

in unconventional details! The main facts of those that I re-tell are absolutely true, and the licence which I have allowed myself is merely that of weaving them into sufficient consecutiveness to merit the name 'story' being applied with significance. Many of the narrators being still alive, I have altered all the original names, both of people and places, in order that actual identification may be a matter of impossibility.

The ancient language of Wessex (some people prefer to call it a dialect) is rapidly becoming extinct; in fact, it is open to doubt whether anyone now living can give us more than a faint approximation of the original, excepting, perhaps, Thomas Hardy in his inimitable Wessex novels. Some words still in use bear the true ring, and a few of the idioms are retained, but the contamination of board-school education has ruined all chance of our ever hearing it again in its purity or completeness. The everyday speech of Wessex, which passes muster as a dialect, is but a fragmentary relic of a bygone language—dead as its originators.

The difficulty attending all attempts to reproduce even the present-day mixture is necessarily great, many of the voice inflections being so subtle in character as to defy ordinary spelling; unless, indeed, we resort to the unlimited use of accents and diphthongs—a procedure which would prove tedious, both to reader and writer. The orthography used in the following stories is based on the phonetic value of what may be heard *at the present time*, and I accordingly offer no apology for any spelling which may not be identical with that of other writers.

#### THE EPISODE AT WOODLANDS.

Widow Cotton had lived for many years in the village of River-ton, and was looked on by most of her neighbours as a being gifted with abnormal powers—a person to be feared and revered in the same breath. She had been a martyr to chronic rheumatism for fifteen years, the last ten she had been entirely bed-ridden. Her age was a mystery, even to herself, but it is certain that she cannot have been far short of ninety; her unimpaired memory of events which happened during the early part of last century giving colour to the supposition.

She was regarded as an authority on such matters as manorial boundaries, and it was by asking some trivial question about a right-of-way that I first made her acquaintance. From then on I used to pay her occasional visits, taking her papers to read, or spending an hour or two in chatting with her. From ordinary, everyday subjects I gradually led her on to talk of witches and witchcraft; naturally reticent, like most of her class on this subject, it was some time before I was able to induce her to speak openly and without

restraint, but after a time I gained her confidence and drew from her many a tale of weird, scarce-credible fact.

Once, soon after I first knew her, I asked some rather leading question, and instead of replying she eyed me suspiciously for a moment or two and then said, 'Have'ee ever heerd anybody say as how I be mixed up wi' witches an' their ways?'

Very honesty made me admit that I had heard people say she knew more than most of her neighbours about such things; and I believe this very admission made her trust me the more, for she must have known what the common talk about her was.

'Tidn' true then,' she said; 'I bain't no wiser nor what others be; 'tis a cruel lie, that's what 'tis, to make out such wicked stories about a poor wold bed-ridden 'oman like I. I've a-kep' my eyes and years open goin' dthrough life, whereas most o' the folk hereabout do keep their mouths agape, an' their eyes and years closed.'

One evening I found her in a rare humour for talking, and on asking her if she knew of any case of 'overlooking' near Riverton, she gave me the following story:

'Tmust be close on sixty year ago, when I wer' still but a young 'oman, that me and my husband went to live wi' Varmer Voot to 'Oodlands. My husband wer' carter, an' as ther' wadn' a house empty there-right we was forced to go and live into a house joinin' 'Oodlands Dairy, best part o' a mile from the varm. These dairy wer' let to a dairyman name o' Lock; he, an's wife, an's eldest daughter did do all the work, for 'twere but a small dairy, look, an' so the two cottages what did go wi' the dairy was lef' empty. The one we went to live in, an' the t'other wer' rented to Varmer Tuck's shepherd—Varmer Tuck's land joinin' on to Maester's.

'We was all very good friends indeed, an' did use to meet very often evenin's an' talk an' chat together, an' never s'much's a breath o' wind come between us. Well, one marnin', bout of a ten o'clock, Mrs. Lock come into kitchen an' vlings herself down into chair, dhrows her apron over her head, an' sets-to cryin' fit to empt' herself.

'“Why, whatever have a-upset 'ee?” says I. “Don't'ee take on so,” I says, “ther's a good 'oman; tell I what 'tis what do worry'ee.”

'“Sarah,” says she, twixt her bouts o' sobbin', “'tis hagrod, that's what we be. I ain't said nothin' to nobody about it 'cos I doesn' dare to speak o't; but ther', tidn' no mortal use to 'bide still no longer, for we be just losin' everything. Dhree pigs be dead an' buried, an' now the mare be took curious-like, an' we be feared she'll make a die o't, too.”

'I quieted her down all's ever I could, an' by'm'by she got more cheerfuller-like an' went on whome again. The same evenin' I telled Shep's wife about 'en, an' 'stead o' she sayin' anything, she just bed quiet an' said nothin' at all. I never thought upon it then, but

afterwards I remembered that she turned s' white's a sheet, an' looked same's if she wer' goin' to faint.

' Bout o' a dhree days later Mrs. Lock come in again an' says to I, "Thic ther' mare what I told'ee on have a-died in the night, an' now two o' the cows be got rafty an' 'ont gie down their milk. Ah! Sarah," she says, "we be overlooked, that's what the manin' o't is, an' if we caint find out who 'tis what've a-put these evil wish on us, we'm bound to lose all what we've a-got."

' Who should chance to come by the house at that moment but Nance Bridle. Don't suppose you've ever heerd tell o' she, an' she be dead an' buried years ago now, but she wer' always looked on as a terr'ble cunnin' 'oman; an' I says to Mrs. Lock, says I, "'Ther's Nance a-goin' by house now, let we goo an' ast she about it, for 'tis likely enough she can tell we who 'tis as have a-done these evil to'ee."

' Well, I opens the door an' holleys at her. "Nance," I says, "will'ee come in yhere half a minit, someone d'want to speak to'ee?" So back she comes, an' when 'er gets inside 'er says, "Marnin', Mrs. Lock, beautiful marnin's marnin', 'tis a gr't pity that folke should think ill o' one another when Zun d'zhine s'bright."

' Lor! how Mrs. Lock did open her eyes to be sure when Nance spoke they words, an' she stammers out, "Why, that's just what we did want to speak to 'ee about; somebody have a-wished ill o' us, an' Sarah yhere says as how you be a terr'ble cunnin' 'oman to find out 'bout things."

' Nance Bridle did use to get about the country wi' a basket o' odds and ends, buttons, stay-laces, wools for darnin' an' such like things, an' she did traipse about from place to place sellin' one thing yhere an' another ther' an' so made enough money to keep herself respectable. She took the strap o' the basket off of her shoulder, an' set 'en down on floor, sets herself down into a chair, an' turnin' to Mrs. Lock, says: "So you've a-lost dhree pigs, Mrs. Lock, an' the roan mare be dead an' buried, an' now the cows 'on't gie down their milk? 'Tis a real bad job for 'ee, that 'tis, an' I says to myself as I come along the broad this marnin', 'I be terr'ble sorry now for poor folk up to 'Oodlands Dairy, that I be.'"

' Mrs. Lock wer' struck all o' a heap when Nance says this, 'cos she knowed Nance couldn't a-heerd about the cows, even s'posin' anybody had told her about the pigs an' the harse; but she pulls herself together a bit an' says, "Now however did 'ee learn about we an' our trouble, Nance?"

' "Never you mind, my dear," says Nance, "I be a seventh child o' a seventh, I be, an' I do get to hear about things what other folk don't so much as dream of."

' "True," says I, "'tis Gospel truth what you've a-spoke, an' accin as you do know all about things, tidn' scarcely worth while for we to

waste good breath tellin' 'ee anything further. P'r'aps, then, Nance, you can tell we who 'tis d'do<sup>1</sup> these piece of ill-wishin'?"

"No," Nance do hreply, "I caint tell 'ee who 'tis, but I d' 'low<sup>2</sup> I can show 'ee!"

"Now, Mrs. Lock," said Nance, "do you go and draw a bucket o' water out o' well, an' bring 'en yhere-right, an' mind an' see as 'tis a clean bucket, an' clean water; an' he must be brim-full."

'So Mrs. Lock goes out to get the bucket o' water, an' when she wer' gone Nance turns to I an' says: "Sarah," she says, "you've a-knowled I this many a year—long enough to be sure as I 'ouldn't play no hokey pokey games wi' 'ee; if I don't show 'ee who 'tis as have a-wished these evil thing thee can't call I a liar."

'When Mrs. Lock comes back wi' the bucket o' water, Nance takes 'en an' puts 'en down on doorstep; then she stirs 'en roun' wi' her arm, an' when he've a-settled down, an' got quite still-like, she says: "Now then Souls, come an' look into 'en, an' tell I what you do see; only don't speak it out loud, but under you breaths-like."

'We all dhree bends over 'en, but for some time we caint see nothin'; then, all of a sudden, Mrs. Lock calls out an' drops into a chair, her face all of a sweat. I never says anything but jist goes on lookin'; and presently I sees a face stand out s' clear's a potograph, an' who do 'ee think 'tw'er, sir—why 'tw'er Shep's wife, she what did live next door! I see 'en 's plain 's what I d' see you now, sir, an' I wer' took all of a tremble-like, an' couldn' a-spoke a word, no not to save my life.

"Well," says I when I wer' got over the fright a bit, "an' whoever 'd a-thought as she wer' such a wicked 'oman? What be us to do now, Nance?"

"I can gie 'ee somethin'," says she, "what 'll likely stop 'en; but I caint be quite certain sure about it."

'She opens her basket an' fetches out a paper parcel about so big over as a orange, an' gies 'en to Mrs. Lock. "Yhere," she says, "you go an' put these into chimney o' Shep's house when the folk be all out; tie a piece o' string on to 'en an' hang 'en up 'bout o' a dhree foot high, but be sure you don't look inside the paper. If thic d'pn't stop it, you send an' let I know, an' I'll bring 'ee a stronger charm."

'That same evenin' we kep' watch, an' when Shep's wife went out wi' a basket hung on to her arm, we steps in an' hangs up the charm same as Nance said for.

'Nex' marnin', after Shep wer' gone to 's work, 'Lizbeth she comes over to I an' says, "I ain't had a wink o' sleep all night, my arm be that painful," an' she rolls up her sleeve an' shows me her arm. 'Twer' black's a cwoal an' swelled up dreadful. "Can 'ee make out what's come wi't?" she asks. "No, that I caint," says I. "I d' 'low<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Do do = does.

<sup>2</sup> Do allow.

you'd best go up to Riverton an' show 'en to Doctor; p'raps he can gie'ee somethin' to ease 'en a bit." Off she goes, an' by'm'by back her come again wi' a bottle o' stuff, for to rub into 'en. Every marnin', reg'lar, for a whole week, she goes up to show 'en to Doctor, an' after another week'd a-passed her arm wer' pretty nearly well again.

'Now all that time everything wer' goin' on all right in the dairy. The cows gied down their milk same's ever; the new harse what Dairyman'd a-bought got the better of's lameness; and the fowls never stole<sup>3</sup> their nestes, but dropped their aigs in fowl-house, same's should.

'Ther' wer' a kind o' queer feelin' crope up 'tween Lizbeth an' me an' Mrs. Lock, an' for some time we never s'much's spoke a word, nor wished each other the time o' day. Then, one marnin', Lizbeth comes to me an' says, "My arm be all right again now; I caint think what wer' got wi' 'en, an' Doctor couldn' tell I, nuther; twer' some terr'ble strong stuff what he gied I to rub into 'en. Doctor be a terr'ble clever man I b'lieve."

'The nex' day wer' a Zunday, an' me an' John we starts off early for to go an' see my sister what do live up to Kinson, look. Twer' latish when we got back, an' pitch dark, but we seed a light movin' about in barkon, an' John says to I: "Whatever be 'em up to, then, out in barkon wi' a light these time o' night; bes' go an' see what they be up to I d' 'low."<sup>4</sup> So in we goes, an' ther' wer' Dairyman an's wife bendin' over summat on the ground, an' jist as we come up he says: "Taint a marsel of use to bide about an' look at 'en; her's dead—so dead's a nit." And ther', stretched out on ground, wer' the new black harse what they'd a-bought, stiff an' stark.

'Lor, that wer' a night's work, an' no mistake. John an' Dairyman wer' out an' about all night, an' me an' Mrs. Lock sat up in the kitchen an' bwoiled kittle for to make 'em a drop o' tea every now an' again. As soon as twer' light Dairyman comes in an' says: "I be off to try an' find Nance Bridle, same's she said for, an' we'll see whe'r or no she be able to tell us what to do."

'John went off too, for to see to's harses, but Mrs. Lock 'ouldn' let I out o' her sight. "No," she says, "you bide along o' me till William do hreturn; I 'ouldn' bide alone in these house, no not, if 'twas ever so."

'Twer' gettin' late in the afternoon when Dairyman got back, an' he wer' pretty near tired to death, but the look on's face wer' cheerful-like. "Gie I a mouthful o' vittuls," he says, "an' then I'll tell'ee what we've a-got to do."

'Me an' Mrs. Lock was all of a tremble to hear what he'd a-got to tell o'; but we was forced to wait a bit, for he bed ther' chawin's bread an' vinny,<sup>5</sup> an' grinnin' to's self every now an' then.

<sup>3</sup> To 'steal' a nest = to lay eggs in some hidden spot.

<sup>4</sup> Do allow.

<sup>5</sup> Cheese with blue-mould.

'When he'd a-satisfied's hunger he looked up an' turned to's wife. "Ellen," he says, "go an' get I the pig-killin' knife, thic new one what I bought in to Darchester last Saturday."

'Lor, how we two did jump to be sure, 'cos we thought, look, he wer' for goin' in an' makin' short work o' Lizbeth. "No, William," says Ellen, "thee shaint do no such wicked thing; no, not for all the pigs an' fowls an' harses in the wide world."

"Don't thee be a fool, 'oman," says Dairyman, "do thee go an' get the knife, an' quick about it."

'While she wer' gone to get 'en, Dairyman turns to I an' says, "Be your man whome?"

"Yes," I says, "I d' 'low 'er be."

"Then go an' ast 'en to come in yhere. An' will you please to go out in garden an' bring in a bit o' sage-green, a good han'full o' peppermint, an' 'bout o' a twenty-five or thirty chepholes? Put 'em all in the crock an' fill 'en up 'bout o' a dhree parts full o' water, an' hang 'en up over vire."

'I does what Dairyman do say for, an' he an' John goes out into barkon, takin' thic gr't ugly pig-killin' knife along wi' 'em. In 'bout o' a ten minutes back they comes, Dairyman wi' a lump o' summat red in's hand which he takes an' plops into crock. "Thic be poor wold Blossom's heart," he says, "thic be; an' we've a-got to let 'en zimmer for a good half-hour."

'Then he turns to my man, an' says: "John," says he, "I d'want you to go an' ast my cousin James if he'll lend I his little maid Jessie for a bit; say I've a-got a bit o' a job for she to do. An' as you do come back-along you make she pick out o' hedge a few score o' maiden tharns—don't you pick 'em, mind, but make she do it—an' see as they be maiden tharns an' not wold 'uns o' last year."

"Stop half a minute," he says, as John wer' for makin' off. "As you do come by shop, bring I on sixpennyworth o' brand-new pins, what ain't never been stuck into nothin' in their lives. We'll do the thing proper," he says, "same's Nance twold I to do't."

'When John come back wi' Jessie we'd got everything ready. Blossom's heart wer' got cwold an' wer' so tough's a bit o' leather; an' we'd a-put 'en on to a dish. "Now then, Jess," says Dairyman, "come an' sit in these chair, an' stick so many o' the tharns as you can into these side o' the mare's heart." An' when she'd a-done that he turned the heart round an' twold Jess to stick the other side full o' pins.'

I interrupted Widow Cotton for a moment to ask a few questions about the thorns. What did she mean by maiden thorns, and not old ones of last year's growth?

'Maiden tharns be tharns what've a-growed the same year as

\* Do allow.

\* Young onions.

they be picked ; wold tharns 'ouldn' be no good an' 'ouldn' work the spell, look. An' they'm bound to be 'picked an' stuck in by a maiden 'oman, an' that's why Dairyman sent for Jess, 'cos he knowed she wer' a little maid as he could be sure about, seein' as she wer' but twelve year wold come next tater-diggin'.

'And the pins ; were they bound to be new ones ?'

'Oh yes, to be sure ; wold pins 'ouldn' have no virtue lef' in 'em to draw blood.'

She then continued her story : 'When the heart wer' finished, an' stuck right full o' pins an' tharns, he did look for all the world like a 'idgehog, or a parcupine as they do call 'em, an' we tied 'en roun' wi' a piece o' string, an' bed an' watched to see when Shep's wife did go out.

'Shep wer' to work a bit away from the house, an' every evenin' his wife did use to take 'en up a can o' tea. We hadn' very long to wait before out she comes ; an' when she wer' gone out o' sight we all goes in to her house an' hangs Blossom's heart up in chituneey, so far as Dairyman could reach up, an' ther' we let 'en bide.

'Of course I know'd t'ould be all right, but all the same I couldn' bear to think upon the trouble what wer' comin' over the poor 'oman. Sure enough, afore many days wer' passed, she wer' took bad, an' wer' forced to bide in bed an' send for the doctor. He come an' seed her, an' sent her all manner o' stuff into bottles—strong stuff too, I d'low.<sup>a</sup> She had one bottle for to take, an' another for to rub in, an' a third for to goggle wi'—but it all wadn' no use—doctor couldn' do she no good ; clever as they may be, they caint do nothin' to stop it when a body have a-got a spell like this a-put on to 'em.

'For two months she peeked an' pined, got thinner an' thinner, worser an' worser, till she couldn' so much as turn herself over in bed. Then, one evenin' late, Shep came in an' asked I if I'd please to come in, 'cos his missus wer' sinkin' terr'ble fast. I didn' much care about the job, for 'tis ticklish work interferin' wi' they what be under a spell, but when I thought upon the poor 'oman a-lyin' ther' wi' nobody to attend to 'en like, I thinks to myself, "Yes, I'll go, an' take the risk o't."

'Lor', how she'd a-altered to be sure ! She wer' got that thin you could pretty nigh see dthrough 'en, an' she bed ther' coughin' fit to spit her lights up. I bed up wi' her all the night, an' just as the marnin' wer' breakin' she looks up at I s'pittyful, an' says, "I be goin' fast now," she says, "I d'know all about it, but I tell 'ee straight, Sarah, I couldn' help myself ; I wer' forced to do it. Will 'ee please give Shep a call, I d'want to speak to 'en."

'I holleyed to 'en to come s'quick's he could, but afore he could come up the stairs she wer' gone whome to her rest. I did all as

<sup>a</sup> Do allow.



was necessary for the poor body, an' then I tells Shep I wer' goin' back to make a cup o' tea, an' asked he to come over an' have a cup. "By'm'by," he says, "I'll come in by'm'by; an' thank'ee kindly for what you've a-done for I."

'D'rectly I come out o' house I seed Dairyman; he'd a-got a terr'ble scared look on's face, same's if he'd a-seen ghostesses; an' he says to me, "Sarah, what's a-goin' on in ther'? When I came out o' house, 'bout of a half-hour ago, I seed a gr't bird draw out o' top o' chimney—put me in mind o' a gr't black owl. He sot upon top o' the chimney for a minute or two, flappin's gr't black wings, and then fled away straight's a line for 'Oodlands Copse."

"She's dead," I made answer. "Lizbeth's dead an' stark; I've just been doin' the needful for her."

"What," says he, "do'ee mean to say as she be dead? Then I tell'ee what 'tis; thic bird what I seed wer' she sure enough, an' I d' 'low<sup>9</sup> twer<sup>9</sup> her spirit-like goin' whome. I'll go in an' tell the missus all about it."

Widow Cotton paused and rubbed the back of her horny, misshapen hand over her eyes. 'Ah, sir,' she said, 'tis a terr'ble thing to be witness of when any person be put under a spell.'

'And what about the pigs and cows?' I inquired; 'were they all right after that?'

'Yes, oh yes,' she responded, 'they never had any more trouble wi' their cows an' that so long's ever we knowed 'em. John an' me bed ther' close on five years after Shep's wife died, an' ther' wadn' so much as the death o' a nestletripe that I can mind o'.'

'You said that you had known Nance Bridle for many years. Do you know of any other instances of her power over witches?'

'Why, yes, sir, a plenty. I can mind when I seed her the first time, at my aunt's house up to Buston, when Charl wer' took bad—but 'tis gettin' late, sir, make so bold; but next time you do come to see I I'll tell'ee how twer' wi' Charl Gollop.'

So, with the promise of hearing another story from her, I took my leave, determining to pay her another visit at an early date.

#### HOW CHARLES GOLLOP WAS 'OVERLOOKED.'

A week passed before I once more found myself in Widow Cotton's cottage, eager to hear the story of her first acquaintance with Nance Bridle. After some conventional inquiries as to the state of her health, and the mutual retailing of a little of the current gossip, she commenced her story:

'It must have been ten or twelve years earlier than the time I told'ee of, when I an' John went to 'Oodlands, that I first met wi' Nance. I wer' a maiden then, an' wer' out to service.

<sup>9</sup> Do allow.

'So when they gied I a week's holiday, 'stead o' I goin' whome; I made up my mind I'd pass the time wi' my Aunt Alice. She an' Uncle did rent the dairy at Buston from Squire 'Ood—an' a pretty dairy it was, too, to be sure. I don't know whe'r you was ever to Buston, sir? But, 'tis a terr'ble out-step place, ten mile from Darchester, an' only one carrier a week, to an' fro.

'Twer' winter time, an' dark, when carrier stopped at the top o' the lane for me to get out, an' I wer' just about shrammed with the cworld. Aunt opened the door to my knock, an' I could see at once she wer' all of a fluster-like.

"Ah, Sarah," she says, "'tis but a awkward place you've a-come to, an' 'tis a deal o' trouble you'll find we in."

"What's the matter, Aunt?" I says. "Is one o' the childern bad?" You see, sir, I knowed how she wer' took up wi' the childern, an' I gussed at once what wer' the cause of her worry.

"No, *not yet*," she says, "but I be afeared to make a boast, seein' as what have already befallen. But come on in, child; supper is ready an' waitin', an' after we've a-had our fill I'll set-to an' tell'ee all about it."

'Gollop wer' sot down in chimney-corner, nursin's head in's hand, an' he did but turn 'self an' grunt out "'Evenin' to'ee, Sarah," 'stead o' gie'n me a kiss as her did always used to do. (Charl, their woldest bwoy, wer' sot down over-right Uncle, but he roused hisself an' met me wi' a half-ashamed kiss—he wer' fourteen year wold, look, an' bwoys be bashful at that age—leastways, they did *used* to be.

'We had our bit o' supper, but Charl an' I wer' the only ones as het into it rightly, Uncle an' Aunt seemin's if every mouthful 'ould choke 'em. When I'd a-had my fill, Aunt, wi' tears in her eyes, an' kind o' half-whisperin', said, "Sarah," she says, "'tis evil times be come upon us, child; the fact is we be overlooked by somebody or other—who 'tis d'do<sup>10</sup> it we caint be sure, but I've a-got my thoughts." An' she shook her head meaningly.

"I tell'ee I 'on't believe it, Mother," says Uncle; "I 'on't believe no such wicked thing o' folks."

"What is it then, Aunt?" I asks; 'cos I wer' curious-like to know what really wer' the matter, seein' as how they had but spoke in parables, like the old ancient people in the Testament.

"Everything's the matter," Aunt replied. "The whole place is under a spell. It began 'bout o' a month ago wi' the calves refusin' to suck; then the butter 'ouldn' come, no matter how long we did churn; then the chicken' stopped layin', all at one time. Yesterday, wold Bill Parsons hatched's leg into a hole goin' over Cas'way, an' put's knee out o' place—an' now, the next thing'll be the childern. Oh, they'll be took, they'll be took," she sobbed, "an' we shall be lef' desolate."

<sup>10</sup> Do do = does.

'Charl went on up to bed, an' before very long we went on too; an' I wer' that tired out I slep' like a log, as the sayin' is.

'Nothin' happened in the night, but the nex' mornin', as we was sot down to breakfast, Charl got up all of a sudden an' started ditherin' like a leaf; then he set-to holleyin', an' goin' up to wher' a gr't old-fashioned chair stood in the carner o' the kitcher, he lay down an' started climbin' in an' out o' the rungs o'n,<sup>11</sup> for all the world like one o' they water-snakes twistin' in an' out o' the rushes.

"'Ther,'" says Aunt, "didn' I tell'ee how t'ould be? Oh, my poor bwoy, my poor bwoy!"

'Up gets Uncle, an' walks over to wher' the bwoy wer' to. "Stop it, will'ee?" he says. "Stop it, Charl, else I'll set-to an' warm'ee." Charl never took no notice o' what Uncle said to 'en, but just kep' on goin' in an' out o' the rungs. Then Uncle picks up a stick an' gies 'en a pretty clout or two across's back; but all 'twas he holleyed the louder, but never stopp'd's antics.

'That made Uncle kind o' feared that Charl wer' really over-looked, an' he turns to Aunt an' says, "I be goin' to see if I caint meet wi' Nance Bridle; she's a cunnin' 'oman, she is, an' if anybody can find out the rights o' this business, 'tis she."

'In bout of a hour an' a half Uncle comes back wi' Nance in the trap, an' all the time he wer' gone Charl just kep' on climbin' dthrough the chair, till it made I pretty near giddy to bide an' watch 'en.

'Nance come in an' wished us the time o' day, an' then turned to Charl. "Poor child," she says, "to think that anyone could be so wicked as to torment a bwoy like that! There, my dear," says Nance, talkin' direct to Charl, "do you come an' talk to I, there's a good bwoy." But Charl only went on the faster wi's games.

"Can'ee tell I what we'd best to do?" asked Uncle.

"Ah, that I can," replies Nance; "I can show'ee the way to find out who 'tis d'do it; an' I can gie'ee a charm to stop it, too. Now, to-morrow mornin', so soon's ever you do come downstairs, you take an' put a bezom across the doorway; then you bide still an' watch, an' see what do happen. The witch-'oman, whoever 'tis, 'on't be able to come in door, but'll bide outside an' call out. When you've a-found out who 'tis, you take an' put these charm under her bed-clothes, 'pon top o' the mattress, look, only be sure an' see as she don't know you've a-done it." And Nance brings out of her pocket a little waxen figure wi' a lot o' pins stuck into 'en; she showed 'en to us, all but the face, an' that she said we must not look at. She wropped 'en up into a piece o' paper an' tied 'en wi' a piece o' string an' gied 'en to Uncle. "To-night," she goes on, "when you do go upstairs to bed, you put a whip athirt the staircase; that'll stop her from comin' up I d' 'low, whatever shape she do come in."

<sup>11</sup> Of 'en = of him.

'Uncle an' Aunt thanked Nance for her words o' comfort, an' Nance went off whome-along.

'Ther' was eight cottages handy to the Dairy, the folks what lived in 'em working mostly for Squire 'Ood, but in one o'm lived a wold widey 'oman named Ann Blain. She wer' past work, an' lived on a small pension what Squire's mother had a-lef' her by will. Now the nex' marnin' Aunt put the bezom across door, same's Nance said for, an' we bed an' watched to see who should come. You see, sir, most all the folk did send up marnin's for their drop o' milk, an' we thought it likely enough that the wicked-'oman 'ould come among the rest.'

'But,' I interrupted, 'what about the boy Charl; was he still climbing in and out of the chair rungs?'

'No, sir, to be sure not; he quieted down very soon after Nance lef', an' wer' all right in the afternoon-part. Well, as I was sayin', we waited an' watched. First goin' off come Mary Snook, the carter's wife: but she seed the bezom an' steps over 'en into dairy—so we knowed it wadn' she. Then come dhree little childern, an' they never took no notice o' nothin'. Then come Ann Blain, the wold widey-'oman what I twold'ee of, but 'stead o' she comin' in same's other folks'd a-done she bed outside an' cried out, jist same's if anybody wer' a-beatin' o' her.

'Uncle, he went out o' door an' asked she why she did bide ther' an' holley so, an' as she hadn' no hreply to gie'en he says: "Ab, 'tis you we've a-got to thank, is it, for doin' us all these kindness? You, what've a-had many a drop o' milk free; aye, an' more'n one score o' aigs gied'ee."

'Down she goes on her knees, plop. "Maester," she says, "dont'ee go to be hard on a poor wold 'oman, dont'ee now. If s'he's you'll look over it these time I swear to'ee I'll never do nothin' but pray for'ee on my bended knees whiles ever ther's breath lef' in my wold body. Missus," she says, catchin' sight o' Aunt, "do'ee now 'cede for me, a poor wicked 'oman, wi' the Maester yhere, an' beg 'en to show's mercy."

'Uncle always wer' a tender-hearted man when twer' anything to do wi' a 'oman, an' so after frightenin' her a tidy bit, an' showin' her the charm what he'd a-got, he promised not to punish her these time.

'She never gied they no more trouble wi' her evil practices, but I can mind when they left, an' Dairyman Palmer took on the dairy, all the mishtle you can think o' came to he. The pigs never farr'd till days late, an' then twer' a trip o' little better than nestletripes; the cows got rafty an' hooked one another; all the cats got drowned in the water-wheel, an' the brats carried away all the chicken. Oh, twer' terrible what went on at that dairy.

'Palmer knowed, o' course, as someone wer' wishin' them ill, but

although he asked all the neighbours who it could be, none o'em 'ouldn' tell on the wold widey-oman.

'But one marnin', when Palmer wer' goin' over Cas'way to fetch the cows, 'er seed a gr't white hare come lopity-lop all across groun', an' he folley'd 'en, an' seed 'en run into Ann Blain's cottage; an' he took to's heels an' runned after 'en, an' when 'er wer' come in 'er seed wold Ann a-vlung down into a chair, a-pantin' same's if her heart 'ould burst. 'Course 'er knowed, d'rec'ly minute, who twer' as had a-illwished 'em, an' so 'er goes to Conjurer Baker, a cunnin'-man what did live out on Afpul Heath, an' gets he to give 'en a spell, an' that wer' the end o' Ann Blain.'

'And you mean to say,' I queried, 'that she had taken on the form of a hare?'

'Ah, a hare, sure enough,' replied Widow Cotton. 'Dont'ee know, sir, as they witches be able to change theirselves into the shape o' any animal pretty near; but 'tis mostly a hare or a black cat they do hidey in.'

'Is there any way to distinguish a witch from any ordinary woman?' I asked.

'Well, ther', I can tell 'em fast enough, but I 'on't go so far as to say that *anybody* can tell 'em. They do most always wear summat red about 'em—maybe a red hat or a red cloak when they be out walkin', an' they've a-got a funny way in their walk—'tis more like a wamble than a proper step.'

HERMANN LEA.

## *THE INCREASE OF CANCER*

AMONG the maladies which affect the human race there are three classes which are so largely responsible for premature death that they are not only to be looked upon as subjects of interest and discussion among medical men, but must be recognised as matters of grave national concern. For this reason the zymotic and tuberculous diseases have long engaged the attention of the statesman as well as of the general public, and much has already been done to identify the causes and to diminish the insanitary conditions which lead to their occurrence, so that many of them can now be classed under the title of preventable disease.

Recently attention has been directed to the third class—the group known under the generic term of ‘malignant growths’—and it may not unreasonably be hoped that a closer study of the conditions under which these arise may lead, in this case also, to methods of prevention, if not of cure.

The steady increase in the mortality from cancer during the last thirty years is one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of medicine. In England the death-rate from cancer, which was in 1890, 67·6, had in 1900 risen to 82·8 per 100,000 living; an increase in round numbers of 4,500 in the annual total of deaths from this disease.

The following figures show more exactly the bearing of this death-rate:

Death-rate from Cancer per 100,000 living in 1900	Proportion of Cancer deaths to 100 deaths from all causes	Proportion of Cancer deaths to 100 deaths from all causes of persons of thirty-five years of age and up- wards
82·8	4·5	8·5

It will be seen that the disease caused nearly one in twenty of the whole number of deaths in the year, and rather more than one in twelve of the deaths of those over thirty-five; in 1890 the proportion of the latter was only one in twenty.

The steady yearly increase in the mortality from cancer is the more striking from the fact that it has manifested itself at a period during which hygienic conditions have in every way improved.

Moreover, the great advances of surgery during the same time have enabled operations for the removal of the disease never before undertaken to be performed with success. From this point of view it would, therefore, appear that the increase of the disease has been even greater than the larger mortality would indicate.

The constant growth of the proportion of deaths from malignant disease which has been observed in England is equally noticeable in Ireland, which has always had a comparatively low cancer mortality, but where the recent increase has been great enough to induce the Registrar-General to issue a special report on the subject. Further, it is not in the United Kingdom alone that the death-rate from this terrible disease grows steadily year by year; the same phenomenon is exhibited in almost every other country in the world. This is shown by the following table, which gives the death-rate from cancer in 1890 and 1900 in the countries named:

*Death-rate from Cancer per 100,000 Living.*

	1890	1900
Ireland . . . . .	46	61
Prussia . . . . .	45	61
Holland . . . . .	79	91
Norway . . . . .	61	84

The above figures, showing a growth of more than 30 per cent. in a period of ten years, cannot but be extremely alarming, and lead to the impression that if the rising tide cannot be checked cancer will, within a measurable period, be as great a scourge as the worst plagues of the Middle Ages.

It must, however, be admitted that it is doubtful whether there has been a real increase in the number of deaths quite as large as the comparative rates would lead us to suppose. Three facts have been suggested which may go to explain the larger figure which appears opposite to the heading 'Deaths from Cancer.' First, it is said that the older statistics were extremely imperfect; secondly, that the mortality from other diseases is now less than formerly, and therefore more survive to the later periods of life; thirdly, that improved methods of diagnosis have enabled many cases to be identified which were not formerly classed as cases of cancer. The first two points appear to be of little value. The statistical errors would probably not be all in one direction; nor does there appear to have been any sufficient increase in longevity in the last ten years to justify the assumption that an apparent increase in cancer could be assigned to this cause.

It is, however, no doubt true that greater knowledge and accuracy in dealing with disease lead to the result that many deaths are now properly registered as from cancer which in former years would have been ascribed to another cause. The truth of this is shown by the fact that it is not external cancers which have so

largely increased, but those in the more inaccessible parts of the body, and for that reason more difficult to recognise. So far as these cases are concerned, then, the expansion of the death-rate is apparent rather than real. At the same time, it is scarcely probable that diagnosis has been so steadily improving from year to year as to account for the annual growth of the figures. The truth appears to be that there has been a considerable increase in the deaths from cancer, but not so great as the figures would at first sight lead us to believe.

While, however, this is a matter of considerable interest to students of statistics, it must not be forgotten that it has no bearing on the amount of cancer at present prevailing. Could it even be established that the whole of the increase in the death-rate is only apparent, this would merely show that the disease was *more* common in past years than was supposed, and not *less* common now than the figures indicate; the grave fact is, that cancer was the cause in England and Wales alone of 26,721 deaths in 1900. When, in connection with this, it is remembered that the only hope of relief is to be found in the complete removal of the growth at an early stage, and that the disease is not to be cured or its progress stayed by any means at the disposal of medical science, it is evident that every possible investigation should be made which offers any hope of leading to the discovery of the cause. For it is clear that then only will it be possible to effectively treat this terrible malady. It may reasonably be hoped that in this, as in so many other cases, the discovery of the antidote will follow closely upon the identification of the poison.

The search for the cause of cancer has been considerably delayed by the view being long held that no such specific cause existed. For years the battle raged between the supporters of the rival theories of the constitutional and of the local origin of the malady, but neither party, at that time, had any suspicion of the existence of a definite external agent. The constitutionalists regarded this disease as a typical example of the result of a constitutional, *i.e.* hereditary, taint, and consequently took a hopeless view both as regards prevention and cure. The localists, considering malignant growths as the frequent result of a continuous local irritation, saw no reason for looking further for an explanation of their origin.

Both these views have been much modified as with the advance of medical science the conditions have been better understood. First, it has been gradually recognised how large a proportion of the deaths of individuals over forty is the result of cancer, and it has, therefore, become increasingly evident that the probabilities are in favour of a sufferer from this disease having one or more relations numbered among its victims. Further, the whole attitude of medical science towards what was known as hereditary disease has greatly changed in



recent years. While it is admitted that anatomical and physiological peculiarities are inherited which may predispose the system to the attacks of special disorders, it is now denied by many qualified observers that any disease is ever directly transmitted from parent to child. Many diseases once considered among the most marked examples of hereditary maladies are now recognised to be infectious. Consumption, long considered a typically hereditary disease, is now known to be entirely due to the action of a special bacillus introduced from without, and it is understood that the hereditary element only comes into play in so far as it may provide a suitable soil for the development of the microbe.

The result of this general change in the point of view from which constitutional diseases are now regarded is that a definite outside cause for cancer is being sought for more than ever before. By many it is thought that the disease must be of bacterial origin, and careful examination is continually being made with the view to isolating the special micro-organism, although hitherto without success. Others consider that over-indulgence in certain articles of diet, such as meat, fish, salt, or raw vegetables, invites the onset of the malady; while it must be admitted that there are some who still see the cause in mental anxiety or faulty hygienic surroundings.

I shall have to refer again to most of these theories, no one of which has found general acceptance—a matter which is not surprising when it is considered that in almost every case the opinion has been founded on a very limited number of facts. It will be easily understood that the deductions of even a highly skilled observer are likely to be erroneous if they be drawn mainly from the cases which have come under his individual observation, even if in some instances the number of these is large. A wider outlook would appear to be necessary in order to arrive at some definite conclusion, and in attempting to discover the etiology of a disease such as the one under consideration it is desirable to examine the statistics of deaths among large masses of people living under various conditions.

With this view I have recently made a series of calculations based on the recorded death-rates in most of the principal countries of Europe, as well as in some parts of the United States, and on the next page will be found the crude death-rate from cancer for various countries (mostly for the year 1900).

These figures show how greatly the incidence of cancer varies in different countries. While, however, some interesting inferences may be drawn from this fact, there are at least two reasons why the comparison of the death-rate from this disease in one country with that in another, would not give results which would be entirely trustworthy. In the first place, it must be observed that in some States the deaths from certain forms of tumour are included which in other countries are not comprised under the heading of cancer, and it is

*Death-rate from Cancer per 100,000 Living.*

England and Wales . . . . .	82.8
Scotland . . . . .	81.0
Ireland . . . . .	61.0
France (towns only) <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	104.0
German Empire <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	72.7
Austria . . . . .	70.4
Italy . . . . .	52.1
Switzerland <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	132.0
Holland . . . . .	91.3
Norway . . . . .	84.5
United States (registration area) . . . . .	60.0

thus not always certain what diseases exactly are classed under this heading. Secondly, the strictness of the laws concerning registration varies immensely in different States.

For these reasons I determined to take each country separately, and to investigate the incidence of cancer by examining the death-rates in its different divisions as compared with one another. The results so obtained were extremely interesting, and threw much light on the causes which underlie the development of a high mortality from malignant disease. The full tables which have been published elsewhere<sup>4</sup> are too long to be included in this article, but some of the figures will be found below. At the same time, I propose to explain the mode of calculation adopted and to point out what were the principal conclusions which resulted from the inquiry.

In each country the districts taken were those into which the State was ordinarily divided. In England, counties; in France, departments; in Germany and Austria, states and provinces were separately considered. A division into smaller units would be desirable, but could not be undertaken in this first inquiry.

In each district chosen the population, total number of deaths from all causes and deaths from cancer in one year were, except in one or two cases, obtained from official sources; and from these facts the proportion of cancer both to the population and to the general mortality was obtained. The resulting figures were in each country compared with one another, and not with those of any other State, thus avoiding the sources of error already referred to.

One other calculation was absolutely necessary in order to arrive at correct results. Cancer is essentially a disease of the latter half of life; the deaths below thirty are quite inconsiderable, between thirty and forty they are comparatively few, while from forty to

<sup>1</sup> Cancer et Tumeur.

<sup>2</sup> Neubildungen.

<sup>3</sup> No official figures being available for Switzerland, the figure given is the one stated by Nencki.

<sup>4</sup> *British Medical Journal*, the 18th and 25th of April, the 1st, 8th, and 15th of May, 1903.

seventy the susceptibility to this disease increases rapidly in each decade. At the same time, populations vary greatly in age-distribution, one area often containing a far greater number of persons over forty than another of similar size. It was not sufficient, therefore, to calculate the number of deaths from cancer compared with the number of inhabitants of the district under consideration, but it was further necessary to calculate the proportion which those deaths bore to the total mortality in persons of adult age.

In the figures given below it will be observed that capital cities have usually been omitted from the calculation; this is because these, with their numerous hospitals and infirmaries, attract many patients from a distance, and present a mortality from cancer far in excess of the real incidence of the disease among the citizens.

The great variations in the mortality from cancer in different districts is well shown in England and Wales, where the highest rate of 108, in the county of Huntingdon, contrasts with one of only 60·6 per 100,000 in the county of Monmouth. A careful comparison of the death-rates from cancer in English counties among persons over thirty-five years of age was prepared by the Registrar-General in 1895, and the table so prepared is the best that can be used for an investigation of the question in this country, as the annual reports since issued show that the counties presenting the largest number of deaths continue to be the same.

The following list gives the average rate for the whole country and for the six counties (omitting London) having the highest rates:

*Corrected Death-rate from Cancer per 100,000 Living, Aged Thirty-five Years and Upwards.*

England and Wales	.	.	.	.	.	184·4
Huntingdon	.	.	.	.	.	215·7
Cambridgeshire	.	.	.	.	.	201·2
Sussex	.	.	.	.	.	199·9
Warwickshire	.	.	.	.	.	197·6
Cumberland	.	.	.	.	.	191·4
North Wales	.	.	.	.	.	191·4

From these figures it was not possible to draw any very definite conclusions, the question in England being somewhat complicated by the small size of the counties and the facilities of communication, conditions which often lead to sufferers from a slow disease like cancer dying in some part of the country at a distance from their homes. It will be impossible to form a really accurate estimate of the incidence of malignant disease in each of the counties of England until all deaths in public institutions are transferred by the registrars to the districts from which the deceased came. At the same time, it will be found that the con-

clusions derived from the examination of statistics of other countries are not contradicted by those of England.

More valuable information is to be gained by the study of cancer mortality in the different parts of France, Germany, and Austria. For all of these accurate and official figures were obtainable, both of population and of deaths from various causes, from which it has been possible to make the necessary calculation. In France, although there are no statistics for the absolutely rural districts, figures are given for all towns, even for the very small places known as 'chefs-lieux d'arrondissement,' and the aggregate mortality in all of these may be fairly taken to represent the general incidence of a disease in the department to which the towns belong.

In the table given further on will be found a list of those divisions in France, Germany, and Austria which show the highest mortality from cancer, together with the average mortality in the whole country.

The figures are extremely instructive, and the statistics of these countries appeared to afford important indications, both negative and positive, as to the causation of malignant growths.

First, it will be observed that in each of these three States there are, as in England, distinct areas of high cancer mortality; these, it may be mentioned, have been equally well marked for many years, and contrast with others in which the proportion of deaths from this disease has been persistently low. This fact suggested that the cause of the malady was not to be found in some condition which is likely to be equally distributed over the whole country, such as local irritation, mental anxiety, or defective hygiene. The first conclusion to be drawn was that the disease apparently owes its origin to a specific cause, endemic in certain localities.

The second point which is noticeable is that all the districts of high cancer mortality are districts in which beer or cider is largely consumed. In Bavaria, which heads the list in Germany, it is well known that more beer is consumed per head than in any State in the world; while the province of Salzburg has the largest consumption of beer of any Austrian province. The fact, however, was most striking in France, where the contrast was very marked between the departments of high cancer mortality, in all of which beer is largely drunk, and the departments in the centre and south, where the death-rate from cancer among the wine-drinking population was persistently low. The second conclusion, then, was that the consumption of beer (and perhaps of cider) has a distinct influence on the development of cancer.

One other matter deserves great attention. In each of the three countries the areas in which the deaths from cancer are most numerous comprise extensive forest lands and are altogether well-wooded districts, abounding in water, whether in the form of lakes

FRANCE				GERMANY				AUSTRIA			
	Death-rate from Cancer and Tumour per 100,000 living at all ages	Proportion of deaths from Cancer and Tumour to 100 deaths from all causes at all ages	Proportion of deaths from Cancer and Tumour to 100 deaths from all causes of persons forty years of age and upwards		Death-rate from Cancer per 100,000 living at all ages	Proportion of deaths from Cancer to 100 deaths from all causes at all ages	Proportion of deaths from Cancer to 100 deaths from all causes of persons fifteen years of age and upwards		Death-rate from Cancer per 100,000 living at all ages	Proportion of deaths from Cancer to 100 deaths from all causes at all ages	Proportion of deaths from Cancer to 100 deaths from all causes of persons forty years of age and upwards
—				—				—			
All Towns .	104	4.3	7.6	German Empire	72.7	3.3	6.6	Austrian Empire	70.4	2.7	7.5
<i>Departments--</i>				<i>States--</i>				<i>Provinces--</i>			
Eure et Loire .	107.0	6.5	10.2	Bavaria .	102.0	4.2	8.2	Salzburg .	133.0	5.2	11.2
L'Aisne .	161.0	6.6	11.5	Baden .	102.0	5.0	8.8	Upper Austria .	115.0	4.6	9.6
Rhône .	153.0	6.1	10.1	Kingdom of Saxony .	94.7	4.1	9.3	Lower Austria (excluding Vienna) .	104.0	4.3	11.5
Seine et Oise .	150.0	4.9	10.0	Württemberg .	94.0	4.4	8.6	Tyrol and Vorarlberg .	107.0	4.2	8.6
Seine (excluding Paris) .	150.0	5.2	9.4	Hesse .	95.4	5.2	8.6	Carinthia .	92.6	3.6	7.2
Seine Inférieure.	149.0	5.0	10.9	Brunswick .	94.3	4.6	8.9	Bohemia .	91.8	3.8	9.6
Marne .	143.0	6.4	11.7								
Loiret .	142.0	6.6	10.0								
Somme .	141.0	6.0	10.6								

or streams. In fact, this is the chief geographical feature which these divisions have in common. While varying greatly in geological conformation, in elevation, climate and rainfall, the north-eastern departments of France, the States of Bavaria and Baden in Germany, and the provinces of Salzburg and Tyrol in Austria, as well as the country along the Upper Danube, resemble each other in being the most thickly wooded portions of their respective countries. It may here be noted that Sussex and Warwickshire, the best-wooded English counties, are among those having the highest death-rate from cancer.

The third conclusion, therefore, was that the specific cause of cancer is most likely to be found in well-watered districts covered thickly with woods.

A similar estimate of the local distribution of cancer was made for almost every country in Europe for which sufficient facts were available to form a basis for the calculation, and also for those States of the United States of America in which registration of death has been made compulsory. As a result, it was found that the conclusions arrived at were in no case contradicted, and were mostly confirmed.

In addition, a few other points resulted from the inquiry, which may be shortly referred to. There appeared to be no evidence that the distribution of cancer was much influenced by geological conformation, climate, rainfall, or elevation; wherever this had appeared to be the case other facts could usually be found to explain it. Neither did an increased mortality appear to be caused by the consumption of any of the various articles of food to which much influence in the production of the disease has been ascribed; nor did there appear to be any special relation between the distribution of cancer and that of tuberculosis or malaria, as has been from time to time suggested.

On the other hand, certain races seemed to have a greater susceptibility than others to cancer, a tendency especially marked among peoples of Teutonic or Scandinavian origin, while an exceptionally low mortality was most often noted among Celtic or Slavonic peoples. This fact appeared at first sight to lend strong support to the view of a hereditary predisposition to the malady. In the United States, however, death-statistics have been carefully calculated for each nationality separately, and it is remarkable to find that in that country the frequency with which people of different races suffer from malignant growths is altogether altered and the order of susceptibility often reversed. As an example, the proportion of deaths resulting from cancer among persons of Norwegian or Bohemian origin in the United States is exceptionally low, while both in Norway and Bohemia it is unusually high. This suggested the probability that it is not race alone, or chiefly, but the habits and

environment of different peoples, which determine the greater or less susceptibility to the disease.

The three positive conclusions as to the cause of cancer which resulted from the above-explained statistical inquiry may now be examined a little more in detail.

The suggestion that cancer owes its origin to a specific cause as individual as that which causes scarlet-fever, typhoid or tuberculosis, is not by any means a new one. For many years past attention has from time to time been called to this view, with its almost necessary corollary that the disease is to some extent infectious.

The credit of having been the first to bring to the notice of the public the apparently contagious character of cancer in some cases is due to Arnaudet, a doctor in the small village of Cormeilles, in Normandy. Arnaudet made a careful study of the topography and chronology of cancer, first in his village, and then in those of the neighbourhood. In Cormeilles itself, he found that in a street of fifty-four houses seventeen of these had furnished no fewer than twenty-one cases of cancer. In neighbouring villages similar facts were observed, and he arrived at the conclusion that the disease was propagated either by direct contagion, or by infection through water, or through cider made with infected water. Another doctor, Fliessinger, found in the small town of Oyonnax that the yearly deaths from cancer among the 4,500 inhabitants dwelling in 500 houses were three or four, while a group of three houses at the end of the town supplied a contingent of five cases in four years. In none of these cases, it may be said, were the victims related to one another. Since this time numerous similar groups of cases have been reported in this country, as well as in France, and the subject of 'cancer houses' is one which is constantly being brought to the notice of the medical profession. A recent investigation by a committee of inquiry into cancer in Germany brought to light several instances in that country; and others were reported to the Registrar-General for Ireland, and are cited by him in the report to which reference has already been made. All these facts were extremely suggestive. In addition, instances have not been wanting of cases where the contagion was apparently direct, as in husband and wife or other near relatives.

In that part of my inquiry which dealt with the incidence of cancer in the United States a fact came under notice having a very striking bearing upon this point.

The death-rate from the disease among domestic servants in that country between forty-five and sixty-five years of age is double, and above sixty-five three times the average. Among nurses also the rate is almost equally in excess. This exceptionally high mortality among women who are more likely than any others to be brought

into intimate contact with sufferers from the malady affords the strongest evidence of the contagious character of cancer.

In the course of the statistical investigation it was found that in every country, without exception, there were limited districts in which a high mortality from malignant growths was persistent; while instances came under notice in which in those districts there were smaller areas which appeared to be foci of cancer, and in which the death-rate from this disease was extraordinary. The latter fact was observed in certain parts of France, Switzerland and Italy, and similar instances were noted by the German statistical committee already referred to. I think, therefore, that there can be no doubt that cancer owes its origin to a specific infectious cause. Whether this belongs to the class of micro-organisms to which so many similar diseases are known to be due it is impossible at present to say; but it is highly probable that some such organism will before long be discovered. It is fairly certain that a prolonged exposure to the contagion is required for the production of the disease; and it is not improbable that some superadded condition, such as a local irritation, may be necessary to stir the infective cause into activity, even after it has gained access to the body. This is said to be the case in leprosy.

With regard to the curious fact of the influence of beer in promoting a susceptibility to cancer the evidence appeared to be extremely convincing. In so far as there has been a real increase in the mortality, it may not improbably bear a direct relation to the increased consumption of beer in recent years. The amount consumed in the United Kingdom, which was twenty-seven gallons per head in 1885, was thirty-one and a half gallons in 1900; and in the German Empire the consumption rose in the same period from ninety to one hundred and twenty-five litres per head. In countries, such as Italy and Hungary, in which the consumption of beer is small the mortality from carcinomatous disease is far below the average. In France, the fact has already been mentioned that beer is largely consumed in those departments in which the cancer-rate is exceptionally high (although cider also is here one of the staple drinks), and it may be pointed out that the rate is particularly low in many of those departments in the wine-growing districts in which beer is an unusual luxury. It was also noted that the two towns in France in which most beer per head is consumed, Rouen and Lille, have a high death-rate from the disease. In the latter, if the official figures may be depended upon, both the cancer-rate and the consumption of beer are exceptional. In Germany, from a return lately made to Parliament, it appears that Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg are the three States showing the largest consumption of beer, and it will be seen that these all figure in the list of those having a high cancer-rate. In Austria, Salzburg is stated to be the



province in which most beer is consumed, followed at some distance by Bohemia and Upper and Lower Austria. In no country could any instance be discovered in which a large consumption of beer was accompanied by a low cancer mortality.

No decided explanation of the influence of beer on the production of the disease under consideration can be given at present. It is fairly certain that it is not due to its intoxicating quality, as a similar effect is not observed in the case of other alcoholic beverages. It is, of course, possible that the beer may sometimes contain some deleterious ingredient, such as arsenic, which may predispose to the disease, but this is scarcely likely to be the case all over Europe; and with regard to the influence of arsenic, it may be noted that cancer is not very common among the arsenic-eaters of Styria. The effect of beer is most probably to be accounted for by the fact that the specific infective cause of cancer finds an entrance into the drink either through the water from which it is made, or perhaps, not improbably, from the malt itself.

The fact observed in the countries for which the figures have been given above, that regions of high cancer mortality were also for the most part regions of woods and forests, was noted also in other countries. The disease is extremely prevalent in the timber districts of the United States and Norway, as well as among the population of the wooded parts of Switzerland.

In addition to the facts already given with regard to Germany, it is noteworthy that in Bavaria the wooded portion of the State is the one showing the highest cancer mortality. The same fact obtains for that division of Baden which includes the Black Forest, as compared with other parts of the Grand Duchy. In North Germany also, where on the whole the death-rate from cancer is not high, the Duchy of Brunswick is an exception in this respect, and, as is well known, this is a thickly wooded country, the preparation of timber being one of its chief industries.

The fact was even more noticeable that populations inhabiting bare districts deprived of timber furnished comparatively few cases of the disease. In Switzerland, the canton Ticino is almost alone in exhibiting a low cancer mortality, and this canton has been almost entirely deforested. Again, in Austria, the province of Dalmatia, which has now no forest land, shows the lowest cancer-rate in the whole of the Cis-Leithian empire, while the provinces with the highest death-rate from this disease are all among those most thickly wooded.

In our own country, while Sussex and Warwickshire, and, it may be added, Devonshire, have an alarming number of deaths from malignant disease, the bare lands of the Black Country are among the lowest on the list; similarly, the death-rate from cancer in the

West of Ireland, which has been almost entirely deforested, is extremely low. The facts on this point were everywhere so striking that they seemed to establish beyond question that a focus of cancer infection is to be found in regions abounding in woods and water.

Occasional references have previously been made to the fact of the frequency of death from cancer among persons living in houses surrounded by trees. Lloyd Jones, writing (in 1899) on the various conditions under which cancer was observed in Cambridge, says: 'Proximity to trees, especially large ones, is connected in some way with the prevalence of cancer. The part of the town which is most free from cancer is singularly devoid of trees and vegetation, while the disease is very prevalent in well-wooded parts of the town and among houses hemmed in by trees.' He does not, however, appear to have followed up this observation, nor does this seem to have struck him as a more important influence than many other points to which he refers, such as soil, elevation, &c.

Similar facts had been noticed by other observers, both here and on the Continent, especially by the French surgeon Noel, who, in the year 1897, published a paper on the subject suggesting that cancer was due to infection from a disease of trees known in France as *Cancro des arbres*. Noel's theory lacks proof, and seems to rest chiefly on the analogy of name and character between the vegetable malady and malignant growths in man. Very strong evidence would be required to prove that a tree parasite could be directly implanted in the human subject. A more probable explanation is that the same conditions which promote the growth of the fungus producing tree canker are also favourable to the development of the infective cause of cancer.

Whatever may be the exact explanation, the geographical distribution of carcinomatous disease leaves little doubt but that the regions described are centres of infection. From these centres it seems probable that the disease may be widely distributed by the streams and rivers flowing through them, and this may account for the fact, so often noticed, that cancer is especially prevalent in some river valleys, although not in others.

It is now extremely desirable that a careful examination should be made of cancer mortality in these wooded districts, but in smaller areas than I have been able to compare, and thus gradually to narrow the circle of inquiry until the exact spots can be found in which the disease is most persistently endemic. Moreover, it would be valuable to ascertain whether any special description of tree predominates in these localities.

In addition, if the consumption of beer has as potent an influence in leading to the development of malignant disease as would appear, it is absolutely necessary to settle beyond question

from what constituent of the beverage the maleficent influence is derived.

While it is to be hoped that the research which is everywhere being conducted in laboratories may soon lead to the discovery of the cause and cure of cancer, I suggest that the above-mentioned points may meanwhile well occupy the attention of those interested in the public health.

ALFRED WOLFF.

## *THE TAJ AND ITS DESIGNERS*

ALL who have seen the great masterpiece of Indian architecture, the Taj at Agra, or know it by illustration and description, are familiar with the legends which ascribe its conception to the genius of some obscure Italian architect, and its exquisite inlaid decoration to Austin de Bordeaux, a French adventurer, who was employed for some years at the court of Shah Jehan. The readiness with which the tradition has been accepted as history by European writers is comprehensible, for every European who gazes at the ethereal beauty of the Taj must feel some pride if he can bring himself to believe that the crowning glory of one of the most brilliant epochs of Indian art owed its inspiration to Western minds. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that the credence generally given to this vague romance does more credit to our imagination than to our historical sense, or artistic judgment. Indian art is still very little understood by Europeans. We feel and admire the decorative element in it, but deny to it higher imaginative qualities. The Indian art which we know and understand best is the least important part of it. It only comprises those accessories of Indian domestic life which, however beautiful they may sometimes be, lose all their artistic significance when detached from the surroundings for which they are intended, and invariably suffer artistically from the interest we take in them. We have been unable to follow the trend of Indian artistic thought beyond this decorative constituent quality, because from this point it becomes much more abstract and abstruse than our own. And no one will ever get further in his understanding and appreciation of Indian art without forsaking that stolid attitude of ignorant condescension with which the ordinary European, and more especially the Anglo-Saxon, treats everything Oriental which he does not understand. If, throwing aside preconceived notions and insular prejudices, we approach Indian art with the same spirit as animated the European pioneers of Sanscrit research, we shall like them find ourselves revelling in new fields of wonder and beauty, the fairyland of Eastern romance and poetry. We should then see how ridiculous we, and the educated Indians who follow our example, make ourselves by importing European pictures and sculpture in the belief that we

are thereby throwing a flood of Western light upon the darkness of the East. The spirituality of Indian art permeates the whole of it, but it shines brightest at the point where we cease to see and understand it.

If India has not produced a Phidias or a Raphael, it has created the most imaginative architecture in the world. Such painting and sculpture as there have been in Indian art are nearly always strictly subordinated to the architectural idea; they never detached themselves or degenerated into drawing-room accessories, as we now understand the 'fine arts.' Everything connected with the history of the Taj is important to the student of Indian art, for the Taj is the consummation of a great artistic development, the traditions of which remain alive even at the present day. The truth or otherwise of the legends I have referred to is of cardinal importance, for if it be accepted that an Italian or French artist designed the masterpiece of the Mogol epoch, there would be much force in the theory that the Indian requires the aid of a higher Western intelligence to perfect his artistic ideas. Let us then consider carefully the historical and artistic grounds on which these traditions rest. The circumstances which led to the building of the Taj are well known and need not be given in detail. The death in childbed of Mumtaz Mahal—the Crown of the Palace—Shah Jehan's favourite wife in A.D. 1629; the distracted grief of the Emperor, and his resolve to build her a monument which should be one of the wonders of the world. He sent for all the best architects of his empire, in consultation with whom he inspected and rejected many hundreds of designs. At last one design was accepted, a model of it was made in wood, and from this model the Taj was built.

So far all accounts agree. But as to the name of the architect selected we have, on the one hand, the unanimous statements of contemporary Indian writers, and on the other a story related by a Spanish priest, Father Manrique, who visited Agra ten years after the Taj was begun. The former agree that the design was made by Ustad Isa, a celebrated architect who, according to one account (preserved in the Imperial Library, Calcutta), came from Shiraz, and according to others, from *Rum*, which may mean either Constantinople or some part of Asiatic Turkey. The style of the Taj points to the probability that his native place was Shiraz, though it is quite possible that he may have been employed by the Sultan of Turkey at Constantinople. Father Manrique in his description of the Taj, then under construction, relates the following story, told to him by Father Da Castro of Lahore, who was the executor of the obscure Italian who thus claimed to have designed the Taj:

The architect was a Venetian, named Geronimo Verroneo, who came to India with the ships of the Portuguese, and who died at Lahore a little before my arrival. Of him a report was current that the Padsha, having sent for him and

made known to him the desire he felt to build there (at Agra) a sumptuous and grandiose monument to his defunct consort, the architect Verroneo obeyed, and in a few days produced various models of very fine architecture, showing all the skill of his art; also that, having contented his Majesty in this, he dissatisfied him—according to his barbarous and arrogant pride—by the modesty of his estimates; further that, growing angry, he ordered him to spend three krons, and to let him know when they were spent.

Now in estimating the comparative historical value of these two versions it must be allowed that the absence of any mention of Verroneo in the contemporary Indian accounts does not necessarily discredit his story, for it is well known that Mohammedan writers often omitted from their works any facts which might bring honour to their religious opponents. On the other hand, Verroneo's story contains so many of the wildest improbabilities that it is extraordinary that Anglo-Indian writers should have accepted it with so little hesitation. In the first place it is necessary to consider that in the type of adventurers 'who came with the ships of the Portuguese' to India in the seventeenth century and entered the service of the Great Mogol, one would not expect to find the transcendent artistic genius such as the designer of the Taj possessed. Bernier, the French physician, who resided several years at the Mogol court during the reign of Aurungzebe, incidentally throws a sidelight on their character in his description of the famous Peacock Throne, a part of which was designed by a Frenchman (supposed to be Austin de Bordeaux) who, 'having circumvented many Princes of Europe with his false gems, which he knew to make admirably well, fled to the Mogol court where he made his fortune.' Verroneo seems to have been less successful in the latter respect, but he certainly contrived to emulate Austin in making for himself a fictitious fame, which has lasted to the present day. At the time when the Taj was built the position of the Franks, as Europeans were called, was by no means what it was in the days of Akbar and Jehangir, the two preceding emperors. They were mostly employed in the artillery or in the arsenals, and Bernier tells us that in his time they were admitted with difficulty into the service; and that, whereas formerly, when the Mogols were little skilled in the management of artillery, they received as much as two hundred rupees a month and upwards, their pay was now limited to thirty-two rupees. The Jesuits, who had enjoyed great favour under his father and grandfather, were bitterly persecuted by Shah Jehan. He deprived them of their pension, destroyed the church at Lahore and the greater part of that of Agra, demolishing a steeple which contained a clock heard in every part of the city. Only a short time before her death Mumtaz Mahal, who was a relentless enemy of the Christians, had instigated Shah Jehan to attack the Portuguese settlement at Hooghly. After a desperate

resistance the Portuguese were overwhelmed. Two thousand, including women and children, took refuge on a warship and perished with the crew, as the captain blew up the vessel rather than surrender. Five hundred prisoners, among them some Jesuit priests, were sent to Agra. With threats of torture the Empress endeavoured to persuade the priests to renounce their religion. On their refusal they were thrown into prison, but after some months they were released and deported to the main Portuguese settlement at Goa. Their books, pictures, and images were destroyed by orders of Mumtaz Mahal. Her hatred for the Christians is perpetuated on her tomb in the mausoleum itself, which bears the significant inscription, 'Defend us from the tribe of unbelievers!' From Bernier we learn that no Christian was allowed inside the mausoleum, lest its sanctity be profaned.

In the face of these facts it would require the very strongest corroboration of Verroneo's story to make it credible that Shah Jehan, whose lifelong devotion to his wife was the strongest trait in his character, had chosen one of these hated unbelievers to be the chief designer of her monument. As a matter of fact Father Manrique's account is entirely uncorroborated by any other contemporary European writer. Neither Tavernier, who saw the commencement and completion of the Taj, nor Bernier, make any mention of Verroneo, or suggest that the building was in any way the work of a European. Bernier, in his description of it, expressly implies that he looked upon the Taj as a purely Indian conception, for he naively confesses that though he thought 'that the extraordinary fabric could not be sufficiently admired,' he would not have ventured to express his opinion if it had not been shared in by his companion (Tavernier), for he feared that his taste might have been corrupted by his long residence in the Indies, and it was quite a relief to his mind to hear Tavernier say that he had seen nothing in Europe so bold and majestic. Thévenot, who saw the Taj in 1666, affirms that this superb monument is sufficient to show that the Indians are not ignorant of architecture; and though the style may appear curious to Europeans, it is in good taste, and though it is different from Greek or other ancient art, one can only say that it is very fine. The absence of any reference to Verroneo in the accounts of these three minute and impartial chroniclers of the Mogol times is very strong evidence that his story was partly or wholly a fabrication; otherwise it is impossible to believe that they would not have known and mentioned the fact that the chief architect was a European. Verroneo's finishing touch regarding the spending of 'three krors' is in itself suspicious. If he really had been in such a position his fame would have been known far and wide among his fellow-Europeans, for it was only the highest nobles of the Court who were entrusted with the expenditure for the Great Mogol buildings. The

*Badshah Nama* mentions the names of the two nobles who actually superintended the Taj—Makramat Khan and Mir Abdul Karim.

Father Manrique and the three writers I have mentioned are the only Europeans who have recorded contemporary knowledge of important facts connected with the Taj. It is unnecessary to refer to later accounts, borrowed more or less from them. While history affords practically no evidence in support of Verroneo's claim to immortal distinction, the Taj itself is the most convincing proof of the impudence of the assumption. The plan follows closely that of Humayni's Tomb, built by Akbar nearly a century earlier. Neither in general conception nor in the smallest detail does it suggest the style of the Italian Renaissance, which a Venetian architect of the seventeenth century would certainly have followed. If Verroneo's design had been executed we should doubtless have had some kind of orientalised version of the church of Santa Maria della Salute of Venice instead of the Taj. It is inconceivable that Shah Jehan, a man of cultivated artistic taste, surrounded as he was by all the most accomplished architects of the East, would have engaged a European to design a building in a purely Eastern style.

The Indian records relating to the Taj are unusually precise and detailed in the information they give with regard to the architects and workmen. The artistic history of the period, and the style and workmanship of the Taj, all testify in a remarkable way to their accuracy and the falseness of the theory that Europeans directed the design of the building. The places given in the Calcutta Imperial Library manuscript as the native towns of the principal architects and decorators—namely, Shiraz, Baghdad, and Samarkand—indicate precisely that part of Asia which was the cradle of the art represented by the Taj. The mention of Samarkand is especially interesting, for it is known that Tamerlane, after his invasion of India in A.D. 1398, carried off all the masons who had built the famous mosque at Ferozabad (since destroyed), in order that they might build another like it at Samarkand. Most probably they were the descendants of these masons who came back to India to build the Taj.

Before discussing Verroneo's story, it will be interesting to analyse it in order to separate the truth which may be in it from the falsehood. It is highly probable that Verroneo was one of the many architects who submitted designs for the Taj. They were doubtless in the style of the Renaissance, which was then the architectural style of Italy. Shah Jehan examined them with curiosity and expressed some qualified praise, which Verroneo mistook for approval. The anger of the Padsha on hearing of the estimates and his order 'to spend three krons' clearly points to the indirect oriental method of rejecting a proposal, and it is quite certain that Verroneo heard nothing more of his commission from



Shah Jehan. He returned to Lahore and poured the garbled account of his doings into the too credulous ears of Father Da Castro, who retailed it as history to his fellow priest.

Father Manrique is also responsible for the statement that Augustin, or Austin de Bordeaux, was employed in the 'internal decorations' of the Taj. Hitherto every European writer has taken this to mean that Austin superintended the magnificent inlaid work technically known as *pietra dura*, which is the most striking feature in the decoration of the building, external and internal. There is a good deal of plausibility in the theory, though most authorities have been puzzled by the manifest inconsistencies which tell against it. The technical similarity of the inlay of the Taj to the *pietra dura* of the Medicean Chapel at Florence was noticed by Bernier, though he does not suggest any connection between the two. At the back of the throne chamber in the Dewan-i-am at Delhi there is a large piece of very realistic *pietra dura* work, undoubtedly Florentine in style. But, except for the silly chatter of native guides, who used to point out the panel of Orpheus as the portrait of Austin himself, there is not a vestige of historical evidence to connect him with it. Fergusson has shown that this panel (lately brought back from South Kensington and restored to its place by Lord Curzon) is a traditional Italian rendering of the classical story which can be traced back as far as to the catacombs at Rome. Sir George Birdwood, however, in his *Industrial Arts of India*, accepts the theory that Austin was responsible for the Taj decorations, as well as for the *pietra dura* work at Delhi, though in a later article in the *Journal of Indian Art* he says that 'it is quite impossible that the men who devised such artistic monstrosities (the Delhi panels) could have been the same as those whose hands traced in variegated *pietra dura* the exquisite arabesques of the Taj.'

Whoever the designer may have been, it is certain that the Delhi *pietra dura* was directed by some fourth-rate European artist. They are just as ill-adapted and out of harmony with the place they occupy, as the Taj decorations are marvellously contrived to beautify it. It is impossible to explain away the inconsistency of attributing the authorship of the magnificent Taj decorations, which are, as Sir George Birdwood says, 'strictly Indian of the Mogol period,' and the commonplace Florentine work at Delhi to one and the same person. This statement of Father Manrique can be explained in another and much more satisfactory way. We know from Tavernier that Austin was a silversmith, for he mentions that Shah Jehan had intended to employ him in covering with silver the vault of a great gallery in the palace at Agra. The French jeweller mentioned by Bernier in connection with the Peacock Throne is generally supposed to be Austin. Now the Taj originally possessed two silver doors, said to have cost 127,000 rupees, which were taken away and melted

down when the Jāts sacked Agra. Before the existing marble screen was erected, the sarcophagus of the Empress was surrounded by a fence of solid gold, studded with gems. Surely the obvious and most satisfactory explanation of Austin's connection with the 'internal decorations' of the Taj is that he was occupied with gold and silver work? Such work would be part of the internal decoration, and yet it would have been executed outside, so that the sanctity of the tomb would not have been profaned by an unbeliever. Why should we make a French jeweller, goldsmith, and silversmith responsible for Italian and Indian *pietra dura* work, when there were both jewellers' work and gold and silver work on which he might have been employed?

In my opinion the Delhi *pietra dura* has been wrongly attributed to Shah Jehan's reign. It has all the appearance of eighteenth-century work, and, as far as I am aware, there is no evidence worth considering to show that it existed previous to the reign of Aurungzebe. It could not have been executed in the latter reign, because the naturalistic representations of birds and animals was a violation of Mussulman law, and would not have been permitted by that bigoted monarch. If the date ascribed to it is correct, it is more than astonishing that Aurungzebe, who mutilated all such representations at Fatepur Sikri, should have spared them at the back of his own throne in the Delhi palace, for an old drawing, still in existence, shows that most of the inlay was in a good state of preservation down to 1837. It would certainly coincide with all the probabilities of the case to attribute it to one of the later Mogol emperors, or the early part of the eighteenth century.

If we dismiss from our minds all these obscure and inconsistent legends about Austin de Bordeaux, it will be quite easy to see that the inlaid work of the Taj was the natural consummation of a great artistic movement purely oriental in character, initiated by Akbar, the progression of which can be traced in existing Mogol buildings. Arabian workmen first introduced mosaic work into India. The kind of mosaic generally practised by the Arabs was tessellated work, technically known as *Alexandrinum opus*, which consisted of thin pieces of marble, coloured stones, glass, or enamelled tiles cut into geometric patterns, and closely fitted so as to cover the surface of a wall or floor. The technical difference between this and *pietra dura*, or true mosaic, is the difference between overlay and inlay. The Arab buildings were generally of brick, and the original intention of the mosaic was to give a surface of more precious material to a building of brick or common stone. The preference of the Arabs for geometric patterns is explained by two reasons. First, the Arabs belonged to the Sunni, or orthodox sect of Mussulmans, observing the strict letter of the law which forbade the representation of 'the likeness of anything which is in Heaven above, or in

the earth beneath.' Secondly, the geometric design lent itself admirably to the character of the materials employed, and to the speedy and effective covering of a surface by this process. Now when the Arabs, or those who had learnt from them, began to work on buildings constructed chiefly of marble or fine stone, the *inlaid* work would naturally take the place of the other, because it would be superfluous and inartistic to decorate marble or stone with an *overlay* of the same material. Again, when the Arabian art of the orthodox Sunni school came into close connection with the unorthodox Shia, or naturalistic school of Persia, we should certainly expect to find representations of natural forms taking the place of geometric patterns. These are exactly the conditions which prevailed in India in the century which preceded the building of the Taj. Even long before that time, in the oldest Saracenic mausoleum in India, the tomb of Altamsh, which belongs to the thirteenth century, the red sandstone of the walls is inlaid with geometric tiles of white marble. In the buildings of Fatepur Sikri (date about 1571 A.D.) we find frequent examples of overlay and not a few of inlay. A little later, in the gateway of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, inlaid work is extensively used, though as yet still confined to geometric patterns. But twenty years afterwards, in the tomb of the Persian adventurer, Itmad-ud-daulah, the grandfather of Mumtaz Mahal, at Agra, the style is so far technically perfected that the inlaid work not only includes elaborate scrolls of conventional Arabian design, but the familiar *motifs* of Persian painted decoration, such as rosewater vessels, the cypress, the tree of life, and various other flower forms. The date of this building is about A.D. 1622.

The similar progression from geometric to naturalistic forms may be traced in Italian mosaic. But the synchronous development of two similar schools in Italy and in India is nothing more than one of those coincidences which often lead historians to wrong conclusions. The later Italian inlayers imitated the work of Italian fresco and oil painters. The Indian inlayers likewise imitated the work of the Persian artists who founded the Indian school of painting of the Mogol period. The step from the Itmad-ud-daulah to the Taj is simply the change from a conventional school of Persian painting to a more developed and more realistic one. This is only what we might expect if we remember Shah Jehan's resolve that the Taj should surpass every other building in the world. That there was a strong naturalistic tendency in the Indian painting of the Mogol period is known to all who have studied this interesting phase of Mogol art. It is very clearly shown in a series of exquisite miniature paintings of Jehangir's time, now in the Government Art Gallery, Calcutta, which I fortunately rescued from the unappreciative hands of a Mohammedan bookseller a few years ago. They include portraits of the nobles of Jehangir's court and some studies

of Indian birds, drawn and painted with a fidelity and delicacy which would do credit to a Japanese master. On one of them, sealed and signed by Jehangir himself, there is a note, written by the Emperor, to the effect that it was painted by Ustad Mansur, 'the most celebrated painter of this time,' in the nineteenth year of his reign (A.D. 1624, six years before the Taj was begun). The borders of three of these paintings are ornamented with floral designs which, making allowance for the different technical treatment required by a different material, are of the exact type of the Taj decorations. No one who studies these remarkable paintings and compares them with the floral decoration of the Taj would hesitate to say that it was the work of this Persian school, and not any European model, that the Indian mosaic workers were imitating. It might possibly have been these same paintings, prized so much by his father, that Shah Jehan gave as patterns to the workmen.

No doubt it is true that here and there in Mogol art one meets with a detail which suggests European influence. It was a time of great artistic activity, and in such times any living art which comes into contact with another exchanges ideas with it. But the European element in the Mogol style is far less strongly marked than is the oriental in Italian art. During the whole period of Italy's close commercial intercourse with the East, her art industries were very strongly impressed with oriental ideas. It would be easy to find in Italian art a dozen instances just as striking as the similarity (which is a similarity of technique and not of style) between the *pietra dura* of Florence and that of the Taj. No one suggests, on that account, that Indian artists came to Italy to instruct the Italians.

It is probable that long before the building of Itmad-ud-daulah's tomb the art of inlaying had been learnt by Hindu workmen and become absorbed into Indian art through that wonderful power of assimilation which Hinduism has always shown. Some Indian records of the Taj mention the name of one Mannu Beg, from *Rum*, as the principal mosaic worker; but, in the list of the principal workmen given by the Imperial Library manuscript, five mosaic workers from Kanauj, all with Hindu names, are entered. That they were artists of great reputation may be gathered from the fact that their salaries ranged from 200 rupees to 800 rupees a month. The best Agra mosaic workers of the present day are also Hindus, and in many parts of Northern India the artistic traditions of the Mogols are still kept alive by Hindu workmen.

The Mogol style is a symphony of artistic ideas formed into an interchanging harmony by the fusion of Hindu thought with the art of the two rival sects of Mohammedanism, the Sunni and the Shia. Ruskin's criticism of Mogol architecture as an 'evanescent style' is a very superficial one. The great development of Mogol art



objected to the effeminacy of the architecture unconsciously pay the greatest tribute to the genius of the builders. The Taj was meant to be feminine. The whole conception, and every line and detail of it, express the intention of the designers. It is Mumtaz Mahal herself, radiant in her youthful beauty, who still lingers on the banks of the shining Jumna, at early morn, in the glowing midday sun, or in the silver moonlight! Or rather, we should say it conveys a more abstract thought, it is India's noble tribute to the grace of Indian womanhood—the Venus de Milo of the East.

To the art student nothing can be more fascinating than the endeavour to analyse the artistic thoughts of different countries and different races. But England as a nation has a concern in trying to understand Indian ideals. For it is neither by railways and canals, sanitation and police, coal-mines and gold-mines, factories and mills, nor by English text-books, and the real or imaginary fusion of Western and Eastern culture, that we shall build for ourselves a permanent Indian Empire. Nor should we flatter ourselves that British justice is creating in India a lasting sense of gratitude for British rule. The very uprightness of our rule is slowly but surely creating an Indian Question which, though it seems smaller than a man's hand to-day, may fill the Eastern horizon to-morrow. When India has grown out of its political infancy it will yearn for something more than just laws and regulations. India is governed by ideas, not by principles or by statutes. Concrete justice, as represented by the complicated machinery of the British law, is to the Indian a gamble in which the longest purses and most successful liars win. Abstract justice, as it was personified in the Great Queen, the mother of her people, touches India to the quick. That one idea has done more for Indian loyalty than all the text-books of the Universities or Acts of the Governor-General in Council. It was only an idea that roused India in 1857, and before an idea which touched the profounder depths of Indian sentiment all the Western culture in which we believe might be swept away as dust before a cyclone and leave not a trace behind.

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*Government School of Art, Calcutta :*  
April 1903.

*INDUSTRIES FOR THE BLIND IN EGYPT*

COUNTLESS readers have lately had their attention drawn to the report issued by Lord Cromer which points to the great financial prosperity of Egypt. England may well be proud of the way in which justice and right have taken the place of cruelty and wrong.

It is marvellous what has been accomplished in the past in a land which so lately was groaning under the weight of oppression. Much remains to be done in the future, and some may possibly be interested to hear of an effort, small and insignificant, as many might consider it, but yet one which has bright hopes for the future. In these days, when fashionable people rush off to Cairo merely to plunge into a foolish vortex of frivolity which might as easily have been indulged in nearer home, and behave in such a manner that observant natives rightly or wrongly conclude that, after all, our standard of morality is not much higher than their own, it is not to be anticipated that such butterfly visitors will pay much heed to the needs of the poor in Egypt. There is, however, a class of persons here whose forlorn figures are very conspicuous, and for whose benefit the more advanced humanity of the West should be utilised.

Owing to various causes—chiefly to superstition, dirt, and neglect—ophthalmia causes most melancholy results in the East, and blindness is very common. Living in a state of isolation from his fellows, what a sad fate has the blind man, who is often nothing but a hopeless, helpless beggar. It is true that the Mohammedan religion encourages its followers in bestowing alms on those deprived of the blessing of sight, but it stands to reason that idleness is not conducive to the happiness of life. It is action which quickens the pulse, banishes care, and gives a sense of satisfaction unknown to the mere idler; consequently it is a terrible misfortune when an infirmity like blindness is permitted to debar the sufferer from the satisfaction of feeling that he has done an honest day's work. In Western lands blind persons are helped to rise triumphantly over physical disability, and it is well known what hardworking useful lives many have been assisted to enjoy. We hope that brighter days are now in store for the sightless in Egypt. Three years ago the Ministering Children's League, a society which enlists young people, with their elders, as

helpers of the poor and suffering, established an Industrial School for the Blind in Alexandria. It was then but a small venture. A teacher of wicker-work had been procured from England, as there was no possibility of finding such an individual in Egypt. It was a great pleasure to me to be allowed to assist in the opening ceremony of this institution, which was carried on at first in the casement-rooms of a house almost opposite the railway station. This spring I was again in Alexandria and was present at an 'At Home' given by the Committee for the purpose of inaugurating the start of the school in a building entirely devoted to the purpose of providing for the needs of blind lads. Roomy though it is in comparison with our former premises, it is not unlikely that we shall shortly have further to enlarge our borders, as nowadays the institution is proving a very popular one, the work done within its walls not only being excellent in quality but most attractive to customers. Fortunately, when starting this Industry for the Blind our Society not only provided happy employment for them, but it had also the good fortune to supply a need. Egyptian basket-work is entirely different from our own, and not adapted to the requirements of Europeans, consequently they were dependent upon the goods imported from a distance. It was therefore a boon to customers to be able to choose articles made on the spot, and to give orders for any of peculiar size or shape. The work done is not now confined to mere baskets, as quite a variety of objects are exhibited for sale, such as wicker-work tables and armchairs, &c., and it is greatly to the credit of the English teacher, who naturally has many difficulties to contend with in a land differing from his own, that the lads so quickly attained their present standard of efficiency. Nothing, perhaps, can prove more clearly the popularity of the institution than the way in which the funds of the Society have, during the last two years, been augmented by the sale of wicker-work. In 1901, 76*l.* was realised by the boys' work, in 1902 nearly 140*l.*, whilst in the current year some 75*l.* is already accounted for, from the 1st of January to the beginning of April, through sales and orders, giving a good promise of over 200*l.* being earned in 1903. It is consequently confidently hoped that within a comparatively short period this institution will be entirely self-supporting, and now vistas of future usefulness are opening out. The difficulty of constantly begging for charities, however excellent may be their object, is known by painful experience to many of us. It is therefore a relief to think that a work so benevolent in character as that of giving occupation to the blind may possibly spread into various towns in Egypt, as it has done in many European cities, and give employment to a large number of people without requiring the expenditure of money, after the work has once been properly set going. On the occasion of my last visit to Alexandria, a committee was held to consider whether there



would be a likelihood of introducing work for the blind into fresh centres, with the result that it was discovered that both at Mansourah, a city of some importance on the Nile and in which there is a very fair proportion of European residents, and also at Tantah, the need for the introduction of this work was fully realised. In the former town great eagerness was shown to commence operations as quickly as possible, and a suitable teacher is now being sought. Lack of knowledge of Arabic naturally adds greatly to the difficulties of an English instructor; but in this case such difficulties will be lightened, as a Mansourah lad is now learning English as well as wicker-work in the school in Alexandria, and is likely to prove of much service as an interpreter. It is hoped that before very long another centre of work may be opened in Tantah, where the members of the American Mission have an important station.

It is not unlikely that some readers may be acquainted with the work established in over 230 workhouses and lunatic asylums in Great Britain, known as the Brabazon Employment Society. This association has proved in the most gratifying manner that industries, even when carried on by most aged and decrepit persons, can yet be made to pay in a remarkable manner. It required a certain amount of capital to start the undertaking, but for some years the work has not needed any pecuniary support. Grants are given from the Central Fund to start this enterprise in fresh institutions, but these grants are repaid in the course of a comparatively short period through the sale of the articles made by the infirm inmates. The experience I have gained in my connection with this Society ever since its commencement makes me feel extremely hopeful about the future of industries for the blind in Egypt. It is true that the Brabazon Employment Society owes much of its success exclusively to the large band of voluntary workers who have willingly and devotedly given up a great deal of time to the work, thereby earning the gratitude of thousands who but for these kindly offices would have passed their days in a state of helpless inactivity, productive of much wretchedness. The change for the better in the condition of some of the inmates, owing to the introduction of the association is almost incredible, and it has won very favourable opinions from those who have the welfare of the unfortunate at heart. Over and over again Boards of Guardians have tendered their thanks in very flattering terms to workers in this Society, so it is little wonder if I am sanguine with regard to the enterprise set going in Egypt, and I trust that before many years have passed there may be a centre of happy activity for the blind in many cities in that most interesting Eastern land.

M. J. MEATH.

*LAST MONTH*

THERE has been a strange fascination in the spectacle presented to us on the political stage during the past month—the kind of fascination felt by the onlooker on the shore as he watches a gallant ship battling against the forces that are sending it to destruction. It is in such a fight that the Ministry are now engaged, and the wonder no longer is that so many dangers should so suddenly have overtaken them, but that they should have escaped so far from their inevitable fate. For the moment they are like a ship caught in the conflicting currents of the maelstrom. Their course is no longer a straightforward one in which they have to hold their own against an open enemy. From every side and quarter they are assailed, the heaviest blows coming from those of their own household. That they are staggering blindly to their doom is obvious to everyone. And yet so far they have outlived the storm, and their friends declare that the end is not yet. Eighteen years ago the country was looking on at a similar spectacle. Mr. Gladstone's Government—the great Government of 1880—had reached the end of its resources. Its work was done and its credit exhausted. All the world knew that there were divisions in the Cabinet, and even the authority of the Prime Minister seemed to be on the wane. But outwardly Ministers held their own and commanded something like their normal majorities in the House of Commons. That they were under sentence of death was generally admitted, but that they had still at least some months of life before them was what most men believed. Secure in this conviction, one unhappy editor of a daily newspaper resolved to slip away for a summer holiday to Norway before the threatened storm broke. Fifteen days later, when high up in the Arctic Circle, he heard that the Gladstone Ministry had fallen and that Lord Salisbury was at the head of a new Administration.

That misadventure of mine in 1885 has taught me to avoid rash predictions with regard to politics, and I shall not even pretend to say that what happened eighteen years ago may happen again. The truth is that in a crisis like that through which the country is now passing no one can foretell events from day to day. There is a strong conviction among the partisans of the Ministry that, despite

their ugly experiences, they are safe in the support of their huge majority. The General Election, these soothsayers declare, will not take place before the autumn of 1904 at the earliest, and in the meantime Mr. Balfour and his colleagues will be able to mend their ways and recover their lost prestige. It is a comforting doctrine for the uncompromising supporters of the Government, and they do well to cling to it as long as they can; but they will scarcely deny that accidents happen even to Ministries with big majorities. For my own part I remember 1885, and am content to abide my time. One point at least is clear when we compare the case of the present Ministry with Mr. Gladstone's eighteen years ago. Not even the 1880 Government, with the Egyptian fiasco scored up against it, was in greater difficulties both with friends and opponents than those which confront the Ministry of to-day. We have only to recall the story of one day during the past month—Friday the 15th of May, truly 'black Friday' for Mr. Balfour—in order to establish this fact. I cannot remember any day to be compared with it in my own experience of political life. To begin with, the perplexed supporters of the Government were informed in that morning's *Times* that Mr. Balfour had knocked the keystone out of the arch of his education scheme for London by reducing the number of borough council members on the new education authority to a ridiculous minority, and by giving the London County Council an absolute majority of votes on the governing body. One need not pause here to discuss the wisdom of this change in a Bill which had been read a second time by an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons. The point to be noted here is that the thick-and-thin supporters of the Government learned, to their dismay, that it had yielded in this summary fashion to its opponents upon a measure of first-class importance. It had not even waited for the debates in Committee to begin before executing this remarkable *volte face*. In the afternoon of the same day it was the hard lot of the Prime Minister to have to receive a deputation from his own supporters of an almost unprecedented character. The deputation was not one composed of the waverers who hang upon the skirts of all political parties. It represented the central body of Conservative opinion, the Old Guard of the army of which the Prime Minister is the commander-in-chief. It was as though the Sultan's Bodyguard in the Yildiz Kiosk had suddenly confronted him with demands and menaces. The deputation was not only numerous but exceptionally influential. Its leader was Mr. Chaplin, the incarnation of orthodox Conservatism, and not long ago a Cabinet Minister in the present Government; he was supported by a great body of M.P.s, and by the venerable Duke of Rutland, practically the last survivor of the band by whose co-operation Mr. Disraeli was enabled to climb to the Premiership and to reconstruct the Tory party on its present

lines. And what was the language which these men of light and leading addressed to their own Prime Minister? Men must have rubbed their eyes in astonishment when they read Mr. Chaplin's speech in the next day's *Times*, and noted the cheers with which it was punctuated. Was it possible that it could be Mr. Chaplin who spoke these words?—'If that was to be the practice of the Conservative party or of Conservative Governments in the future, he could only say, although he had fought and done his best for them throughout the whole of a very long career, that it was a party to which he began to think he should be ashamed to belong.' And is it possible that the Duke of Rutland joined in the 'loud cheers' with which this declaration was received? Nor was the close of Mr. Chaplin's speech less vigorous than the words I have just quoted: 'He might ask if the Government, in what they had proposed, had considered the position of those gentlemen who had followed them so splendidly in the House of Commons. It was a choice of evils—between some loss of credit and reputation, he was afraid, to his Majesty's Government, and a lasting injury—it might be the destruction of the great historic party whose forces had been entrusted to their care.' Like Macbeth, Mr. Balfour must have felt as he listened to Mr. Chaplin that the thanes were flying from him.

The purpose of the deputation was to protest against the remission of the corn-tax which formed one of the essential features of what the *Times* described as Mr. Ritchie's 'successful electioneering coup.' I ventured a month ago to suggest that the success of this brilliant bit of latter-day electioneering strategy had still to be proved, and I seem to have been right in doing so. The remission of the duty on corn has given satisfaction to nobody except those opponents of the Government who openly delight in each successive blunder that it makes. It has covered Ministers themselves with ridicule and confusion, as a reference to last year's Budget debates will establish; it has justified up to the hilt the line that was then taken by the Opposition; and above all it has shaken, if it has not destroyed, the confidence of the agricultural party in the Government which they regarded as being peculiarly their own. And for what reason have Ministers taken this suicidal course? By their own admission they have done so because they have been frightened by the result of the by-elections. They have denied the significance of those elections in their speeches, but they have admitted it by their action. In the hope of recovering the ground which they have lost, they have reversed their own policy because the tax which they fought so hard to set up a year ago has 'lent itself to misrepresentation in the constituencies.' It is difficult to speak in adequate terms of this grotesque incident in the history of the Government. Perhaps, however, all that need be said is that Mr. Chaplin's language regarding

it will find an echo in the breasts of a great many people who have little sympathy with that gentleman's views on most questions.

Yet damaging to Ministers as were the change of front on the Education Bill and the deputation on the corn-tax, the third incident of that wonderful Friday was far more ominous. This was the speech of Mr. Chamberlain to his constituents at Birmingham. By common consent it was a remarkable speech, but it was also one the inner meaning of which it was difficult to grasp. One fact, indeed, was made very clear—that was that the widespread rumours which alleged that Mr. Chamberlain was not in agreement with the majority of his colleagues on the subject of the corn-tax were well founded. A great part of his speech was, indeed, an argument in support of Mr. Chaplin's contention. The Colonial Secretary, it is true, did not 'let himself go' as Mr. Chaplin did. He did not attack his colleagues for what they had done, but he dwelt with care and emphasis upon an argument which, if it were sound, was fatal to the policy expounded on the same afternoon by the Prime Minister. Mr. Chamberlain's contention is that, in order to keep the Empire together, this country must make certain fiscal concessions to the Colonies, and to Canada in particular; and the whole burden of his argument went to show that in the corn-tax we possessed the means of gratifying the Canadians without serious loss to ourselves. One cannot doubt that the arguments he used at Birmingham had previously been used in the Cabinet. The fact makes the decision at which that body arrived when it agreed to Mr. Ritchie's Budget all the more astonishing. Mr. Balfour must have felt that he had been wounded a second time in the house of his friends when he read the Birmingham speech. It is difficult to see how the most sanguine of his supporters, after grasping the significance of the events of the 15th of May, can cherish the illusion that it is still possible, in the time that lies before them, for Ministers to re-establish their position in the country or to recover their reputation in the House of Commons. No Ministry ever received in so brief a space of time successive blows of such weight as on that day fell upon Mr. Balfour's Administration.

But Mr. Chamberlain's speech, apart from the damage which it did to his own Government, deserves the serious consideration of the country. He spoke in a strain of lofty superiority to his colleagues and rivals in English politics. He treated with contempt the various questions which have been engaging the attention of the country since he sailed on his historic mission to South Africa. The problem of national education, the by-elections, Irish land purchase,—what trifles were these with which to distract the attention of statesmen from the great issues of the times! What, in fact, were the mere parish politics of the United Kingdom in comparison with the Imperial questions with which it had been his lot to deal during his tour in Africa? He had been absent for

months from the arena of mere party politics, and he declared that he found it difficult, after his strange and fascinating experience of a larger world than that which is to be found in the House of Commons and its precincts, to plunge once more into the partisan controversies of the moment. Yet even in his lofty isolation he did not forget to play his old card. If he was weary of office and its responsibilities, and ardently sighing for the moment when he could sing his *Nunc dimittis*, he was not prepared to hand over the reins of authority to an unpatriotic Opposition. It was the old story of 1900 over again—the repetition of the calumny which at that time sufficed to procure for Ministers the overwhelming majority which they have turned to such poor account. If Mr. Chamberlain really wishes to be believed when he tells us that he is sick of the squabbles of factions, and anxious to breathe a purer air than that of mere party, he must begin by showing that he is not incapable of doing justice, in some degree at least, to his old opponents. He cannot pretend to think that all the members of the Liberal Party are ‘little Englanders’ and the ‘friends of every country but their own.’ Because a handful of extreme men have chosen to take a course which has been openly and strenuously repudiated by the majority of Liberals, he cannot claim the right to brand the entire Opposition with complicity in a policy which they have notoriously refused to adopt. His attempt to do so was the weak feature in a remarkable speech, and it threw a curious light upon his claim to speak as a man who had risen above the plane of party politics. He would have been wiser if he had refrained from this rather foolish attempt to confound Lord Rosebery with Mr. Labouchere and Lord Spencer with Mr. Bryn Roberts.

Yet, if one excepts this portion of his speech to his constituents, one must admit that it was a notable utterance. Apparently it was intended as a personal manifesto addressed not to one party merely, but to the people of Great Britain. It was an attempt to lead them from the questions of domestic policy, which since the close of the war have engaged their attention, to the consideration of problems infinitely vaster. When a man tries to do this, even though his temper may be uncertain and his sense of fairness, where his political antagonists are concerned, weak, he deserves to have a careful hearing from those to whom he speaks. Any statesman who speaks his mind, whether it be at Chesterfield or at Birmingham, upon the great problems that affect the future of our race is entitled to such a hearing. Mr. Chamberlain has a ‘vision splendid’ of the future of the Empire as it may be if its sons are true to themselves, and he has used all his powers and his unrivalled directness of statement in trying to make his fellow-countrymen see that vision for themselves. It has been painted for us before by men who were pioneers in the path in which the Colonial Secretary now treads, but nobody has yet painted

it in the hard clear colours which he has used ; nobody has been so definite in his exposition of the means by which the vision itself is to be realised. For all this Mr. Chamberlain deserves the credit that is due to the man who is not afraid to speak his mind boldly and clearly upon one of the greatest problems with which the statesmen of to-day have to deal. With startling suddenness he has cried 'Halt!' to the march of parties, and has directed the attention of his fellow-countrymen to a question that in his opinion far outstrips in importance any of those with which Parliament is now busying itself. It is hardly surprising that it has taken the country, and even the professional critics, some time to recover from the surprise which this remarkable speech has caused them.

As usual in such cases, foreign onlookers were the first to realise the full meaning of Mr. Chamberlain's utterance. To them it was clear from the first that the Colonial Secretary was inviting his fellow-countrymen to deal directly and in a practical way with the question 'Shall we or shall we not have a united Empire?' For years past many of us have talked of the unity of the Empire as something to be yearned after, worked for, and in the end achieved. But even those who have been most pronounced and enthusiastic in their devotion to the idea of Imperial unity have shrunk constantly from any attempt to put forward a practical plan for achieving that unity. Twenty years ago it was my good fortune to be in constant and close association with that great Imperialist Mr. Forster, the true founder of the movement for the federation of the Empire. Again and again I have heard him declare that his purpose was not to formulate any plan of federation, but to foster the sentiment of unity among all the branches of the Empire. 'It will be time enough,' he used to say, 'to consider the means by which the Empire is to be united when we have created a desire for unity among its members.' Mr. Forster died without being allowed to witness more than a very partial realisation of his hopes. But we who survive are more fortunate. In the dark days of 1899 and 1900, when England was staggering under the load of the task she had undertaken in South Africa, we saw the sentiment of Imperial unity spring up with a growth as rapid as that of Jonah's gourd. There is no need to dwell upon its manifestations. From every part of Queen Victoria's dominions we received proofs of the ties of deep affection by which our kindred beyond the seas felt themselves bound to their Sovereign and to the parent race from whose loins they came. The outside world, as we know, looked on in astonishment, and in some cases with unconcealed chagrin, at a spectacle which they had never thought to witness. The hope of the wise men among them had been that, at the first sign of danger to the Motherland, the Colonies of Great Britain would make haste to renounce their connection with her and to set up on their own account. What they did see was the very opposite

of this. The cry of 'England in danger!' seemed to cause a deeper emotion in the most distant portions of the Empire than in London itself, and from all the lands over which the banner of England waves there came instantly and spontaneously such demonstrations of loyalty and affection that the dullest could see that the British Empire was no longer a mere phrase on paper, but a visible and substantial reality.

It is upon the foundation thus laid amidst the strain and stress of the South African War that Mr. Chamberlain, I conceive, has based the new policy which he propounded at Birmingham two weeks ago. 'Here,' he says in effect, 'is an Empire which has sprung into real existence. It was founded, in the first instance, by your fathers, it has been built up by your brothers, and it has just shown how it loves the Mother Country and how it desires union with it. Do you wish to keep it, to bind it closely and permanently to our own land, even though you may have to make some sacrifice in order to do so; or will you refuse to suffer even a trivial loss to secure so glorious an end, and leave what might have been the greatest Empire the world has ever seen to be slowly and surely dissolved by the inevitable processes of time?' This is practically the appeal that he has made to his fellow-countrymen, and in making that appeal he has openly put forward, as a measure of practical politics, the scheme by which he conceives all the different portions of the Empire may be bound together. So far as his appeal is concerned, there are very few persons in this country, I imagine, who will not listen to it with sympathy and approval. The 'Little Englander,' despite Mr. Chamberlain's invective, is an almost extinct creature. Few even of those who were most strongly opposed to the war in South Africa have failed to learn the lesson taught by the wonderful uprising of our kinsmen three years ago. We had then in its fullest force a demonstration of that sentiment of loyalty, kinship, Imperial unity—call it what you will—that Mr. Forster used to declare was the essential preliminary to any attempt to formulate a scheme of federation. But what about the practical scheme that Mr. Chamberlain proposes as the natural consequence of the demonstration of the Empire's desire for unity? Is it wise, is it practicable—above all, is it one that will commend itself to the British people? These are the questions which men must ask themselves now that the Colonial Secretary has made his own views known.

It is no easy task that is imposed upon us by this declaration of policy. It is certainly not one that can be performed by a mere reference to old shibboleths, though these shibboleths will necessarily play their part in the controversy to which we have been invited. There are a great many sound Imperialists in this country who believe that, after all, what one may call Mr. Forster's policy is still the true one to pursue in our relations with the Colonies; that is



to say, they look to the ties of kinship, affection, and unity of interest, rather than to treaties or tariffs, as the surest means of binding the several portions of the Empire together. These men can point, in justification of their view, to what happened three years ago, when, from Vancouver's Island to New Zealand, the outlying portions of the Empire made haste to stand beside us in the hour of danger. Is it necessary, they ask, to try to force the pace? Shall we not do better to continue that slowly-moving policy from which we have already derived such good fruits, and from which we may reap a yet more abundant harvest in the future? Mr. Chamberlain's reply to them is to point to the case of Canada, and to what is happening there at this moment. Canada's desire to give some trade advantage to Great Britain has been shown in a practical way, and now she is threatened with retaliation by Germany, which claims to stand on the same footing as this country so far as tariff relations with Canada are concerned. No one can deny that in putting forward this case of Canada Mr. Chamberlain has played his very strongest card. Everybody must resent the claim of Germany to interfere in the arrangements between Great Britain and one of her own Colonies, and everyone must desire to help Canada if she is forced into a tariff war with Germany. But it is notorious that hard cases make bad law. The case of Canada is very hard, but the statesmen of England must see to it that they do not make matters worse by adopting a remedy that might only make confusion worse confounded. The mere tax upon corn, which Ministers threw away with such light hearts in their last Budget, would hardly afford the Colonial Secretary the means of compensating Canada for her sacrifices on behalf of Imperial unity. Mr. Chamberlain himself, indeed, regarded that tax as nothing more than the 'thin end of the wedge,' and in his speech he invited his audience to contemplate something much bigger and more important—a Zollverein for the whole British Empire. This is the practical outcome of his appeal to the nation. We are asked to decide whether we shall reverse the fiscal policy which during the last half-century has made us the richest country in the world, and go back to the days of protection. Once more, therefore, the lists are opened for the renewal of the old tournament, and the battle which Gladstone, Bright, and Cobden believed that they had fought out to the very end is to be renewed under new conditions and the inspiration of new motives. How it will end no one can say. The question which is at issue is not one to be answered in haste. It is far too grave in its character to be treated lightly. Mr. Chamberlain himself does not seem to have realised all its many aspects and its possible consequences, if one may judge by his speech at Birmingham. But at least he can claim to have set the ball rolling, and to have touched a sensitive chord in the hearts of his fellow-countrymen by the appeal that he has made to them to

subordinate all other political questions to that of the salvation of the Empire. How that appeal will be responded to, it is as yet too soon to say. One thing, however, is clear, and that is that it cannot, as I have said, be decided by the mere repetition of old shibboleths. We shall have to consider anew and carefully not only the relative advantages and dangers of such an Imperial Zollverein as Mr. Chamberlain has suggested, but those of a strict adherence both to the spirit and the letter of our free-trade faith.

Up to the moment at which I write, those who have discussed the Chamberlain proposals have been almost uniformly hostile to them. A condensed report of a speech by Lord Rosebery at Burnley did, indeed, lead the wisacres of the Press and the Lobby to believe for a few hours that the last Liberal Prime Minister of England had gone over to the side of protection. If that had been true, the case would have been serious; but, as a matter of fact, Lord Rosebery's language did not justify the interpretation put upon it by men who are always ready to seize every opportunity of misrepresenting his opinions, and an emphatic repudiation of the statement that he had endorsed Mr. Chamberlain's proposal, which he issued immediately, put an end to the idea that we were about to witness a new exodus from the depleted Liberal Party. Since then the *Spectator*, which has so long been Mr. Chamberlain's chief supporter in the Press, has pronounced emphatically against his scheme, whilst the support that it has received has been relatively insignificant. But the controversy which he has raised will have to be fought out, and fought out upon modern lines. The world has not been standing still since Cobden converted Peel. We are face to face with conditions not even dreamed of sixty years ago, and the friends of free trade must bring modern arms of precision into use if they are to combat with success the new and formidable assault which has been made upon the principles they have been so long content to regard as irrevocably fixed. Those of us who are most firmly convinced that in the interests not only of Great Britain, but of the Empire as a whole, our free-trade policy ought to be maintained, must admit that a mere appeal to the old formulas and shibboleths will not suffice to secure us the victory in the new struggle to which we have been challenged.

I have spoken already of the change of front which was forced upon Ministers with regard to the London Education Bill. The measure in its first state, as presented to the House of Commons, was so ludicrously bad that it was difficult to understand how anyone could be expected to take it seriously. Its primary object seemed to be to destroy the London School Board, and the only offence which anyone had been able to allege against that body was that it had been only too successful in the performance of the great task entrusted to it. Its second purpose was, apparently, to snub the County Council and to afford fresh proof of the fact that his Majesty's

Ministers prefer the glorified, but by no means reformed, vestries now called Borough Councils to the great central authority for the administration of the affairs of the metropolis. Finally, it was clear from every line of the measure that the great object of its authors was to remove the educational system of London as far as possible from the control of the public. The public was to pay the piper; but the last thing that it was to be allowed to do was to call the tune. How such a Bill as this ever came into existence, how any Minister could be found so fatuous as to present it to Parliament in the belief that it would be accepted by that body, it is impossible to conceive. Nobody, save the merest party hacks on the Ministerial side, has had a word to say in favour of this extraordinary measure. Even the clerical party shuddered at the thought of handing over the education of London to the vestrymen of Westminster and Kennington, and before Mr. Balfour could get his Bill read a second time, he had to promise that it should be amended in many important particulars. The chief part of the amending process consisted in the throwing over of the Borough Councils, the County Council being given the clear majority in the new body. This amendment has satisfied nobody: it has been assailed as strongly by some of the most orthodox of Conservatives as by the leaders of the Nonconformist party. But Ministers have been victorious in the division lobby, thanks entirely to their command of the Irish vote. One wonders why they should have made such efforts in order to attain such ends. They have destroyed the London School Board without cause or excuse; they have cut off the London ratepayers from that close contact with the educational system under which their children are brought up that they have enjoyed for more than thirty years, and that has had so good an effect alike upon parents and children; and they have given us as the new educational authority a chaotic body, the composition of which is liked and defended by nobody and whose future policy no one can pretend to foretell. At the moment at which I write it is announced that Ministers have at last recognised that they can no longer command a majority in favour of their scheme, even as it has been modified in Committee, and that they are prepared to make fresh concessions to public opinion. A more deplorable record of blundering, miscalculation, and weakness than that which they have piled up against themselves in connection with this measure it would be impossible to conceive.

In the meantime, it does not seem that the battle out of doors over the measure of last year is dying down. On the contrary, the party of passive resistance among the Nonconformists has developed an unexpected degree of strength. Many names of importance—not those of political agitators, but of men held in universal respect in the Free Churches—have been added to the list of those who are prepared to accept joyfully the spoiling

of their goods for the sake of a great principle, and it is in the highest degree unlikely that any of those who have announced their determination not to pay the Education Rate under the Act of last year will be deterred from the course they propose to take by the legal opinions which declare that if they unite together for mutual support they will be guilty of conspiracy. A Hyde Park demonstration of exceptional magnitude has given the Nonconformists of London an opportunity of displaying their sympathy with their co-religionists in the country, and all things seem to show that, whether we like it or not, the agitation over the Act of last year will be prolonged and serious. It may not effect the object immediately aimed at, but it cannot fail still further to weaken the Government.

The other great measure of the Session, the Irish Land Bill, is still under consideration in the House of Commons. The second reading was carried by the overwhelming majority of 443 to 26; but the defects of the Bill remain what they were, and in spite of this huge majority there is no more real love for the measure than there was when it was first introduced. At the best, it is accepted as a painful and hateful necessity, and the injustice of the scheme to those who will have to contribute to its cost without deriving any benefit from it has been pointed out by many critics. For the moment the electors seem, however, to view this side of the question with profound indifference. It would almost seem that, so far as money is concerned, they have reached the state of mind of the gambler at Monte Carlo, to whom coins are mere counters. We are spending money so freely that a little more or a little less in the way of national expenditure makes no impression on the public mind. The reaction from this unhealthy mood is yet to come. The astounding success of the Transvaal loan does not seem to indicate that we are drawing near the end of our resources, or that our credit has suffered in the international market. Thirty-five millions was the amount of the loan, and the amount actually subscribed was nearly twenty times that sum. Mr. Chamberlain's statement on the subject of the loan and the finances of the Transvaal was a lucid exposition of the financial position in South Africa, and there is no doubt that it contributed to the remarkable success of the loan itself.

Certain events connected with our relations with Russia have exercised a disturbing influence during the month. Early in May, Lord Lansdowne was questioned in the House of Lords as to the interests of this country in the Persian Gulf. In his reply, after touching upon the question of the Baghdad Railway, he declared emphatically that this country would regard the establishment of a naval base or a fortified port in the Persian Gulf by any other Power as a very grave menace to British interests, and one which would certainly be resisted by all the means at our disposal. This declara-

Men, couched in the clearest and most emphatic language, has been universally interpreted as a warning to Russia. Outsiders cannot, of course, say what provocation it was that induced Lord Lansdowne to launch this diplomatic thunderbolt. In itself it recalls the statement made during Lord Rosebery's premiership on the subject of the Nile Valley, and it is possible that Lord Lansdowne has the same justification for his warning to Russia that Lord Rosebery had for his warning to France. But of this the outside world knows nothing. What it does know is that Russia has received blunt notice that she must keep her hands off the Persian Gulf, and that England has been pledged by the Foreign Secretary to a course of action which may at any moment bring us face to face with our most formidable rival in Asia. But it is not in the Persian Gulf only that Russian diplomacy is causing trouble. The story of Manchuria, as it has been set forth chiefly on the authority of the Peking correspondent of the *Times*, introduces us to a new chapter in the history of the Russian advance in the Far East. It is not a chapter that furnishes pleasant reading for anybody. Russia undertook to evacuate Manchuria and the Treaty port of Niu-chwang on the 8th of April last. She has not done so, but instead of fulfilling her engagements she presented a new series of demands to China on the 18th of April, making these new demands the condition of her withdrawal. When news of her action became known, there was much indignation over what was regarded as her bad faith, not only in this country, but in the United States, and the American Press spoke out with even more than its usual frankness on the subject. Thereupon the Russian Government solemnly assured the English and American Ambassadors at St. Petersburg that she had not made the alleged demands upon China. A few days later the value of this official denial was established by the fact that Mr. Conger, the American Minister at Peking, received from the Russian *Chargé-d'Affaires* in that city 'an official copy of the demands in the original Russian, written in his own hand.' It is needless to expatiate upon this story, one that is only too familiar in the chronicles of Russian diplomacy. That she has any intention of releasing her grasp upon Manchuria, or of permitting any other Power to have free access to Niu-chwang, unless she is compelled by force to do so, is hardly to be believed. The interests of this country, the United States, and Japan are identical. Public opinion in all three countries, and nowhere more forcibly than in America, condemns the shameless ill-faith shown by Russia, and Englishmen in the East are hardly less severe in their condemnation of our own Government for allowing itself to be duped by Russian declarations. The time, it is evident, is coming when we shall have to face another crisis in the Far East, and take such measures as may be needed to save what remains to us of our trade with Manchuria and the adjoining provinces of China.

The King's tour abroad came to an end early in the month. The most important episodes, however, fall within the limits of this month's chronicle. His Majesty's visit to Rome was an unequivocal success, and he was received with a welcome which proved that amongst all classes of Italians there was a real desire to acknowledge the substantial nature of the ties of friendship which unite England and Italy. But it was his visit to Paris in the early days of May that was the most important political incident of his journey. Grave doubts had been expressed as to the way in which he would be received in the French capital, and one or two Parisian journals did their best to provoke a demonstration against him whilst he was the guest of the nation. Happily, these attempts failed, as they deserved to do, and the reputation of the French people for a natural politeness was fully maintained. His Majesty's reception on his arrival, it is true, was courteous rather than warm; but the King was fortunately able to overcome any coldness that existed on the part of the populace, and he had the satisfaction of knowing that before he left Paris he had established himself as a popular favourite, and had put an end to that estrangement which has existed too long between the French people and this country. The attitude of the officials of the Republic, from President Loubet downwards, was, it need hardly be said, everything that could have been desired. Nothing was spared by them in order to make the visit a success. But it was the reception at the Hôtel de Ville, and the simple but cordial words spoken by his Majesty there, which secured the success of his visit and won for him the warm regard of the crowd in the streets. Of the political consequences of the visit it is too soon to speak. Nothing appears to have been settled as yet with regard to the return journey of President Loubet to London, but it is to be hoped that some announcement on the subject will before long be made. The French people evidently expect and desire that this visit shall take place, and London would receive the President with genuine enthusiasm. In the meantime, important declarations have been made in the more serious portion of the French Press as to the steps that are needed to bring about a complete reconciliation between the two countries, and there is nothing in these declarations which need stand in the way of that policy of pacification which the wise men of both nations desire to pursue. Since returning to his own country, King Edward has paid a State visit to Scotland, and the old Palace of Holyrood has once again been the scene of those Court festivities to which it had so long been a stranger.

Among the events in Greater Britain none has been more important than the strike of the men employed on the Victoria State Railways. This was a distinct attempt to put pressure upon the Government for the benefit of a single class of the industrial population, but if it had proved successful, it seems probable that

every industry would have suffered in the same way, and that the country would have been placed at the mercy of an aggressive Socialism. As it was, the railway system was for a time disorganised, and the community at large exposed to great inconvenience and serious loss. But in the crisis the Government stood firm, and was supported by the Parliament of the Colony. The demands of the strikers were refused, and anti-strike legislation introduced. This show of firmness, coupled with the fact that public opinion pronounced strongly against the strikers, brought the men to their senses, and the trouble ended almost as quickly as it had arisen.

In the Near East the situation has been during the month both threatening and perplexing, though there is, happily, reason to believe that the acute dangers which existed a few weeks ago are temporarily, at least, subsiding. There has been fighting of a sanguinary character between the Sultan's forces and the insurgents, and at least one serious outrage has been committed. This was the blowing up of the Ottoman Bank at Salonica by dynamite bombs, a crime which caused loss of life as well as grave destruction of property. The Sultan has expressed his indignation against those who are secretly supporting the insurgents, in a note of such exceptionally strong language that the Powers have intervened to induce him to withdraw it. That pressure has been put upon the Macedonians to restrain them from further action seems evident from the fact that during the latter portion of the month outrages have ceased, and there has been comparative quiet. A change of Ministry at Sofia promises to contribute to the maintenance of peace. The new Cabinet, under General Petroff, declares that its mission is to establish a good understanding with the Porte. If it should be able to do this, the immediate danger in Macedonia will have passed away.

One minor incident of the month deserves notice before I close this chronicle. I refer to the impetuous, if not intemperate, attack which the Bishop of London made upon Mr. Hadden, the Vicar of St. Mark's, North Audley Street, because the latter had officiated at the marriage of Mr. Vanderbilt, the well-known American. \* Mr. Vanderbilt had been divorced from his first wife, and the Bishop was pleased not only to regard his re-marriage in one of the churches in his diocese as a grave scandal, but to threaten Mr. Hadden with a vigorous manifestation of his displeasure for the part he had taken in the ceremony. It is strange that the Bishop should have been so forgetful of the law of the land as to take this ill-advised action. The right of divorced persons to be re-married in church has not only been established by ancient usage, but is expressly confirmed by the statute law of the realm. It is true that this law provides that a clergyman may, if he likes, refuse to re-marry a divorced person, and that he is not to be subject to any ecclesiastical censure for this

refusal. But it also provides that no clergyman who does perform the marriage ceremony in the case of a divorced man or woman is to be subject to any ecclesiastical censure for doing so. It was this clause in the statute law which the Bishop chose to ignore when he made his very indiscreet attack upon a man whose character is above reproach. One can only hope that the Bishop has now discovered his mistake, and that he will make full amends to the clergyman whom he has so wantonly attacked in defiance of that law to which, in common with every other subject of the Crown, he owes obedience. So long as the Church enjoys the advantage of being 'established' by the law of the realm none of its dignitaries is entitled to raise its law above that of the land.

WEMYSS REID.



*LORD KELVIN ON SCIENCE AND THEISM*

THE recent speech of Lord Kelvin, as reported in the daily newspapers, upon the subject of 'the creating and directing Power which science compels us to accept as an article of belief,' seemed so important and interesting as coming from such a man, that, having the pleasure of his personal acquaintance, I wrote to ask him for an authentic and authoritative version of it from his own hand which might be placed upon record in these pages.

I received the following answer to my request:

15 Eaton Place, London, S.W. :  
May 5th, 1903.

Dear Mr. Knowles,—I am glad you think that the little I said in University College last week may be useful. According to your wish, I now send you, enclosed, a report from the *Times* altered to the first person and a little amplified by inclusion of the substance of my letter which appeared in the *Times* last Monday.

Yours very truly,  
KELVIN.

With reference to Professor Henslow's mention of ether-granules, I ask permission to say three words of personal explanation. I had recently, at a meeting of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, occasion to make use of the expressions ether, atoms, electricity, and I was horrified to read in the Press that I had put forward a hypothesis of ether-atoms. Ether is absolutely non-atomic; it is structureless, and utterly homogeneous where not disturbed by the atoms of ponderable matter.

I am in thorough sympathy with Professor Henslow in the fundamentals of his lecture; but I cannot admit that, with regard to the origin of life, science neither affirms nor denies Creative Power. Science positively affirms Creative Power. It is not in dead matter

that we live and move and have our being, but in the creating and directing Power which science compels us to accept as an article of belief. We cannot escape from that conclusion when we study the physics and dynamics of living and dead matter all around. Modern biologists are coming, I believe, once more to a firm acceptance of something beyond mere gravitational, chemical, and physical forces; and that unknown thing is a vital principle. We have an unknown object put before us in science. In thinking of that object we are all agnostics. We only know God in His Works, but we are absolutely forced by science to believe with perfect confidence in a Directive Power,—in an influence other than physical, or dynamical, or electrical forces. Cicero (by some supposed to have been editor of Lucretius) denied that men and plants and animals could come into existence by a fortuitous concourse of atoms. There is nothing between absolute scientific belief in a Creative Power, and the acceptance of the theory of a fortuitous concourse of atoms. Just think of a number of atoms falling together of their own accord and making a crystal, a sprig of moss, a microbe, a living animal. Cicero's expression 'fortuitous concourse of atoms' is certainly not wholly inappropriate for the growth of a crystal. But modern scientific men are in agreement with him in condemning it as utterly absurd in respect to the coming into existence, or the growth, or the continuation of the molecular combinations presented in the bodies of living things. Here scientific thought is compelled to accept the idea of Creative Power. Forty years ago I asked Liebig, walking somewhere in the country, if he believed that the grass and flowers that we saw around us grew by mere chemical forces. He answered, 'No, no more than I could believe that a book of botany describing them could grow by mere chemical forces.' Every action of free will is a miracle to physical and chemical and mathematical science.

I admire the healthy breezy atmosphere of free thought throughout Professor Henslow's lecture. Do not be afraid of being free thinkers! If you think strongly enough you will be forced by science to the belief in God, which is the foundation of all religion. You will find science not antagonistic but helpful to religion.

In conclusion, I have the pleasure to move a hearty vote of thanks to Professor Henslow for the interesting and instructive lecture which we have heard.

Lord Kelvin's deliverance recalls to my mind the frequent discussions on the subject of Theism at the meetings of the Metaphysical Society, which I attended (as its founder and secretary) for so many

years. The acutest minds of our generation debated there, over and over again, the great questions which are beyond the reach of demonstrable proof, and contributed to the common stock their 'guesses at truth' with entire and confidential freedom. The agnosticism of Huxley, the materialism of Tyndall, the atheism of W. K. Clifford, the scepticism of Fitzjames Stephen, the 'positivism' of Frederic Harrison, were opposed by the faith of Cardinal Manning, Father Dalgairns, Dr. Ward, Bishop Thirlwall, Bishop Magee, Archbishop Thomson, Mark Pattison, F. D. Maurice, Ruskin, Gladstone, the Duke of Argyll, Dr. Martineau (whom Tennyson held to be 'the greatest among us'), and many others.

Lord Tennyson himself—who sat so loose to the ordinarily accepted forms of Christianity—formulated in those days his own personal creed, and I reproduce it here in order to set the belief of a King of Poetry alongside that of a 'Prince of Science.' It has been already published in this Review,<sup>1</sup> and runs thus:

'THERE'S A SOMETHING THAT WATCHES OVER  
US; AND OUR INDIVIDUALITY ENDURES: THAT'S MY FAITH, AND  
THAT'S ALL MY FAITH.'

To cardinals and archbishops Tennyson's creed seemed sadly insufficient; but Martineau said of it, '*Yes! God and immortality—a sufficient basis for religion;*' and Ward (that 'most generous of all Ultramontanes') used to declare, '*In these days one must be thankful for a Theist.*'

JAMES KNOWLES.

<sup>1</sup> See *Nineteenth Century*, January 1893.

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